

Byzantine Religious Culture

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

The Medieval Mediterranean

Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500

Managing Editor

Hugh Kennedy

SOAS, London

Editors

Paul Magdalino, St. Andrews

David Abulafia, Cambridge

Benjamin Arbel, Tel Aviv

Larry J. Simon, Western Michigan University

Olivia Remie Constable, Notre Dame

Frances Andrews, St. Andrews

VOLUME 92

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.nl/mmed



Byzantine Religious Culture

Studies in Honor of Alice-Mary Talbot

Edited by

Denis Sullivan
Elizabeth Fisher
Stratis Papaioannou



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2012

Cover illustration: Detail from a miniature in the mid-12th c. manuscript known as the *Madrid Skylitzes* (*Madrid Biblioteca Nacional* *vitr.* 26–2, fol. 84r). It bears the caption “the mother of Basil narrates her vision to the woman.” With kind permission of the Biblioteca Nacional de España.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Byzantine religious culture : studies in honor of Alice-Mary Talbot / edited by Denis Sullivan, Elizabeth Fisher, Stratis Papaioannou.

p. cm. — (The medieval Mediterranean, ISSN 0928-5520 ; v. 92)

English, French, and German.

Includes index.

ISBN 978-90-04-21244-2 (hardback : alk. paper) 1. Byzantine Empire—Religious life and customs. I. Talbot, Alice-Mary Maffry. II. Sullivan, Denis. III. Fisher, Elizabeth A. IV. Papaioannou, Stratis.

BX300.B995 2012

274.95'04—dc23

2011036378

ISSN 0928-5520

ISBN 978 90 04 21244 2

Copyright 2012 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	xi
List of Contributors	xvii
Introduction	xxi
Publications of Alice-Mary Talbot	xxvii
List of Abbreviations	xxxv

WOMEN

Including the ‘Despised Woman’: Jacob of Serug at the Nativity Feast	3
<i>Susan Ashbrook Harvey</i>	
A Meeting of Hypatia of Alexandria with St. Febronia of Nisibis in the <i>Life</i> of Sts. David, Symeon and George of Lesbos	19
<i>Alexander Alexakis</i>	
Une hôtesse importante de l’église Saint-Jean-Baptiste de l’Oxeia à Constantinople: Fébronie	31
<i>Michel Kaplan</i>	
Learned Women of Byzantium and the Surviving Record	53
<i>Maria Mavroudi</i>	
Women in Byzantine History in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Some Theoretical Considerations	85
<i>Stamatina McGrath</i>	
Anna Komnene’s Will	99
<i>Stratis Papaioannou</i>	

ICONS AND IMAGES

The Matter of the Word in an Icon in Houston	125
<i>Annemarie Weyl Carr</i>	
The Other Image at the Palace Gate and the Visual Propaganda of Leo III	139
<i>Paul Magdalino</i>	
Sacred Objects with Holy Light: Byzantine Icons with Chrysography	155
<i>Jaroslav Folda</i>	
‘Tiles of Nicomedia’ and the Cult of Saint Panteleimon	173
<i>Sharon E. J. Gerstel</i>	
Michael Psellos on the ‘Usual’ Miracle at Blachernae, the Law, and Neoplatonism	187
<i>Elizabeth A. Fisher</i>	
“Pangs of Labor without Pain”: Observations on the Iconography of the Nativity in Byzantium	205
<i>Henry Maguire</i>	
Byzantine ‘Medals’: Coins, Amulets and Piety	217
<i>Cécile Morrisson and Simon Bendall</i>	
New Evidence on Lead Flasks and Devotional Patterns: From Crusader Jerusalem to Byzantium	239
<i>Brigitte Pitarakis</i>	
The Posthumous Miracles of St. Eustratios on a Sinai Templon Beam	267
<i>Nancy Patterson Ševčenko</i>	

TEXTS, PRACTICES, SPACES

Hagiography and the Cult of Saints in the Light of Epigraphy and Acclamations	291
<i>Claudia Rapp</i>	
The Jewish Boy Legend and the ‘Western Twist’	313
<i>John Duffy</i>	
Saints and Saracens: On Some Miracle Accounts of the Early Arab Period	323
<i>Arietta Papaconstantinou</i>	
The Monastery of Diomedes	339
<i>John W. Nesbitt</i>	
Les saints d’Italie méridionale (IX ^e –XII ^e s.) et leur rôle dans la société locale	347
<i>Stéphanos Efthymiades</i>	
Zur Memorialkultur im byzantinischen Mittelalter	373
<i>Michael Grünbart</i>	
Siege Warfare, Nikephoros II Phokas, Relics and Personal Piety	395
<i>Denis F. Sullivan</i>	
An Anonymous Narrative of the Martyrdom of the Anchorites of Mount Sinai (BHG 307d)	411
<i>Angela Constantinides Hero</i>	
Nicholas the Monk and Former Soldier	421
<i>Paul Stephenson and Brooke Shilling</i>	
The Testament of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople (1289–93, 1303–09)	439
<i>Manolis S. Patedakis</i>	
Index	465

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures accompanying the article of Annemarie Weyl Carr:

- 1: Icon of the Mother of God. The Menil Collection, Houston, inv. X490.031. Bronze. Source: Taylor and Dull, by permission of The Menil Collection, Houston 137
- 2: Icon of the Mother of God with angels. The Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. 11419. Bronze. Source: by permission of The Benaki Museum, Athens 137

Figures accompanying the article of Jaroslav Folda:

- 1: Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai: Figure of Christ enthroned, dating from the 7th century. Source: photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai 169
- 2: Mosaic in the Monastery of the Nea Moni, Chios., Anastasis image in the main eastern apse. Dating from the mid-11th century. Source: photo reproduced by permission of the Dumbarton Oaks Photograph Archive 169
- 3: Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, Image of the Annunciation. Dating from the late 12th century. Source: photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai 170
- 4: Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, Image of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels. Dating from the first half of the 13th century. Source: photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai 170

- 5: Painted panel from the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. The Mellon Madonna: Image of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels. Dating from the later 13th century, between 1260 and 1291. Source: photo reproduced courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 171

Figures accompanying the article of Sharon E. J. Gerstel:

- 1: London, Private Collection. St. Panteleimon. Source: Sharon Gerstel 185
- 2: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum. St. Panteleimon (acc. no. 48.2086.15). Source: courtesy of the Walters Art Museum 185
- 3: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum. St. Panteleimon (acc. no. 48.806.4). Source: courtesy of the Walters Art Museum 186
- 4: Moscow, State Historical Museum. St. Panteleimon (acc. no. 53066). Source: courtesy of the State Historical Museum 186

Figures accompanying the article of Henry Maguire:

- 1: Daphni, monastery church, mosaic. Birth of the Virgin. Source: Josephine Powell Photograph, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library 214
- 2: Daphni, monastery church, mosaic. Nativity of Christ. Source: Josephine Powell Photograph, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library 215
- 3: Thessaloniki, Hosios David, fresco of the Nativity, detail. The Virgin. Source: after E. N. Tsigaridas, *Oi toichographies tes mones Latomou Thessalonikes* (Thessaloniki, 1986), pl. 7 216

Figures accompanying the article of Cécile Morrisson and Simon Bendall:

All coins are illustrated courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks (DO), except for those in Simon Bendall's collection and Fig. A as noted.

- A: Megaran woman wearing the *kaplamès* and breast and headdress (after Chatzemichale 1979, 55, fig. 42) 225
- 1: Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88.4966 237
- 2: Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88.4997 237

3:	Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88.4980	237
4:	Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88.4995 (23mm, 2.78g)	237
5:	Bendall coll	237
6:	Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88.4928	237
7:	Schindler BZC 1960.125.1739; diam. 29mm, total weight 6.03g	237
8 & 9:	Bendall images Baldwin 8a–b et 6a–b	237
10:	Peirce DO BZC 1948.17.3778	237
11:	Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88.4972	237
12:	Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88.4970	237
13:	DO Bertelè 1960.88.4987 diam 25, 2.67g	238
14:	Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88 4978	238
15:	Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88 4977 (25mm, 2.75g)	238
16:	Bendall 6 = Baldwin's photo no. 11	238
17:	Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88 5002 (diam. 23; wt. 2.32g; axis 9 o'clock)	238
18:	Bendall fig. 7 = Baldwin photo1 with regular 6 o'clock die orientation	238
19:	Bendall fig. 8 = Baldwin 3 with 12 o'clock die axis	238
20:	Bendall (Baldwin's fig. 4a–b)	238
21:	Bendall (text fig. 12 = Baldwin's 7). Struck on a smaller, flat and thicker flan and possibly earlier in date than the previous ones	238
22:	Bendall (text fig. 13 = Baldwin's 5)	238
23:	DO Schindler BZC 1960.125.1757	238
24:	DO Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88 4988	238

Figures accompanying the article of Brigitte Pitarakis:

1:	Lead flask, 12th century, Berlin Frühchristlich- Byzantinische Sammlung, Stiftung der Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inv. no. 25/73 a-Side 1 The Holy Sepulchre, b-Side 2 The Holy Women at the Tomb. Source: after Kötzsche (1988), 16, fig. 5	260
2:	Lead flask, 12th century, British Museum, inv. no. M&LA 76,12–14,18. Source: courtesy of the British Museum	260
3:	Lead flask, 12th century, The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1999.234. a-Side 1 The Holy Sepulchre, b-Side 2 The Anastasis. Source: courtesy of The Cleveland Museum of Art	261

4: Lead seal of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre. Section view of the Anastasis Rotunda enclosing the <i>aedicula</i> with the Tomb Chamber of Christ. Source: after Schlumberger (1943) 135, no. 164, pl. V, 6 and 9	261
5: Lead seal of patriarch William II of Jerusalem (1261–1270) Veneration of the dead body of Christ in the <i>aedicula</i> of the Anastasis Rotunda. Source: after Schlumberger (1943) 80–81, no. 20, pl. II, 2	262
6: Enamel <i>enkolpion</i> of St. Demetrios, 13th century, British Museum, inv. no. M&LA 1926, 4–9,1. Source: courtesy of the British Museum	262
7: Lead flask, 12th century, Halûk Perk Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. HPM 9467. a-Side 1 Youthful nimbed figure (apostle ?)waving an olive branch, b-Side 2 Identical to Side 1. Source: courtesy of Halûk Perk	263
8: Bronze bread stamp, late 6th or 7th century, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, inv. no. 66.29.2 St. Philip standing between two church buildings or <i>martyria</i> . Source: courtesy of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts	263
9: Lead flask, found in medieval layers in Sirmium. Side 1 Double-armed cross; Side 2 Greek cross. Source: after Minić (1980) 57, fig. 9	264
10: Lead flask, 12th century, Halûk Perk Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. HPM 3173. a-Side 1 Double-armed cross, b-Side 2 Three vases under arches. Source: courtesy of Halûk Perk	264
11: Clay token of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger, Michel Khoury Collection, Beyrouth. Source: courtesy of Michel Khoury and Jean-Pierre Sodini	265

Figure accompanying the article of John Nesbitt:

1: Seal. Obverse, the Virgin Nikopoios enthroned; reverse, St. Diomedes. (DO 77.34.13). Source: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks	345
--	-----

Color plates 1–3 (accompanying the article of Jaroslav Folda) can be found following page 474:

- 1: Manuscript Illumination: The archangel Michael, Menologion of Basil II (976–1025) = Vatican, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. graec. 1613. Dating around the year 1000. Source: photo by permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, with all rights reserved.
- 2: Mosaic in the Monastery of the Nea Moni, Chios, Anastasis, detail. Dating from the mid-11th century. Source: photo reproduced by permission of the Dumbarton Oaks Photograph Archive.
- 3: Cloisonné enamel from the Pala d'Oro, Venice, Church of San Marco, High Altar, Anastasis Image. Dating from the second half of the 12th century. Source: photo courtesy of Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY.

Color plates 1–11 (accompanying the article of Nancy Patterson Ševčenko) can be found following page 474:

Color Plates 1–8 are with the permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai; photography courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

- 1: Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, left half.
- 2: Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, right half.
- 3: Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scenes 1–2.
- 4: Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scenes 3–4.
- 5: Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scene 5 and Deesis.
- 6: Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scenes 7–8.
- 7: Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scenes 9–10.
- 8: Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scenes 10–12.
- 9: Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scene 4, detail. By permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.

- 10: Logos 29 of *The Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimakos. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, MS. gr. 418, fol. 279r. By permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.
- 11: Ikat. Yemen, 10th century. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (C 12994). By permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Alexander Alexakis is a Professor of Byzantine Literature at the University of Ioannina, Greece. He has published books and articles on Byzantine Hagiography, Byzantine Church history and the history of manuscripts and texts, including *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and its Archetype*.

Simon Bendall, former professional numismatist and independent scholar, has published numerous articles of seminal importance enriching the corpus of Byzantine coins, especially those of the 12th–15th centuries. He is the author of *A Private Collection of Palaeologan Coinage and Byzantine Coin Weights*.

Annemarie Weyl Carr, Professor Emerita, Southern Methodist University, has written on Byzantine art and the art of medieval Cyprus, most recently in *Asinou: The Church and Frescoes of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, co-edited with Andreas Nicolaides.

John Duffy is Dumbarton Oaks Professor of Byzantine Philology and Literature and Chair, Department of the Classics, Harvard University. His publications include *Stephanus the Philosopher, A Commentary on the Prognosticon of Hippocrates* (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum) and Michael Psellos, *Philosophica Minora I* (Teubner).

Stephanos Efthymiadis is Associate Professor at the Open University of Cyprus. He recently co-edited the volume *Niketas Choniates: a Historian and a Writer* (with Alicia Simpson) and is currently preparing a two-volume *Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*.

Elizabeth A. Fisher is Professor of Classics, George Washington University. Her publications include *Planudes' Greek Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Garland), *Michaelis Pselli Orationes hagiographicae* (Teubner), and numerous articles on Byzantine literary topics.

Jaroslav Folda is N. Ferebee Taylor Professor of the History of Art, emeritus at the University of North Carolina. His recent publications include *Crusader Art in the Holy Land... 1187–1291* and *Crusader Art 1099–1291*.

Sharon E. J. Gerstel is Professor of Byzantine Art and Archaeology at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her publications include *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary*, and she has co-authored with Alice-Mary Talbot “The Culture of Lay Piety in Medieval Byzantium (1054–1453)” and “Nuns of the Byzantine Countryside.”

Michael Grünbart holds the chair in Byzantine studies at the University of Münster, Germany. At the moment he is preparing a study on the self-representation of the middle Byzantine aristocracy and a volume concerning gifts and friendship.

Susan Ashbrook Harvey, Willard Prescott and Annie McClelland Smith Professor of Religious Studies at Brown University, has most recently published *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* and is co-editor with David G. Hunter of *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*.

Angela Constantinides Hero is Professor Emerita of History, Queens College (City University of New York) and co-editor with John Thomas of *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typica and Testaments*.

Michel Kaplan is Professeur à l'Université Paris 1 (Panthéon-Sorbonne) and Directeur du Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines et du Proche-Orient Medieval. His many publications include *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle: propriété et exploitation du sol* (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 10) and *Byzance. Villes et campagnes* (*Les médiévistes français* 7).

Paul Magdalino is Professor of History, Koç University and Emeritus Professor of Byzantine History, University of St Andrews. His recent publications include *L'Orthodoxie des astrologues. La science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance* and *Studies in the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople*.

Henry Maguire is Professor of the History of Art Emeritus at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. His publications include *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, *Rhetoric, Nature and Magic in Byzantine Art*, and most recently he has co-edited with Robert S. Nelson, *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*.

Maria Mavroudi is Professor in the Departments of History and of Classics at the University of California, Berkeley. Her research focuses on the transmission of learning between Byzantium and the Arabs, bilingualism in Greek and Arabic during the Middle Ages, and the history of Byzantine science. Her publications include *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation, the Oneirocriticon of Achmet and Its Arabic Sources*.

Stamatina McGrath is Adjunct Professor of History at George Mason University. Most recently she assisted in the translation of *The History of Leo the Deacon (Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century)* by Alice-Mary Talbot and Denis Sullivan and is co-editor/translator with Sullivan and Talbot of the forthcoming *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*.

Cécile Morrisson is Director of Research Emerita at the CNRS and Advisor for Byzantine Numismatics, Dumbarton Oaks. Her recent publications include, with A. Laiou, *The Byzantine Economy*; she has edited the handbook *Le monde byzantin, I: L'empire romain d'Orient (330–641)* and, with A. Laiou (†) its third volume: *Byzance et ses voisins (1204–1453)*.

John Nesbitt's (2500 Wisconsin Avenue NW. #927, Washington DC, 20007) major publications include *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Volumes 1–6, co-edited with N. Oikonomides (Vols. 1–5) and Eric McGeer (Vols. 4–5), with the assistance of Cécile Morrisson (Vol. 6).

Arietta Papaconstantinou is lecturer at the Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, and research associate at the Oriental Institute in Oxford. She is the author of *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides* and of various articles on aspects of late antique and early Islamic social history and material culture. Her research focuses on the Near East during the transition from Roman to Muslim rule.

Stratis Papaioannou holds the William A. Dyer, Jr. Assistant Professorship in the Humanities at Brown University. In addition to a number of published articles his book titled *Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium* is forthcoming.

Manolis Patedakis is Lecturer in Byzantine Philology at the University of Crete. His main research interests focus on Palaeologan Literature, Byzantine Epigraphy from Crete, and Symeon the New Theologian. He continues to edit the unpublished works of Athanasios I of Constantinople.

Brigitte Pitarakis is a researcher at the CNRS in Paris (UMR 8167 Orient et Méditerranée). She is author of *Les croix-reliquaires pectorales byzantines en bronze* (Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques 16) and most recently editor of *Hippodrome/Atmeydanı: A Stage for Istanbul's History*, an exhibition catalogue.

Claudia Rapp is Professor für Byzantinistik am Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien. Her publications, including her book *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in a Time of Transition*, have centered on hagiography, the cult of saints, social history and Byzantine writing culture.

Nancy Patterson Ševčenko is an Independent Scholar, living in South Woodstock, Vermont. Her publications include *Greek Manuscripts at Princeton, Sixth to Nineteenth Century: A Descriptive Catalogue*, with Sophia Kotzabassi and Donald Skemer (Princeton, 2010).

Brooke Shilling formerly worked in the photograph and fieldwork archive at Dumbarton Oaks, and currently is Kress Fellow at CAARI (Nicosia) and a PhD candidate in the Department of the History of Art at Johns Hopkins University.

Paul Stephenson is Professor of History, Durham University. His publications include *The Legend of Basil the Bulgarslayer*, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, and (ed.) *The Byzantine World*.

Denis Sullivan is Professor of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Maryland. His publications include *The Life of St. Nikon, Siegecraft: Two Tenth-Century Instructional Manuals*, and, with Alice-Mary Talbot, *Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century: The History of Leo the Deacon*.

INTRODUCTION

The relationships of the 25 scholarly contributors to this volume with the honoree, Alice-Mary Talbot, span the full range of her career. One shared classes at the Chapin School in New York City (class of 1956), another graduate seminars at Columbia University in the 1960s, one a year at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, another a year as a junior fellow at Dumbarton Oaks. Three have worked with her on the *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database*, others as instructors in the Dumbarton Oaks summer Byzantine Greek classes; one was a Dumbarton Oaks co-symposiarch; many were fortunate to be fellows and junior fellows during her tenure as Director of Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks. All have come to admire her exceptional command of the language of the Byzantines, her superlative scholarly output, and perhaps most of all her wonderful generosity in assisting others in their own work. So many scholars have benefited from her expertise and scholarship that all could not be invited to contribute to this volume; we hope that additional *Festschriften* will appear in time with further scholarly offerings.

Dr. Talbot is the author of four books, editor or co-editor of four others, and author of more than 70 scholarly articles. She was also the executive editor of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, co-director of the *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database* and editor of *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (1996–2009). Her scholarly work has focused on three major themes, Byzantine women and religious life, sanctity and hagiography, and monasticism and nunneries; her work in each of these areas is always firmly grounded in a careful reading of textual evidence. Her publications include a critical edition with annotated English translation of the letters of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople and subsequently of the *Logos* of the patriarch's posthumous miracles by Theoktistos the Stoudite. She has also translated the *History of Leo the Deacon*, as well as Byzantine saints' lives and monastic *typika*. Among her forthcoming publications is a critical edition with annotated English translation of the *Life of St. Basil the Younger*.¹ As the *Festschrift* neared completion she was elected President of the Medieval Academy of America.

¹ With D. Sullivan and S. McGrath.

A few examples may suffice to suggest the coherence and variety of her scholarly interests. In “Blue Stocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium” (1983) Dr. Talbot uses the evidence of *typika* and other documents to examine the intellectual pursuits of Byzantine nuns, particularly abbesses. She finds that while the experience of nuns was largely a life of prayer and praise of God, aristocratic nuns could and did pursue interests in such areas as theological disputes, religious poetry and architectural patronage. In “The Byzantine Family and the Monastery” (1990) she employs hagiographical texts and *typika* to explore how the basic principle of severance of all worldly ties with the acceptance of the monastic habit was actualized in Byzantium (9th to 15th centuries) and finds that while over time monasteries generally became more permissive of family visits, some individual monasteries still maintained strict separation. In her article “Female Sanctity in Byzantium” (1998) she investigates the question of why so few women were “canonized” in the last centuries of Byzantium and suggests “ambivalence about the possibility of sanctity for the weaker sex” or “the confinement of nuns to their cloisters” as contrasted with the freedom of movement of monks as possible answers. In “Healing Shrines in Late Byzantine Constantinople” (1997) she examines six major sites of miracle healing in Constantinople with regard to the nature of the illnesses and cures and the relation of such cures to the secular physicians. She finds that the shrines were generally consulted after physicians proved ineffective and that they were used equally by men and women of all social classes, and in theory, at least, without a fee. A related study, “Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts” (2002) presents similar conclusions regarding access to the shrines by both women and men, and often after consultation with physicians; it provides additional insights on length and modes of travel to pilgrimage sites as well as transmission of healing substances to the sick when travel proved impossible. Two additional studies consider holy objects, particularly images, and related texts. “Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art” (1994) explores the texts in question as evidence of the relationship of personal piety to pilgrimage, the search for healing, and patronage, and concludes that one group of poems was evidently composed to be inscribed on icons or monumental paintings, another to describe works of art dedicated in thanksgiving to the shrine, and a third, highly personalized, to appear on an object depicting the Virgin actually healing the donor. Another paper, “Epigrams in Context: Metrical

Inscriptions on Art and Architecture of the Palaeologan Era,” (1999) includes examination of such texts on icons and icon frames, reliquaries and liturgical vessels and among its conclusions makes the valuable distinction between epigrams created to accompany a proposed object and those to appear on frames for already existing works of art, the latter resulting in a “more aesthetic evocation of the iconography and materials.” Throughout her work runs a consistent sensitivity to social history and to the concerns of the individual in an institutional setting.

A contributor’s recollection may set the general theme of this volume. On one occasion Alice-Mary had generously agreed to make a presentation on Byzantine Civilization to that contributor’s undergraduate class for non-majors. Dr. Talbot introduced her lecture with comments on her sense of good fortune in coming to age as a Byzantine scholar at a time when social history had begun to take its place as a recognized and significant area of historical research alongside more traditional subjects such as political history. In keeping with the honoree’s scholarly interests in the social context of Byzantine religious practices the contributors were invited to offer articles in three areas, Women in Byzantium, Icons and Other Images, and finally Texts, Practices, Spaces. Each contributor worked independently, but the results reflect the main themes of the volume and in a number of the papers build directly on Dr. Talbot’s own work as well as intersecting with each other.

Six papers offer insights into the lives of both religious and secular Byzantine women. Susan Harvey places an unexpected passage on the “Despised Woman” in Jacob of Serug’s *Homily of the Nativity* in the context of Byzantine typology to find an expression of Jacob’s compassion for his flock. Michel Kaplan examines the origins of the cult of St. Febronia, its complex hagiographical dossier, and the context of its transmission to Constantinople and the west, while Alexander Alexakis connects a young woman named Hypatia/Febronia in the *Life of Sts. David, Symeon and George*, with her more famous namesakes as well suggesting a link between the dossier of St. Febronia and her predecessor Hypatia. Maria Mavroudi offers an examination of Byzantine views of the learned women of classical antiquity as revelatory of the Byzantines’ own views of contemporary women and offers a rationale for the apparent but deceptive narrowness and limited quantity of literary output by Byzantine women. Matina McGrath posits an “ideological framework” in the *History* of John Skylitzes for interpreting

the behavior of powerful Byzantine women and Stratis Papaioannou examines Anna Komnene's rhetorical preface to her final will and testament to suggest how a woman negotiates the androcentric premises which underlie the written medium.

In the second section, *Icons and Images*, Annemarie Weyl Carr draws on Dr. Talbot's work on epigrams and art objects to explain the relation between a small icon of the Virgin Hodegetria and the epigram that surrounds it and Elizabeth Fisher considers Michael Psellos' oration on the 'usual miracle' attributed to an icon of the Virgin at Blachernai in the context of the legal case that an "unusual" occurrence of the miracle resolved. In a broader consideration of holy images Jaroslav Folda examines the reinvention of chrysography after the Triumph of Orthodoxy as 'spiritual radiance' rather than 'natural light' and its subsequent adoption and further transformation by Crusader artists. Sharon Gerstel surveys icons on ceramic polychrome tiles, focusing specifically on four previously unpublished tiles depicting St. Panteleimon the great martyr of Nikomedia and on the workshop which produced them, while Paul Magdalino shifts our gaze to Constantinople, interpreting a passage in a letter of the patriarch Germanos I on a religious image set up by Leo III and Constantine V for its value in shedding light on the controversy over the Chalke Gate icon and the motives behind Leo III's iconoclasm. In examining the intersection of the abstract and the concrete in images Henry Maguire interprets Byzantine artists' responses to the paradoxical theological concept that the Virgin gave birth without pain. The topic of coins worn by Byzantine women for devotional and apotropaic purposes engages Cécile Morrisson and Simon Bendall who provide an illustrated inventory of selected examples. Brigitte Pitarakis publishes for the first time two lead pilgrim flasks (used to distribute holy oil) in the Halûk Perk collection in Istanbul and finds links to Crusader Jerusalem in their iconography, while Nancy Ševčenko considers the posthumous miracles of St. Eustratios depicted on the 12th-century templon beam at Mount Sinai and investigates what these remarkable images indicate about practices honoring the saint at his famous pilgrimage site.

In the final section, *Texts, Practices, Spaces*, Claudia Rapp collects and interprets inscriptions and acclamations in hagiographical texts for the insights they provide on the origins of the hagiographical genre and Arietta Papaconstantinou examines themes of war captives and Muslim impiety in Christian writings as evidence of partly covert intra-

Christian disagreements over Islam within the Christian community. John Duffy turns his attention to the Jews of Byzantium, providing an *editio princeps*, a translation and a discussion of a Greek text of the “Jewish Boy Legend” that resolves the apparent contradiction between Eastern and Western versions of the same tale. Stephanos Efthymiadis travels to South Italy in an examination of the activities of local saints of the 9th–12th centuries whose hagiographical dossiers show little influence from Constantinople, but rather reflect specifically regional political and social realities. Michael Grünbart focuses on both religious and secular forms of memorialization in the Byzantine Empire, emphasizing its importance in the origin of a uniquely Byzantine political self-conception. Angela Hero moves into a world of Christians and nomadic Arabs with her translation of an anonymous 11th-century narrative on the Martyrdom of the Anchorites of Mount Sinai (BHG 307d) and clarifies the relationship of this text to its earlier primary source, Neilos of Ankyra. John Nesbitt returns to Constantinople and re-examines textual and adds sigillographic evidence to establish the number and types of buildings in the ‘monastery’ of St. Diomedes, while Denis Sullivan translates a homily on Nikephoros II Phokas’ recovery of the Holy Tile, presented as a parallel to the recovery of the Mandylion by Constantine VII, and examines its implications for the legitimization of Phokas’ accession to the imperium. Paul Stephenson and Brooke Shilling analyze links between the parable of Nicholas the monk in the 13th-century *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and a similar story inserted into the *Life of Nicholas of Stoudios* (BHG 1365), furnishing a translation of the former. Manolis S. Patedakis follows the lead of Dr. Talbot with an *editio princeps* and annotated English translation of the Testament of the patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople. Throughout this varied collection the reader will find not only echoes of Dr. Talbot’s wide interests and profound scholarly influence but also new and fruitful perspectives on religious culture in the world of Byzantium.

The editors are most grateful to William Talbot for wonderfully discreet consultation on possible contributors and to the contributors themselves for their excellent response. We are also grateful to Jan Ziolkowski for the opportunity to celebrate Dr. Talbot’s career and influence at the 2009 Dumbarton Oaks Symposium by announcing the incipient *Festschrift* with a surprise presentation of a booklet listing the contributors and the titles of their articles.

PUBLICATIONS OF ALICE-MARY TALBOT

BOOKS

The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family and Officials. An Edition, Translation and Commentary (Washington, D.C., 1975).

Faith Healing in Late Byzantium: The Posthumous Miracles of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite (Brookline, MA, 1983).

Women and Religious Life in Byzantium (Aldershot, 2001).

(with Denis Sullivan): *The History of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century. Introduction, Translation, and Annotations* (Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 2005).

BOOKS EDITED

Executive Editor of *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols. (New York 1991), ed. A. Kazhdan. A.-M. Talbot, et al.

Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation (Washington, D.C., 1996).

Byzantine Defenders of Images. Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation (Washington, D.C., 1998).

(with Arietta Papaconstantinou) *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 2009).

ELECTRONIC PUBLICATIONS

(with A. Kazhdan), *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database* (Washington, D.C., 1998), <http://www.doaks.org/Hagio.html>

(editor from 2001–2009) *Bibliography on Women in Byzantium*, <http://www.doaks.org/WomeninByzantium.html>

(editor from 1997) *Survey of Translations of Saints' Lives*, <http://www.doaks.org/translives.html>

(editor from 1997–2008) *Resources for Byzantine Studies in North American Graduate Schools*, <http://www.doaks.org/gradsch.html>

(editor from 1997–2009) *Dissertation Survey*, <http://www.doaks.org/byzdiss.html>

TRANSLATIONS

Vitae of Theodora of Thessalonike and Theodora of Arta, in *Holy Women of Byzantium* (see above under Books Edited), 159–237, 323–333.

Synaxarion notices for Stephen the Younger and Anthousa of Mantineion in *Byzantine Defenders of Images* (see above under Books Edited), 9–12, 13–19.

English translation of ten monastic typika for *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. J. P. Thomas, A. C. Hero (Washington, D.C., 2000): Rule of Attaleiates, 326–376; Rule of Area, 954–972; Typikon of Lips, 1254–1286; Typikon of Anargyroi, 1287–1294; Testament of Constantine Akropolites, 1374–1382; Typikon of Christ Philanthropos, 1383–1388; Rule of Nea Mone, 1433–1454; Typikon of Damilas, 1462–1483; Typikon of Bebaia Elpis, 1512–1578; Typikon of Charsianeites, 1625–1666.

ARTICLES

1. Translations of modern Greek fiction in the *Charioteer*, a literary magazine published by Parnassos, Greek Cultural Society of New York (1962–64).
2. "Taxidi ste Mane to '61," *Eos*, nos. 66–70 (1963) 233–38.
3. (with A. Papadakis) "John X Camaterus Confronts Innocent III: An Unpublished Correspondence," *Byzantinoslavica* 23 (1972) 26–41.
4. "The Patriarch Athanasius (1289–1293; 1303–1309) and the Church," *DOP* 27 (1973) 13–28.
5. 8 articles in the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*.
6. (ed.) "Byzantine Dissertation Survey," *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 9,1 (1982) 87–125; 9,2 (1982) 250–304; 10,2 (1983) 248–57; 13,2 (1986) 251–60.
7. "Late Byzantine Nuns: By Choice or Necessity?," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985) 103–17.
8. "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983) 562–76.
9. "Old Age in Byzantium," *BZ* 77 (1984) 37–48.
10. "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985) 1–20.
11. (with Nancy Patterson Ševčenko), "Chapin to Byzantium," *The Chapin School Alumnae Bulletin* 1986, 2–5.
12. "An Introduction to Byzantine Monasticism," *Illinois Classical Studies* 12.2 (1987) 229–41; Turkish translation in *Bizans [= Cogito* 17 (1999)] (Istanbul, 1999), 161–176.
13. "The Byzantine Family and the Monastery," *DOP* 44 (1990) 119–29.
14. 321 entries and 3 major articles for the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York 1991), in fields of monasticism, Palaeologan history and literature, hagiography, and patriarchs of Constantinople.
15. "Old Wine in New Bottles: the Rewriting of Saints' Lives in the Palaiologan Period," in *The Twilight of Byzantium*, ed. S. Ćurčić, D. Mouriki (Princeton, N.J., 1991) 15–26.
16. "La donna," ch. 5 of *L'Uomo bizantino*, ed. G. Cavallo (Rome-Bari, 1992), 165–207.

In Spanish tr. "La mujer" in *El hombre bizantino*, ed. G. Cavallo (Madrid, 1994), 153–184; in English tr., "Women" in *The Byzantines*, ed. G. Cavallo (Chicago, IL, 1997), 117–143; in

- Rumanian tr., "Femeia," in *Omul bizantin*, ed. G. Cavallo (Iași, 2000), 137–166.
17. "Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII," *DOP* 46 (1992) 295–303.
 18. "Survey of Byzantine Philology in North America," *La filologia medievale e umanistica greca e latina nel secolo XX: Atti del Congresso Internazionale, Roma, 11–15 dicembre 1989*, 2 (Rome 1993) 737–752.
 19. "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," *DOP* 47 (1993) 243–261.
 20. (with A. Kazhdan), "Women and Iconoclasm," *BZ* 84/85 (1991/92) 391–408.
 21. "Byzantine Women, Saints' Lives, and Social Welfare," = ch. 6 in *Through the Eye of a Needle: Judeo-Christian Roots of Social Welfare*, ed. E. A. Hanawalt, C. Lindberg (Kirksville, MO, 1994) 105–122.
 22. "The Posthumous Miracles of St. Photeine," *AB* 112 (1994) 85–105 (with additional notes by Robert Ousterhout).
 23. "The Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and its Art," *DOP* 48 (1994) 135–165.
 24. (with A. Kazhdan) "The Byzantine Cult of St. Photeine" for *Presence of Byzantium: Studies Presented to Milton V. Anastos in Honor of His Eighty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. by A. Dyck and S. Tákacs [= *Byzantinische Forschungen* 20 (1994)] 103–112.
 25. (with L. Sherry), "The Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Hagiography Database Project," *Medieval Prosopography* 17 (1996) 207–211.
 26. "Family Cults in Byzantium: The Case of St. Theodora of Thessalonike," *ΛΕΙΜΩΝ. Studies presented to Lennart Rydén on His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. J. O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala 1996), 49–69.
 27. "Women and Mt. Athos," *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, edd. A. Bryer and M. Cunningham (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1996), 67–79.
 28. "Affirmative Action in the 13th Century: An Act of John Apokaukos concerning the Blachernitissa Monastery in Arta," *ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝ: In Honour of Robert Browning* (Venice 1996) 399–409.
 29. "Miracle-working Images at the Church of Pege in Constantinople," (in Russian), in A. Lidov, ed., *Chudotvornaia Ikona v Vizantii i Drevnei Rusi* (Moscow, 1997), 117–122, with English summary 539–540.

30. (with A. Laiou), "Robert Browning, 1914–1997," in *DOP* 51 (1997), ix–xi.
31. (with A. Laiou), "Alexander Petrovich Kazhdan, 1922–1997," in *DOP* 51 (1997), xii–xvii.
32. "Essere donna e santo" in *Oriente cristiano e santità. Figure e storie di santi tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, ed. S. Gentile (Venice, 1998) 61–68.
33. "Women's Space in Byzantine Monasteries," *DOP* 52 (1998) 113–127.
34. "The Byzantine Studies Conference 1975–1999: Looking Back after the First 25 Years," *BSC Abstracts* 25 (1999) vii–x; electronic publication <http://www.byzconf.org/AMT-BSCfirst25years.html>.
35. "Epigrams in Context: Metrical Inscriptions on the Art and Architecture of the Palaiologan Era." *DOP* 53 (1999) 75–90.
36. "Healing shrines in late Byzantine Constantinople," The "Constantinople and its Legacy" Lecture Series, 1997 (Toronto, The Hellenic Canadian Association of Constantinople, 1997 [2000]).
37. "Byzantine Monasticism and the Liturgical Arts," in *Perceptions of Byzantium and its Neighbors (843–1261)*, ed. O. Z. Pevny (New York, NY, 2000), 22–39.
38. "The Conversion of Byzantine Monasteries from Male to Female and Vice-Versa," in *Polypleuros Nous: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, edd. C. Scholz and G. Makris (Munich-Leipzig, 2000) 360–364.
39. "Les saintes montagnes à Byzance," *Le sacré et son inscription dans l'espace à Byzance et en Occident*, ed. M. Kaplan (Paris, 2001), 263–275.
40. "Building Activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The Role of Women Patrons in the Construction and Restoration of Monasteries," in *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. by N. Necipoğlu (Leiden, Brill, 2001) 329–343.
41. "Byzantine Monastic Horticulture: the Textual Evidence" in *Byzantine Garden Culture*, edd. A. Littlewood, H. Maguire, and J. Wolschke-Bulmahn (Washington, D.C., 2002), 37–67.
42. "Alexander Kazhdan, In Memoriam," *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. J. Patrich (Leuven, 2001), xiii–xvii.
43. "Byzantine Pilgrimage to the Holy Land from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century," *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church*

- from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. J. Patrich (Leuven, 2001), 97–110.
44. “Alexander Petrovich Kazhdan: The American Years” in *Pioneers of Byzantine Studies in America*, ed. J. Barker [= *Byzantinische Forschungen* 27] 124–132.
 45. “Female Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Era,” in *Acta Byzantina Fennica*, n.s. 1 (2002) 73–88.
 46. “The Anonymous Miracula of the Pege Shrine in Constantinople,” in *Χρυσὰὶ Πύλαι—Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Eightieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students in Palaeoslavica* 10.2, edd. P. Schreiner and O. Strakhov (Cambridge, Mass., 2002) 222–228.
 47. “Two Accounts of Miracles at the Pege Shrine in Constantinople,” in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron [Travaux et Mémoires 14]* (Paris, 2002), 605–615.
 48. “Introduction” and “Pilgrimage to Healing Shrines: The Evidence of Miracle Accounts,” *DOP* 56 (2002) 59–61, 153–172.
 49. “Alexander Kazhdan and the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*,” in *Mir Aleksandra Kazhdana*, ed. A. A. Chekalova (St. Petersburg, 2003), 84–92.
 50. “Revival and Decline: Voices from the Byzantine Capital,” essay published in H. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* (New York-New Haven, 2004), 17–25.
 51. “Fact and Fiction in the Vita of the Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite,” in *Les vies des saints à Byzance: genre littéraire ou biographie historique?*, edd. P. Odorico and P. Agapitos (Paris, 2004), 87–101.
 52. “Monasticism in Constantinople in the Final Decades of the Byzantine Empire” in *550th Anniversary of the Istanbul University. International Byzantine and Ottoman Symposium (XVth Century). 30–31 May 2003*, ed. S. Atasoy (Istanbul, 2004), 295–308.
 53. “Metaphrasis in the Early Palaiologan Period: The Miracula of Kosmas and Damian by Maximos the Deacon,” in *The Heroes of the Orthodox Church: the New Saints, 8th–16th cc.*, ed. E. Kountoura-Galake (Athens, 2004), 227–237.
 54. “Monasticism, ca. 300–1453,” in *Palgrave Advances in Byzantine History*, ed. J. Harris (Houndmills, 2005), 119–132.
 55. (with Stamatina McGrath), “Monastic Onomastics” in *Monastères, images, pouvoirs et société à Byzance*, ed. M. Kaplan (Paris, 2006), 89–118.

56. (with Sharon Gerstel), "Nuns in the Byzantine Countryside" in *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaialogikes Hetaireias* 27 (2006), 481–490.
57. "The Devotional Life of Laywomen" in *Byzantine Christianity*, ed. D. Krueger (Minneapolis, 2006), 201–220, 237–240.
58. (with Sharon Gerstel), "The culture of lay piety in medieval Byzantium 1054–1453," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity. 5. Eastern Christianity*, ed. M. Angold (Cambridge, 2006), 79–100.
59. "Byzantine Studies at the Beginning of the 21st Century" in *The State of Medieval Studies [= Journal of English and Germanic Philology]* (January 2006), 25–43.
60. "Evidence about Byzantine Glass in Medieval Greek Texts from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century," *DOP* 59 (2005), 141–145.
61. "Children, healing miracles, holy fools: Highlights from the hagiographical works of Philotheos Kokkinos (1300–ca. 1379), *Bulletin of the Bysantinska Sällskapet* 24 (2006), 48–64.
62. "A Late Byzantine List of Monastic Names," *Byzantina Mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag* (Vienna, 2007), 641–645.
63. "Mealtime in Monasteries: The Culture of the Byzantine Refectory" in *Eat, Drink and Be Merry (Luke 12:19)—Food and Wine in Byzantium*, eds. L. Brubaker and K. Linardou (Aldershot, 2007), 109–125.
64. "Founders' Choices: Monastery Site Selection in Byzantium," in *Founders and refounders of Byzantine monasteries*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast, 2007), 43–62.
65. "Holy Men of Mount Athos," in *The Monastic Magnet: Roads to and from Mount Athos*, edd. R. Gothoni and G. Speake (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2008), 41–61.
66. "A Monastic World" in *A Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. Haldon (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 257–78.
67. "Hagiography" in *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, ed. E. Jeffreys with J. Haldon and R. Cormack, (Oxford, 2008), 862–871.
68. "Pilgrimage in the Eastern Mediterranean between the 7th and 15th Centuries," in *Egeria: Monuments of Faith in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2008?), 37–46.
69. "The Contribution of Angela Constantinides Hero to Byzantine Studies," *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 27–28 (2009–10), 1–7.

70. "The death and commemoration of Byzantine children" in *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium*, edd. Arietta Papaconstantinou and Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, DC, 2009), 283–308.
71. "The *Miracles* of Gregory Palamas by Philotheos Kokkinos," in *A Byzantine World*, ed. by P. Stephenson (Routledge, 2010) 236–247.
72. "The Compositional Methods of a Palaiologan Hagiographer: Intertextuality in the Works of Theodore the Stoudite" in *Imitatio, Aemulatio, Variatio*, edd. A. Rhoby and E. Schiffer (Vienna, 2010), 249–255.
73. "Cult and Pilgrimage: The Translation of Relics in the Palaiologan Period" in *Pilgrimage of Life. Studies in Honour of Professor René Gothóni*, edd. R. Hämäläinen, H. Personen, M. Rahkala, T. Sakaranaho (Helsinki, 2010), 271–282.
74. "A Unique Saint's Life of the Early 13th c.: Akakios Sabbaites' Vita of Saints Barnabas and Sophronios," in the proceedings of the *First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium. Change in the Byzantine World in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, edd. A. Ödekan, E. Akyürek, N. Necipoğlu (Istanbul, 2010), 57–62.
75. "Faith Healing in Byzantium" in *Holistic Healing in Byzantium*, ed. by J. T. Chirban (Brookline, MA, 2010), 151–172.

FORTHCOMING

1. "Hagiography in Late Byzantium (1204–1453)," to be published in *Byzantine Hagiography: A Handbook*, ed. by S. Efthymiades (Aldershot, 2011).
2. "A Wealthy Widow of the Late 11th c.: The Will of Kale Pakouriane," to appear in published proceedings of colloquium on "Impératrices, princesses, aristocrates et saintes souveraines de l' Orient chrétien et musulman au Moyen Âge et au début des temps modernes," edd. E. Malamut and A. Nikolaïdes (Aix-en-Provence, 201?).
3. "Female Patronage in the Palaeologan Era: Icons, Minor Arts and Manuscripts," to be published in the proceedings of the 2008 Vienna conference on "Female Patronage in Byzantium," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 60 (forthcoming 2012).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta sanctorum</i> , 71 vols. 1863–1940. Paris.
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> .
BHG	Halkin, F., ed. 1957. <i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> . 3rd ed. 3 vols. in 1 pt. Brussels.
BHO	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis</i> . 1970. Brussels.
BNC	Morrisson, C. 1970. <i>Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale (491–1204)</i> . Paris.
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> .
CFHB	<i>Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae</i> .
CJ	<i>Codex Justinianus</i> , in vol. 2 of <i>Corpus juris civilis</i> ² , ed. Mommsen, T., P. Kreuger et al. 1928–29. 3 vols. Berlin.
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> . 1905. 2 vols. in 3 parts, ed. Mommsen, T. and P. Meyer. Berlin.
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> .
KJV	Holy Bible, King James Version.
ODB	Kazhdan, A., ed. 1991. <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> . 3 vols. New York.
PBE	Martindale, J. R. ed. 2001– <i>Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire</i> , in CD-ROM form. London.
PG	Migne, J.-P. ed. 1857–66. <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca</i> . 161 vols. Paris.
PL	Migne, J.-P. ed. 1844–66. <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> . 221 vols. Paris.
PLRE	Martindale, J. R. ed. 1971–1992. <i>Prosopography of the later Roman Empire</i> . 3 vols. Cambridge.
PmbZ	Lillie, R.-J., Pratsch, Th., Ludwig, Cl., et al., eds., 1999–2001. <i>Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit: Erste Abteilung (641–867)</i> . Berlin.
SynaxCP	Delehaye, H., ed. 1902/1985. <i>Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, Propylaeum ad AASS Novembris</i> . Repr. Brussels.
TLG	<i>Thesaurus linguae Graecae</i> . http://www.tlg.uci.edu .

WOMEN

INCLUDING THE 'DESPISED WOMAN':
JACOB OF SERUG AT THE NATIVITY FEAST

Susan Ashbrook Harvey*

Towards the end of a long, majestic verse homily on the Feast of the Nativity, the renowned Syriac preacher Jacob of Serug (d. 521) paused amidst a culminating final exhortation to offer an unusual twenty-line interlude.¹ In this relatively short passage (FH 1, lines 1037–56), Jacob offered an alternative account of the redemption of humankind effected by the Incarnation. The homily as a whole had ranged widely over the familiar biblical narrative. At this interlude, however, Jacob suddenly speaks of the Nativity feast as that occasion when the Redeemer invites the Despised Woman to enter his celebration. A series of startling images follow, as one by one Christ takes and lifts up the Barren Woman, the Humiliated Woman, the Sorrowful Woman, the Lamenting Woman, the Enslaved Woman, the Woman who was Persecuted, and the Imprisoned Woman, each now freed of her suffering. Then as quickly as it began, the interlude passes. Jacob returns to a rousing and triumphant final call to the congregation. Ninety lines later, the homily ends.²

Removed from its literary and liturgical context, the passage is an arresting example of early Byzantine typology. It evokes Isaiah 54 (God's redemption of the barren and repudiated wife), Ezekiel 16 (God's rescue of Israel, the disobedient harlot), and Galatians 4:22–31 (the allegory of Hagar and Sarah as the enslaved and free women,

* Alice-Mary Talbot has been notable throughout her career for an unwavering commitment to the inclusion of women: both as worthy subjects in the study of Byzantine history, and as valued colleagues, students, and scholars in the world of Academe. I dedicate this essay to her with admiration and affection.

¹ On Jacob of Serug, see Kollamparampil (1997) 1–36. In this essay, I will employ the following abbreviations:

FH = Jacob of Serug, *Festal Homilies*, translated in Kollamparampil (1997).

HTM = *Holy Transfiguration Monastery*.

HNat = Ephrem Syrus, *Hymns on Nativity*, translated in McVey (1989) 61–217.

HVirg = Ephrem Syrus, *Hymns on Virginity*, translated in McVey (1989) 259–468.

² Jacob of Serug, FH 1 (Nativity 1): ed. Bedjan (1902) 720–74; trans. Kollamparampil (1997) 41–93. The translation of lines 1037–56, Kollamparampil (1997) 88–89, is provided in the Appendix to this essay.

foreshadowing the Synagogue and the Church). Its list of titled but unnamed women offers a powerful typological cluster of female figures who, in other Christian contexts, were identified with the Church as the disgraced and then redeemed Bride of Christ.³ But the passage occurs late in an otherwise lengthy homily, with no discernible cues to set it off from its surrounding verses. A jeweled piece amongst numerous jeweled pieces—twenty lines amidst nearly twelve hundred, preached during a lengthy festal liturgy—its startling imagery would have shimmered upon the listening congregation without means to grasp or hold it still. Yet its memory would surely have lingered: how might it have been heard?

In this essay, I raise the issue of typology as a mode of biblical instruction in late antique, early Byzantine Syria. My point of focus is the intersection of typology, poetry, and ritual. How did typological imagery, presented through the medium of homiletic poetry, and in the performative context of liturgy, do the didactic work of teaching biblical stories to early Byzantine congregations? Scholars have long marveled at the didactic skill of ancient Christian homilies. The accomplished preacher combined linguistic artistry with intellectual sophistication, a vast store of biblical learning, and a host of oratorical tools to yield sermons of impressive hermeneutical acrobatics.⁴ Too often our analysis stops at this point: the literary content and presentation of a text. My goal here is to look beyond the homily's text, to its reception by the congregation.⁵ Speculative though my effort may be, I hope it will prompt us to reconsider how and in what ways typology could be employed as a teaching tool by the early Byzantine homilist.

1. JACOB'S FESTAL HOMILY 1, ON THE NATIVITY

Jacob's congregation would have heard this passage in a homily he preached at the annual feast of the Nativity (birth) of Christ. Instituted

³ On the Church as Bride in Syriac tradition, and this particular clustering of images, see Murray (2004) 131–42. There is an important Jewish development of this imagery, identifying the barren and redeemed woman with Sarah, as an allegory for Israel as the Bride of God. See Münz-Manor (2006), esp. 346–51. On the interaction between Jewish and Syriac biblical traditions, see Brock (1979) and Hasan-Rokem (1998).

⁴ Especially Cunningham and Allen (1998); Mayer (1998); Hunter (1989); Maxwell (2006).

⁵ Mayer (1998) and Maxwell (2006) are especially important efforts to bring the ancient congregation into view.

in the late fourth century, by Jacob's time this celebration was well-established in the eastern Roman Empire.⁶ Its hymnography and homiletic expositions followed well-known themes, presented to congregations by now long familiar with the typologies, tropes, narrative features and poetic patterns of the feast, shared across the linguistic and ethnic diversity of the eastern Mediterranean Christian communities. This particular homily is an especially fine example of Jacob's most characteristic work.

The homily was intoned in a meter of 12 + 12, Jacob's favorite verse structure of isosyllabic couplets.⁷ Through this mode, Jacob presents a lavish and stately celebration of the feast by recitation of its sacred story. He begins with the reason for God's salvific choice of incarnation: Adam's corruption of the divine image, and the restoration of its glory through the remaking of humanity in the person of the New Adam, the divine Son incarnate. From there, Jacob traces the familiar gospel accounts: the annunciation by the archangel Gabriel to Mary, her visitation to her cousin Elizabeth, the doubts of Joseph, the miraculous birth, and the newborn Christ to whom the young virgin sang her ecstatic lullabies of wonder and praise. Jacob's re-telling of the Nativity story is expansive yet carefully modulated. The narrative is spliced with tense and thrilling dialogues between the biblical characters, lending high drama and lofty emotion to the familiar biblical accounts. A master of suspense, Jacob pauses frequently for invocations, prayers, exclamations of wonder, or rhetorical reflection. Lyrically yet simply crafted as poetry, the exposition is lucid and powerful both. Finally, Jacob brings his homily to its culmination: a conclusion of extravagant exaltation of the feast, delivered in shimmering cascades of typological clusters, group upon group, in dizzyingly splendid array.

The homily's content, then, served both didactic and pragmatic needs. It taught the biblical narrative(s), rightly interpreted, to explain the feast; and its presentation was sufficiently variegated to hold people's attention and interest. The rapturous quality of the final section served to heighten the congregation's festive mood, as well as the expectation of drama, awe, and veneration for the liturgical and festal highlights still to come.

This homily is longer than many of Jacob's festal homilies, raising the possibility that it may have been written for the service of the night

⁶ Cobb (1992b) 467; Talley (1986) 85–108.

⁷ On Syriac liturgical poetry, see especially Brock (2008).

vigil on the eve of the feast.⁸ Its length is controlled by its arrangement in definable segments, perhaps lending itself to performance in sections interspersed by other litanies, prayers, hymns, psalms, and readings as the night wore on.⁹ I raise the possibility because while Jacob often concluded his homilies with a final burst of identically patterned couplets to exclaim the wonder of his topic, these are usually around twenty lines of poetry (nine or ten couplets). In the present homily, however, this final section is 162 lines long (eighty-one couplets). Further, instead of one cumulative cascade of images, there are six. Of varying length, the segments consist of couplets that all begin with “on this day,” or “today,” or “in this month [of Dec/Jan].” The passage on the Despised Woman is the third of these poetic pirouettes.

The first two series are sung in Mary’s voice, the culmination of lullabies she sings to her newborn son. In the first (lines 985–1008, twelve couplets, each beginning “On this day”) she calls for the celebration of the new creation the Nativity brings. In order, earth, Adam, Eve, Eden, “all peoples in all confines (of the world) . . . scattered among all kinds of religions,” estranged heaven and earth, the tree of the aged world, the House of David, persecuted humanity, the dispossessed heir (Adam), the fractured heel the serpent had bruised, and “the captivity of the peoples” (= gentiles) are all summoned to give praise, finding themselves suddenly renewed, restored, and healed of their sufferings (whether physical, moral, social, or political). In the second cluster (lines 1009–32, twelve couplets, each beginning “On this day”), Mary summons a series of biblical prophets to proclaim their joy for the feast. “The band of prophets,” David, Isaiah, Amos, Zechariah, Joseph, heavenly and earthly beings together, Mary herself, Seraphim and angels all sing their joy at the Nativity.

At this point, Jacob breaks into the text with two couplets declaring the new creation. Then he himself takes up the lead voice for the third series, our passage of focus (lines 1037–56, ten couplets, each couplet after the first beginning “On this day”). Here he summons the Church herself, the Bride of Christ, to “be awakened . . . with your beautiful chants and offer to the Son gifts of praise.” Then follows the startling

⁸ The custom of reading homilies by great preachers at vigil services was well in place before Jacob’s time, and Jacob’s homilies were among those utilized far beyond their author’s lifetime. The practice continues: cf. Barsoum (2003) 77.

⁹ Taft (1982) 31–56, 225–48. The development of the daily Syriac office of the vigil was adapted in longer form for festal celebrations.

cluster of images, in which the Church as Bride is characterized as one redeemed from abject humiliation by her rescuing Bridegroom. Despised, barren, abandoned, humiliated, sorrowful, lamenting, and distressed, she had been enslaved, imprisoned, and persecuted "in the shrine of demons," "among the idols," "in darkness." Now lifted up, she is exalted, and herself exults, comforted and freed of her bonds, by her Lord, the Mighty One, the Light who "has shone and shattered the gates" of Sheol.

The final three series follow in quick succession. Jacob moves next to the fourth series, (lines 1057–90, seventeen couplets, each beginning "Today"). Here he rejoices at the renewal and restoration of Adam and humanity, imaged as "the house that had fallen." But here, some are rescued and some are not. The rescued are the sheep that had gone astray, the "flock of the peoples," the "outsiders" who have now entered the King's Palace from which the household members have parted in anger. God in his mighty power is Master-builder, Lord, Shepherd, King; the Mighty One, the Warrior, the Physician, the Doctor, the Strengtheners, the Leaven of Life, and the Salt.

In the fifth series (lines 1091–1126, eighteen couplets, each beginning "In this month" [of Kanun]), the renewal of the natural world, turning from winter to spring, is entwined with the renewal of humanity through the restoration of a just social, economic and political order for the world. In the final series (lines 1127–46, ten couplets, the first four beginning "On this day," the next two beginning "On this feast," then two "On this day" and the last two "On this feast"), Jacob recaps the renewal of human life through the Nativity: customs, commandments, laws, and peace; heaven and earth join together in praise; and the homilist himself, offering up his works, closes with a final prayer of thanksgiving.

Overall, these six series reprise the biblical imagery, allusions, and typologies which Jacob had laced into the lengthy narrative portion of the homily (the first 984 lines). Over the course of their sweeping cascades, he brings the symbolism of what the Nativity means (renewal, re-creation, restoration) across the huge arc of human history as lived through the biblical past, into the congregation's own present with the reverberating echoes of social, economic, and political parallels.

At the same time, this lengthy concluding section in its series ranks presents a second sacred narrative as an undercurrent running through the homily's ostensible purpose. The story of the first Adam's demise and the Second Adam's renewal, brought to its resolution

through the dramatic account of Mary's conception, pregnancy, and birth-giving, turns out to be more than the story of healing the fallen human condition. As our passage articulates in no uncertain terms, it is the story of the division of humanity into two different peoples: "Zion," the "People," God's own household, who have "willfully chosen" to live among idolatry, ignorance, Satan's traps, and the darkness of mortality; and the Church, the "Peoples," the Bride whom God has rescued from her demise, just as Adam and Eve have been awakened, healed, and returned to their home in Eden.¹⁰ As an account of Church vs. Synagogue, this narrative trumpets early Christian supersessionist anti-Judaism: a caustic lining in an otherwise glorious bouquet of resounding praise with which Jacob completes the work of his homily.

2. THE CONGREGATION

Long lists of typological parallels, or biblical proof-texts, or symbolic titles, are among the most beloved of late antique rhetorical or literary devices. Examples abound in ancient Near Eastern literature as in Greek and Roman tradition. By Jacob's time (late fifth/early sixth century), Christians in every literary tradition employed such lists exuberantly.¹¹ In a case such as this one, the exultant tumble of titles for the figure of the saved or redeemed persona, as for the Redeemer himself, yield a story with only the barest hint of actual narrative or expository content. The titles themselves articulate a tale the homilist wants to tell, one that the congregation should recognize simply by the allusions and references refracted through the titles. But did they?

Alas, preaching in the late fifth, early sixth century, nearly two hundred years after Christianity's legalization, Jacob's homilies are replete with the hazards of congregational complacency.¹² In the civic

¹⁰ The connection to Ezekiel 16 is part of an early Christian pattern of anti-Jewish polemic. Other examples of using Ezekiel 16 in this way include Justin, Tertullian, Aphrahat and Ephrem. An important source text is the Syriac Diatessaron; see *Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron*, 18.1, for the interweaving of Ezekiel 16 with verses from the Passion (McCarthy [1993] 269–70). For discussion of the foundational anti-Jewish imagery contrasting Church and Synagogue, especially as articulated in Syriac tradition, see Murray (2004) 41–68 and Table 1 in the Appendix, 350, and now, Shepardson (2008).

¹¹ Murray (2004) 42, 131, 159, 167; cf. also Murray (1977), (1983).

¹² Compare the accounts in Sheerin (1986) 319–48, Taft (2006), Maxwell (2006) esp. 88–143.

community, whether of village or city, Jacob encountered Christian devotion in competition with the demands of worldly life much more than with other religions. Work, business, family, household: all required great energy. Religious devotion was one more demand. The church now offered long and elaborate liturgies, in addition to daily services morning and night, as well as celebrations for the great feasts of the church: the feasts of the life of Christ and commemorations of the saints, including the Virgin Mary.¹³

In various homilies Jacob complained about lackadaisical congregational behavior. People were too busy to come to church! Sometimes they sent their servants in their places.¹⁴ Or, when they came, they grew restless, standing impatiently with their thoughts elsewhere. "Do not let your mind remain in the market at your business," Jacob pleaded, "so that when you are here [in church] you are not here, but there.... Stand not with one half of you within and one half without."¹⁵

He upbraided those who were inattentive; he chided those who left early, at the dismissal of the catechumens (half-way through the service! without receiving communion!); or who took the excuse of the church doors opening for the catechumens to leave in order to arrive late and sneak inside.¹⁶ He despaired when, during long sermons, people grew visibly impatient. Jacob's poetry could be admonitory: "Rebellious children, do not grow weary with lengthy [sermons]... Do not grow bored... pay attention to me, that I may address you pleasantly."¹⁷ Preaching a homily on the life of St. Ephrem that had clearly gone on too long for some people's tastes, Jacob's elegant verses suddenly turn to sputter:

Chosen Ephrem did not grow bored when he taught;
you should not be bored when you hear the story about him.
He struggled patiently against heresies;

¹³ For the development of the Syriac liturgy and the daily offices in the context of eastern Christianity see, e.g., Mateos (1959); Mateos (1971); Bradshaw (1982) 72–110; Taft (1986), esp. 225–48; Talley (1986). Useful bibliography in general may be found in Jones (1992), esp. Cobb (1992) 219–29, and Yarnold (1992) 230–44.

¹⁴ Jacob of Serug, *On the Reposed*, HTM (1990) 46; also trans. Connolly (1910).

¹⁵ Jacob of Serug, *On the Reception of the Mysteries*, Connolly (1908) 279.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* For examples of similar behaviors in other late antique congregations, see Sheerin, (1986) esp. 236–392; on wild behavior, 319–48; Maxwell (2006) 88–143; Taft (2006). On the assessment of these depictions, consider the judicious comments of Maxwell (2006) 108–10.

¹⁷ Jacob, *On Holy Mar Ephrem*, Amar (1995) 57.

therefore, you should patiently follow the discourse about him.

...

Pay uninterrupted attention to me as I speak at length
of the athlete who diligently carried on the struggle.¹⁸

What, then, about the person who had come late, or fallen asleep, or drifted off into other thoughts, suddenly to snap to attention as Jacob intoned with sonorous majesty this series of titles of the Despised Woman? Suppose the person had missed the section's opening couplet addressing the Church directly, and instead picked up the thread as this series of unnamed yet sobering women was laid out in array? Who was this Woman? Who were these Women?

3. HEARING OTHER STORIES

Hearing stories through the abbreviated form of a biblical character's symbolic title (name excluded) was nothing new for Jacob's congregation. Indeed, if one had been attentive during the narrative portion of the homily, even only sporadically, the Virgin Mary herself was presented in such terms: Jacob calls her "the believing woman" (ll. 30, 153, 429, 461, 569, 763), "the destitute woman" (ll. 305, 668), the "blessed woman" (ll. 154, 383, 513). She is the "daughter of David" (ll. 40, 110), and the "daughter of the poor" (l. 142). Again, it is to Mary that Jacob refers in this homily, when he sings of "the pure woman" (l. 433), or "the powerful woman" (l. 539). In one section, Jacob presents Joseph addressing Mary with a kind of mini-akathist hymn: Mary is the "young girl," the "guarded ship," the "enviable ewe," the "honorable dove," the "chaste woman," the "honorable one," the "powerful city," and the "guarded field" (ll. 574–88). Finally, when accused by the doubting Joseph, Mary becomes "the solitary woman" (l. 774), and the "falsely accused woman" (l. 959). Similarly, Mary's kinswoman Elizabeth is called the "sterile woman" (ll. 493, 504, 533, 536), the "barren woman" (l. 487), the "old woman" (l. 534). Some of these titles are not unlike those appearing in the series on the Despised Woman. The sleepy listener might well not have realized that Jacob had moved on

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 57, 63, 67, vv. 128, 145–47, 169. Ephrem the Syrian was clearly worried about sleepy parishioners during the night vigil on the eve of the Nativity feast. See Ephrem, HNat 1: 72, 77–81; 4: 51–52; 5: 6–7, 9; 21: 22, 10, translated in McVey (1989) 61–217.

to a different "woman" altogether—the allegorical figure of the Church as Bride—if he or she heard only part of this passage.

Or, what of the late-comer—the habitually delayed Christian, whose habit of tardiness exasperated Jacob so terribly—who might have slipped into the church only as Jacob reached this portion of the homily? Such a one might have recognized this other narrative as one familiar from other festal homilies by Jacob. In one on the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan (FH 6), for example, Jacob began the homily with a narrative allegory of the Church as disgraced Bride, whom her Heavenly Bridegroom saved from the horrors of her captivity (ll. 1–16). Here the Church is "the church of the nations" (= the gentiles), "the afflicted one," the "persecuted one" whom Christ sent to be washed and then betrothed. She herself was "weak, desiccated, and wearied." In a narrative pattern that followed closely Ezekiel 16 with its allegory of disobedient Israel and faithful God, Christ finds his bride's beauty "altered by the incense of idols," with "the smell of the holocausts...concentrated in her," "made corrupt by the foulness of the oblations." In turn, the good Bridegroom provided water for her to wash, and to "brighten the color of her face"; he "purged" her of fornication, "made her body fragrant," and "besprinkled sanctity upon her" that she might be "cleansed." In the waters of baptism he set a new "robe of glory" for her, that she might be clothed in the waters from her very shame.¹⁹

Elsewhere again, in a homily on the Sunday of Hosannas (= Palm Sunday; FH 10), Jacob completes the sermon with an aesthetically joyful concluding meditation, the last twenty-five lines of which include three separate couplets on this same theme. Thus he delights to intone how the "redeemed gathering of the Church of the Peoples shouts joyfully" because Christ "had liberated her from the stumbling-blocks of vain idols" (ll. 281–82). The "daughter of the Aramaeans," sings praises to its Lord on the day of the feast itself, while the "daughter of the Hebrews became sad, treating [Christ] with contempt and [anger]" (ll. 283–4). Pausing to praise the different components of the congregation (the young, the old; all voices, all tongues; the Seraphim, Cherubim, and heavenly choir), Jacob will conclude with "Behold, the

¹⁹ FH 6, Kollamparampil (1997) 162–86.

virgin church, whom you brought back from the captors,/resounds in you...enriched...and rejoices" (ll. 301–2).²⁰

Alternatively, in Festal Homily 16, "On the Ascension," the allegory of the Church follows reference to Eve, as one who, because of the feast "could raise her head that was bent" (l. 95). Here, the Church appears, "poor, barren, and smitten" (l. 173). Christ arranges for her release, having "captured the captives" and led them "away from the stumbling blocks." He then "gave gifts to the weary woman who was needy./She turned away from captivity and became an apostle" (ll. 174–8).²¹ The alternative, allegorical narrative of Church as (rescued) Bride was clearly one Jacob carried at the ready, especially for major festal celebrations.

Finally, what of the habitually distracted members of the congregation, those whom Jacob derides for being present in body only, while their minds wander elsewhere? Jacob may have underestimated their concentration, for the wandering mind need not have gone off to the marketplace (as he feared), but rather to thoughts of other biblical women who were sometimes referred to by these same titles as the Despised Woman in Festal Homily 1 On the Nativity, appearing under these same identifiers in other homilies by Jacob and indeed in other Syriac verse homilies and hymns as well.

Here the issue of poetic technique becomes especially important. The metered couplets of the verse homily as Jacob performed it required discipline of practice and dexterity of rhetorical skills. The skilled metrical homilist was one who could command a vast store of familiar word patterns in precisely the necessary metrical units: not exactly as would an epic singer such as in Homeric tradition, but with an analogously practiced mode of presentation.²² Thus one often finds recurring patterns in different homilies by Jacob, perhaps habitually favored words or themes, perhaps out of metrical necessity. But at times, it seems, Jacob utilized certain word units, associations, or themes, because he wanted his congregation to make connections between particular biblical stories.²³ I would argue that he deliberately fostered an expansion of typological clusters, so that his listeners would bring together different biblical figures than the standard groupings often shared across

²⁰ FH 10, Kollamparampil (1997) 246–60.

²¹ FH 16, Kollamparampil (1997) 331–52.

²² Papoutsakis (1998).

²³ Harvey (2008).

ancient Christian writers and texts, of different literary traditions. For example, Sarah the wife of Abraham is occasionally styled "Daughter of the Poor" in Syriac poetry, a title most often attributed to the Virgin Mary in Syriac literature.²⁴ The double usage sparks the listener to make the comparison and connect the stories, even when the homilist or hymnographer does not explicitly do so.

The titles in Jacob's list for the Despised Woman, in turn, appear attached to other biblical women elsewhere, whether in Jacob's homilies or other Syriac liturgical poetry. Eve herself is sometimes depicted as the woman whose bent or bowed head is raised up at the Nativity.²⁵ The title of Barren Woman is often applied to Elizabeth, Mary's kinswoman, and also to Sarah, Rachel, Rebecca, and Hannah, the Old Testament mothers within the messianic lineage.²⁶ The term Humiliated Woman is used for Tamar, the daughter-in-law of Judah from Genesis 38.²⁷ Similarly, Susannah (Dan. 13 *LXX*) is the Persecuted Woman; or she, like Sarah when she and Abraham were in Egypt (Gen. 12), may also be the Humiliated One.²⁸ New Testament women also carried these titles: the Sinful Woman of Luke 7:36–52 is poetically styled the Sorrowful or Lamenting Woman (another title for Mary, at the cross), and also as the woman enslaved to Satan, rescued by her Bridegroom;²⁹ the Samaritan Woman of John 4 is the Reviled Woman,³⁰ or, with the Canaanite Woman (Matt. 15:21–28, Mark 7:24–30), one imprisoned amidst the idolatry of the heathen. The Hemorrhaging Woman (Mark 5:25–34 and parallels) would also be the Despised One, or the Humiliated One.³¹

For such biblical women, these titles carried a rather changed sacred narrative than that of the allegorical Church as Bride. They are for

²⁴ For Sarah as the Daughter of the Poor, see Brock and Mitchell (1992); for Mary as Daughter of the Poor, cf. e.g., Ephrem, HNat 4:2, 15:2 in McVey (1989); Jacob of Serug, FH 1.42, FH 6.20 (the Church as Daughter of the Poor), Kollamparampil (1997) 43, 163. See also Jacob of Serug, Homily 1 on Mary, Hansbury (1998) at 19, 29; Homily 3 on Mary, Hansbury (1998) 70.

²⁵ Jacob of Serug, Homily 3 on Mary, Hansbury (1998) 82; Anonymous Hymns on Mary 2:7 in Brock (1994) 36; Anonymous Soghiitha 2: 19, *ibid.* 77.

²⁶ For Elizabeth, e.g., Ephrem, HVirg 15: 1, 22: 14; HNat 2: 20, 6: 16, 21: 16–18, in McVey (1989); compare Jacob of Serug, Homily 2 on Mary, Hansbury (1998) 48, 52 (Elizabeth as the Sterile One).

²⁷ E.g. Ephrem, HNat 9; Brock (2002) l. 205; refs. in Harvey (2009).

²⁸ Ephrem, HVirg 22.

²⁹ Ephrem, HVirg 35: 5–7; Brock (1988), Johnson (2002).

³⁰ Ephrem, HVirg 22: 9.

³¹ Compare Ephrem, HVirg 26 and 34.

the most part examples of the innocent and faithful woman, wrongly accused, who suffers heroically yet unjustly—biblical women as types of Christ himself;³² or they fit the paradigm of the Sinful Woman or the Samaritan Woman, as women whose redemption from their witting life of sin provides the most powerful measure of the redeeming love of Christ.³³ These biblical figures are staples of late antique Syriac liturgical poetry both homiletic and hymnographic. Their titles and their stories were familiar to the late antique church-goer, depicted also in the visual art adorning the walls of the churches in which their stories were heard.³⁴

I would suggest, then, that a passage such as that from Jacob's homily on the Nativity served to instruct the congregation in multiple ways. The typology it presents can in fact represent multiple typologies. It instructs, informs, and interprets the importance and meaning of the occasion on which it was preached (the Nativity), expanding the immediate narrative of the nativity events with the further, typologically related narrative of the election of the Church and the willful turning away of the Synagogue from the Heavenly Bridegroom. At the same time, it casts into the ears of the congregation other typological clusters—other biblical memories³⁵—which served to reinforce other paradigmatic patterns important for them to remember. It taught multiple stories, by means of poetically employed titles, attached to but not exclusively owned by various biblical figures. In the work of a liturgical poet so skilled as Jacob, this was surely no accident. I would argue instead that it was a deliberate effort to rend the richest possible usage from the technique of typology, for a congregation whose ability to grasp the complexity of such hermeneutics might, at any given moment, have been uneven.

4. TYPOLOGY AND THE ECCLESIAL CONGREGATION

In his festal homilies, especially those for Nativity and Palm Sunday (the Sunday of Hosannas), Jacob delights to present the whole of God's creation, heaven and earth, natural, supernatural, and human, joined

³² Tkacz (2004).

³³ E.g., Ephrem, HVirg 22, 26, 34; see Harvey (2001).

³⁴ Though not specifically focusing on Syria, see the important discussions in Spier (2007) and Jensen (2002).

³⁵ On biblical memory, see Harvey (2008).

together in shared song of celebration. With lyrical grace, he intones these occasions as moments when the biblical past interlaces the liturgical present, and different biblical characters provide the types for how and why the different segments of the human church community can all participate in the joyful singing of God's glorious and saving works. Because a virgin conceived Christ, he exhorted, the choir of virgins can sing praise. Because Christ was born a baby to be cradled in the arms of his parents, babies in the arms of their parents are anointed and baptized in his name. Because Mary was chosen from human women to be his mother, mothers and husbands join in the festal songs. As Joseph, Mary, and the whole of creation sing because of the Christ child, so, too, all children, all pregnant mothers, all parents, all unmarried young virgins rejoice in song. Because the Ancient of Days became incarnate, all the elderly rejoice; pastors and flocks, the Church, the gatherings of peoples and congregations all sing together. And not least, Jacob chants at the Nativity feast, "Let the speaker and the hearers too rejoice in you, my Lord/ because by your Nativity you have gladdened them, to you be glory."³⁶

Such an understanding is the final element I would suggest Jacob sets to work in our passage from Festal Homily 1, on the Nativity. For the passage is not only a series of titles identifying the formerly wayward and now redeemed Church; it is also more than a cluster of typological associations for biblical women. It offers the further promise of all those people present at the festal celebration because typology includes them.

Thus Jacob here portrays Christ the Good Physician welcoming the Despised Woman, healed and restored, into his renewed creation on the day of his Nativity. Because Christ healed and welcomed 'the despised woman', the typology suggests, all women are welcomed, even the most marginal. Jacob names them, one by one: the barren woman, the humiliated woman, the sorrowful woman, the lamenting woman, the enslaved woman, the possessed woman, the imprisoned woman.³⁷ As so often in biblical literature, no figure more fully captures those at the furthest edges of society than the suffering woman

³⁶ FH 3 (Nativity 3), Kollamparampil (1997) 126–27, 27–34, 342–70; cf. FH 4 (Nativity 4), Kollamparampil (1997) 135–36, vv. 26–27.

³⁷ FH 1 (Nativity 1) 88–89, 1039–56. Although beyond the scope of the present essay, it is important to consider what moral weight the figure of the Despised Woman would have carried in late antique, early Byzantine culture. Consider, for example, Kaster (2005); Burrus (2008).

(of whatever means). Jacob's insistence on the congregation's all-inclusive constitution thus displays the congregation—female, male, rich, poor, young, old—as a mirror for the wholeness of humanity redeemed. In this role—the congregation as living icons of grace—all present were shown to be not only the audience who received Jacob's preaching, but further his co-workers in the declaration of divine mercy. By such inclusion, Jacob's ministry to his congregations carried an undercurrent of compassion that far overshadowed his occasional despair at their unruly or lax liturgical piety. What mattered most was that they were there in the church at the feast. And Jacob's artistry, an ever-ready fount of meaning, offered instruction at every possible moment.

APPENDIX

Jacob of Serug, Festal Homily 1, On the Nativity, lines 1037–56. Trans. Kollamparampil (1997) 88–89, Syriac edited in Bedjan (1902) 769–70.

Be awakened, O Church, with your beautiful chants
and offer to the Son gifts of praise on the day of His nativity.

On this day, He drove out Zion who had persecuted Him
and He invited that despised woman who had deserted Him, to enter.

On this day the head of the barren woman is lifted up
because she was cast down in abandonment among strangers.

On this day there is exaltation to the humiliated woman
who had been thrust down, of her own will, in the shrine of demons.

On this day the sorrowful woman who had been repudiated has exulted
because the Bridegroom has come and collected and gathered her from
among the idols.

On this day the lamenting woman has exulted,
because there was the marriage feast at which she has been comforted from
her distresses.

Today freedom has come for the enslaved woman
who had been bound to minister to idolatry.

Today the one who was persecuted for a long time has been released,
because the Mighty One stood up and broke the fetters of her imprisonment.

Today the maid-servant of the demons has obtained freedom,
because the great Lord has put them to flight and led out what belongs to Him.

Today the imprisoned (woman) has gone out of darkness
because the Light has shone out and shattered the gates of the house of
darkness.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Amar, J. 1995. "A metrical homily on Holy Mar Ephrem by Mar Jacob of Sarug." *Patrologia Orientalis* 47: 1–76.
- Bedjan, P. 1902. *S. martyrii qui et Sahdona, quae supersunt omnia*. Paris.
- Brock, S. P. 1988. "The sinful woman and Satan: Two Syriac dialogue poems." *Oriens Christianus* 72: 21–62.
- . 1994. *Bride of light: Hymns on Mary from the Syrian churches*. Kottayam, Kerala.
- . 2002. "Jacob of Serugh's verse homily on Tamar (Gen. 38)." *Le Muséon* 115: 279–315.
- Brock, S. P. and S. Hopkins. 1992. "A verse homily on Abraham and Sarah in Egypt: Syriac original with early Arabic translation." *Le Muséon* 105: 87–146.
- Connolly, H. 1908. "A homily of Mar Jacob of Serugh on the reception of the holy mysteries." *Downside Review* 27: 278–87.
- . 1910. "A homily of Mar Jacob of Serugh on the memorial of the departed and on the eucharistic loaf." *Downside Review* 29: 260–70.
- Hansbury, M. 1998. *Jacob of Serug on the Mother of God*. Crestwood, NY.
- Holy Transfiguration Monastery [D. Miller]. 1990. "On the reposed, by Mar Jacob, bishop of Serugh." *The True Vine* 5: 41–53. (Also trans. Connolly [1910].)
- Johnson, S. 2002. "The sinful woman: A memra by Jacob of Serugh." *Sobornost* 24: 56–88.
- Kollamparampil, T. 1997. *Jacob of Serugh, Select festal homilies*. Rome.
- McCarthy, C. 1993. *Saint Ephrem's commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron*. Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 2. Oxford.
- McVey, K. 1989. *Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns*. New York.

Secondary Sources

- Barsoum, I. A. I. 2003. *The scattered pearls: A history of Syriac literature and sciences*. 2nd ed. Trans. Matti Moosa. Piscataway, NJ.
- Bradshaw, P. 1982. *Daily prayer in the early church*. Oxford.
- Brock, S. P. 1979. "Jewish traditions in Syriac sources." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 30: 212–32.
- . 2008. "Poetry and hymnography (3): Syriac." In *The Oxford handbook of early Christian studies*. Ed. S. A. Harvey and D. G. Hunter, 657–71. Oxford.
- Burrus, V. 2008. *Saving shame: Martyrs, saints, and other abject subjects*. Philadelphia.
- Cobb, P. G. 1992. "The liturgy of the Word in the early church." In Jones (1992) 219–29.
- . 1992b. "The history of the Christian year." In Jones (1992) 455–72.
- Cunningham, M. B., and P. Allen, eds. 1998. *Preacher and audience: Studies in early Christian and Byzantine homiletics*. Leiden.

- Harvey, S. A. 2001. "Why the perfume mattered: The sinful woman in Syriac exegetical tradition." In *In dominico eloquio/ In lordly eloquence: Essays on patristic exegesis in honor of Robert Louis Wilken*. Ed. P. Blowers, A. R. Christman, D. Hunter and R. D. Young, 69–89. Grand Rapids, MI.
- Harvey, S. A. 2008. "Bride of blood, bride of light: Biblical women as images of church in Jacob of Serug," *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Festschrift for Sebastian P. Brock*. Ed. G. Kiraz, 189–218. Piscataway, NJ.
- . 2009. "Holy impudence, sacred desire: The women of Matthew 1: 1–16 in Syriac tradition." In *"If these stones could speak": Texts and contexts*. Ed. G. Kalantzis and T. Martin, 27–48. Lewiston, NY.
- Hasan-Rokem, G. 1998. "Narratives in dialogue: A folk literary perspective on inter-religious contacts in the Holy Land in rabbinic literature of Late Antiquity." In *Sharing the sacred: Religious contacts and conflicts in the Holy Land, first–fifteenth centuries CE*. Ed. A. Kofsky and G. G. Stroumsa, 109–29. Jerusalem.
- Hunter, D. G., ed. 1989. *Preaching in the Patristic Age: Studies in honor of Walter J. Burghardt*, SJ. New York.
- Jensen, R. M. 2002. *Understanding early Christian art*. London.
- Jones, C., G. Wainwright, E. Yarnold, and P. Bradshaw, eds. 1992. *The study of liturgy*. Rev. ed. New York.
- Kaster, R. A. 2005. *Emotion, restraint, and community in ancient Rome*. New York.
- Mateos, J. 1959. *Lelya-Sapra: Essai d'interprétation des matines chaldeennes*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 156. Rome.
- . 1971. *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie Byzantine*. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 191. Rome.
- Maxwell, J. 2006. *Christianization and communication in Late Antiquity: John Chrysostom and his congregation in Antioch*. Cambridge.
- Mayer, W. 1998. "John Chrysostom: Extraordinary preacher, ordinary audience." In Cunningham and Allen (1998) 105–38.
- Münz-Manor, O. 2006. "All about Sarah: Questions of gender in Yannai's poems on Sarah's (and Abraham's) barrenness." *Prooftexts* 26: 344–74.
- Murray, R. 1977. "Some rhetorical patterns in early Syriac literature." In *A tribute to Arthur Vööbus: Studies in early Christian literature and its environment, primarily in the Syrian East*. Ed. R. Fischer, 109–31. Chicago.
- . 1983. "Hellenistic-Jewish rhetoric in Aphrahat." In *III Symposium Syriacum, 1980*. Ed. R. Lavenant, 87–96. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 221. Rome.
- . 2004. *Symbols of church and kingdom: A study in early Syriac tradition*. 2nd ed. Piscataway, NJ.
- Papoutsakis, M. 1998. "Formulaic language in the metrical homilies of Jacob of Serugh." In *Symposium Syriacum VII*. Ed. R. Lavenant, 445–51. Orientalia Christiana Analecta 256. Rome.
- Sheerin, D. 1986. *The Eucharist*. Message of the fathers of the church 7. Wilmington, Del.
- Shepardson, C. 2008. *Anti-Judaism and christian orthodoxy: Ephrem's hymns in fourth-century Syria*. Washington, DC.
- Spier, J., ed. 2007. *Picturing the Bible: The earliest christian art*. New Haven.
- Taft, R. 1986. *The liturgy of the hours in East and West: The origins of the divine office and its meaning for today*. Collegeville, Minn.
- . 2006. *Through their own eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantines saw it*. Berkeley, CA.
- Talley, T. 1986. *The origins of the liturgical year*. New York.
- Tkacz, C. B. 2004. "Women as types of Christ: Susanna and Jephthah's daughter." *Gregorianum* 85: 278–311.
- Yarnold, E. J. 1992. "The liturgy of the faithful in the fourth and early fifth century." In Jones (1992) 230–44.

A MEETING OF HYPATIA OF ALEXANDRIA WITH
ST. FEBRONIA OF NISIBIS IN THE *LIFE* OF STS. DAVID,
SYMEON AND GEORGE OF LESBOS.*

Alexander Alexakis

In honoring Prof. Alice-Mary Talbot, a dear friend and colleague, I wish to visit a topic that was raised in my mind in the course of my collaboration with her for the Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database and was left unanswered by that time, back in the early 1990s. The issue is related to the appearance of the name of Febronia in one of the miracles performed by St. Symeon of Lesbos, one of the three brothers who hailed from Mytilene.

The *Vita* of the three brothers from Lesbos¹ is a text that poses many problems regarding its content and date of composition,² but these problems are of no relevance to this short paper. Suffice to say that according to the data of the text, Symeon should have lived between 764/5–844/5.³

The incident that I am going to work on appears to have taken place in the period of the second Iconoclasm and, more specifically, in the period of the revolt of Thomas the Slav 821–823, and involves St. Symeon, a wealthy Constantinopolitan lady, and her daughter, whose name—as it is revealed at the end of the miracle—was Hypatia.⁴ The wealthy Constantinopolitan lady had been left a widow with two daughters, who lived with piety and in accordance with the teachings of their mother;

* For the present paper I utilized material from the Program SYNAXARISTES that was financed by the “General Secretariat of Research and Technology” of Greece (GEGET).

¹ *BHG* 494, edition in van den Gheyn (1899) 211–59.

² For these problems see Abrahamse and Domingo-Forasté (1998) 145–48, and Kazhdan (1984) 186–87.

³ Abrahamse and Domingo-Forasté (1998) 144. See also *PBE*, Symeon 13 and *PmbZ* no. 7178.

⁴ Greek text in “Acta graeca Davidis...” 234–36, ed. van den Gheyn (1899), English translation in Abrahamse and Domingo-Forasté (1998) 193–96. For the date of the incident see again *PBE*, Hypatia 4 and *PmbZ* no. 2607. For Hypatia the famous mathematician and philosopher of late antiquity, see Dzielska 1996.

[...] the older of these in age [i.e. Hypatia] determined to devote herself to divine studies and also to poetry and grammar and the metrical works of the divine fathers; and she yearned for the monastic life.⁵

However, her mother, counting on her daughter's beauty, planned to marry her off, a plan which Hypatia entirely rejected. One night, when the second watch had passed and Hypatia was still studying, she saw an amazing vision of someone huge in size, fearful in appearance, with gray hair and splendid clothes. As a result of this vision, the girl lost her speech, although she "previously had possessed an eloquent and articulate tongue."⁶ Still, the person who appeared in that vision revealed to Hypatia the way of her cure and next morning she announced that information to her mother through a message scribbled on a writing tablet. Acting upon that information, the mother took her mute daughter by boat to St. Symeon. The saint was sitting by the sea at Pegai (probably a place on the northern shore of the Golden Horn) and when he saw the two women approaching in the boat he ordered one of his disciples to meet and bring to him "...the child Febronia...with her mother." Furthermore, when he met them he said, "Welcome, my child Febronia." That name perplexed Hypatia's mother, but she continued beseeching the saint for the cure of her daughter. St. Symeon prayed over the girl, kept her with him for seven days, and each day he administered to her the Eucharist. On the seventh day, when the Saint was about to celebrate the liturgy and wanted his hands washed, he called to the girl "Febronia, my child" and she immediately responded with a clear voice "What do you want me to do master?" After that cure, Hypatia, her mother, and her sister received St. Symeon in their house, were tonsured by him and took on the monastic habit, transforming their house into a nunnery. Symeon gave Hypatia her monastic name, which, in fact, was Febronia, and she distinguished herself in the ascetic habit, "for she was learned and had great experience in the Scriptures."⁷

⁵ Abrahamse and Domingo-Forasté (1998) 193. Greek text "Acta graeca Davidis,..." 234, ed. van den Gheyn (1899): ἡ μὲν τῷ χρόνῳ προτερεύουσα ταῖς θείαις μελέταις, ἔτι δὲ ποιητικῇ καὶ γραμματικῇ καὶ τοῖς τῶν θείων πατέρων ἐμμέτροις πονήμασι ἔγνω ἑαυτὴν ἐπιδιδόναι καὶ τὸν μονήρη βίον ἡσπάζετο...

⁶ Greek text, *ibid.* same page: ...ἡ πρότερον εὐστροφον καὶ ῥητορεύουσιν κεκτημένη τὴν γλῶσσαν.

⁷ Abrahamse and Domingo-Forasté (1998) 196. Greek text "Acta graeca Davidis,..." 234, ed. van den Gheyn (1899): ...ἦν γὰρ ἐλλόγιμος καὶ πείραν ἰσχυρὰν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ἔχουσα.

This is the outline of the incident and my question back then was why St. Symeon (or the author of the *Vita*) called the mute girl by the name of Febronia predicting in this way her assumption of the monastic habit together with that name? The commentary in this passage by the translators has already covered much of what can be a plausible answer, but in the sequel I plan to further speculate on some aspects of this solution and especially on an implied (and, perhaps, superficial) connection—not attested otherwise—between Hypatia and St. Febronia.

In any case, to take things in order, Abrahamse and Domingo-Forasté suggest that:

The change of name has a symbolic meaning, as the secular learning of Hypatia is replaced by the spiritual conventional life of Febronia. Ironically, the pagan name Hypatia would be a much better indication of the girl's learning than that of any likely Christian heroine.⁸

Moreover, in a preceding footnote in which they comment upon the education Hypatia-Febronia was given, they seem to be impressed by the specific terminology the author of the *Vita* used in its description (emphasis added):

...The account suggests that this girl...was educated by her mother..., she then progressed to learning that included the study of grammar (γραμματική) and poetry (ποιητική) traditionally part of the secondary and advanced curriculum of secular education consisting of grammar, rhetoric, then philosophy and other subjects. The subjects are linked with the study of “metrical works of the holy fathers”—presumably hymnography and liturgical poetry. *The education claimed for Febronia is rare in any 9th-century hagiography, and can be best compared with the education of Michael Synkellos in Jerusalem...*⁹

I may add here, that in another line of the Greek text the author assigns to Hypatia an “eloquent and articulate tongue,”¹⁰ and, finally, calls her “educated” with “great experience in the Scriptures.”¹¹

⁸ Abrahamse and Domingo-Forasté (1998) 196–97, n. 275.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 193–94, n. 260.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 194. Although the terms used in the translation are accurate, they fall short of expressing the full extent of the meaning of the Greek words (εὖστροφον καὶ ῥητορεύουσαν κεκτημένη τὴν γλῶσσαν...), which also suggest association with rhetoric (cf. also Nikephoros Gregoras' expression: *Nicephori Gregorae historiae Byzantinae* 479.24–480.3, ed. Schopen and Bekker [1829]: καὶ πάντων ὁμοῦ τὰς ψυχάς, Ὁμήρου καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Πτολεμαίου, καὶ ὅσοι ῥητορεύουσαν πεπλουτήκασι γλῶσσαν, ἐν ἐνὶ τῷ τούτου σώματι συνδραμεῖν...)

¹¹ See above note 7.

Recently Lauxtermann has hypothesized that our Hypatia-Febronia may have been the dedicatee of a funerary epigram composed by the ninth-century scholar bishop Arethas, and he suggested, in addition, that:

With all the erudition and poetic talents she is credited with, Febronia may have been capable of understanding and appreciating the tortuous style of Arethas, which is more than we can say for ourselves.¹²

I have already stated that I find the explanation of the translators that the change of name from Hypatia to Febronia has a symbolic meaning, etc., reasonable. What I am going to do next, is investigate in more detail any possible parallels between what we know about Hypatia and about Febronia (a Syrian virgin martyred under Diocletian) and which of the common elements in their lives can also be claimed for the young Hypatia-Febronia of the ninth century.

Hypatia was the famous mathematician and Neo-Platonist philosopher of Alexandria who was born in the mid-fourth century and brutally murdered by a Christian mob in 415. Her father was Theon, a mathematician himself and astronomer. The information culled from the primary sources of her era depicts a woman “of excellent character”, who “was just and modest and a lifelong virgin; she was handsome and beautiful; as a public speaker she was fluent and skillful; in her actions she showed herself to be wise and statesmanlike; the citizens in general admired and respected her exceedingly, and it was to her house that new governors of the province paid their first visit after their arrival.”¹³ Moreover, she was a teacher of philosophy and mathematics and among her students were also included two Christian bishops. One of them was Synesios of Cyrene. As for her murder, the primary sources broadly agree in describing its outline but diverge in the details. The most dramatic account comes from the pen of the church historian Socrates Scholasticus and reads as follows:

...a number of men..., whom a certain Peter (who was employed as a reader) led, kept watch for the woman as she was returning from somewhere. They threw her out of her carriage and dragged her to the church called Caesarion. They stripped off her clothes and then killed her with

¹² The epigram in question is the *Anthologia Palatina* XV 34. For further discussion see Lauxtermann (2003) 113–14.

¹³ *PLRE* II, 576 (*Hypatia* 1). For more, see Dzielska (1996) and Wessel (2004) 46–57 for a full discussion of the circumstances of and the persons involved in her murder.

broken bits of pottery [*ostraka*]. When they had torn her body apart limb from limb, they took it to a place called Cinaron and burned it.¹⁴

It is interesting, though, to note that despite her death at the hands of Christians, Hypatia was never viewed with hostility by Christian authors and Synesios of Cyrene exchanged a number of letters with her and sent her his works after he had become a bishop.¹⁵

The existence of a historical St. Febronia, although not excluded, is not based on solid evidence; all we possess is a largely legendary account of her life and martyrdom in the times of Diocletian (298–305), perhaps, in Syriac. This account was later translated into Greek¹⁶ (and other languages) and served as the source for later passions and a Synaxary notice.¹⁷ Eventually it reached Constantinople and a cult of St. Febronia was established associated with that of St. Artemios in the seventh century AD.¹⁸ The narrative of her life and martyrdom runs as follows:

St. Febronia was raised by her aunt Bryene (Βρυήνη), the abbess of a monastery outside Nisibis after she was orphaned at the age of two. Having lived since that age in the monastery, she never saw a man or a lay woman. Bryene was a disciple and successor of Platonis (or Platonina in the Syriac text) who had instituted for the nuns of the monastery abstention from manual work every Friday. Instead, they used to gather in the place for prayer and celebrate the office of Matins. Then, from dawn to the third hour (9 a.m.) Platonina/-is used to take a book and read to them. After the office of the Third Hour she would give the book to Bryene and tell her to read to the sisters until Vespers. When Bryene took over as head of the convent, she continued this practice. As an abbess Bryene entrusted Febronia with that task and Febronia—then eighteen (or twenty according to the Syriac text) years old and endowed with great beauty—was so much absorbed by the Scripture, that she read it especially when she felt the need to suppress

¹⁴ Translation cited by Dzielska (1996) 18.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 29. For more on the friendship between Synesios and Hypatia see White (2002) 99–108.

¹⁶ BHG 759, edition AASS Iun. V (1709) 17–35. For the various versions of the narrative about her and the development of her cult in Asia, Constantinople and Italy, see the article of M. Kaplan in this volume.

¹⁷ *SynaxCP*, 769–772.

¹⁸ See Brock and Harvey (1998) 151.

the temptations of Satan. She also had a great love of learning and became a polymath, so that many people, including the abbess, were astonished at the extent of her knowledge. On Fridays, when all the sisters were gathered in the place of prayer, Bryene used to ask Febronia to read the divine words to them. Because, however, noble women used to come to the place of prayer on Fridays to take pleasure in [Febronia's] spiritual instruction, Bryene ordered Febronia to sit behind a curtain and read from there. So she neither saw a lay-woman's nor a man's face ever. However, her teaching spread throughout the town and people spoke of her beauty, humility, and gentleness. When the pagan Hieria, who had been married to a senator, heard all this, she was fired by divine love and became very eager to see Febronia. After many entreaties she was allowed by Bryene a visit with Febronia and the two of them spent the whole night reading and discussing the Scriptures with Febronia serving as Hieria's instructor. Hieria left and shortly after, Febronia fell ill.

I just gave this part of the *vita* with more detail because I found it necessary to cite all the passages that are related to Febronia's learning and education. The remainder of the information provided by the *Vita* in much more abridged form is as follows: After the visit of Hieria and the illness of Febronia, three representatives of the Emperor Diocletian (Selenos, Lysimachos and Primos) arrived in Nisibis with a band of soldiers in order to persecute the Christians. They found Bryene and Febronia in the monastery and arrested them. Febronia was put on public trial, which was attended by many women of the city who were lamenting the loss of their teacher. Selenos (uncle of Lysimachos) tried to entice Febronia into renouncing Christianity with promises to marry her to Lysimachos. Meeting with Febronia's staunch resistance, he proceeded to torture her in many inhuman ways, which included flogging over a burning fire for hours, while her intestines burned with fire and her torso was raked with nails, extraction of 17 of her teeth,¹⁹ cutting off her breasts, two arms and one leg. Since she was still alive, Selenos ordered her execution by sword so she was finally beheaded. The crowd, which was negatively disposed towards the cruelty of Selenos, turned against Diocletian and the pagan gods, and many converted to Christianity. Lysimachos took care for her body, put it together and transferred it to her monastery. Selenos died a horrible death soon

¹⁹ The Synaxary entry includes cutting of her tongue *SynaxCP*, 770.23.

after. There follow the establishment of her cult at her monastery and a (miraculously) failed attempt to move her relic to the city.

A brief review of the above biographical sketches may reveal that Hypatia and Febronia share the following characteristics, albeit only superficially.

- 1) Hypatia was born to a mathematician and astronomer (Theon) and was herself a mathematician, but also a Neo-Platonist philosopher. Febronia was a Christian raised by her aunt Bryene in a monastic environment, in which we encounter two names reminiscent of Platonism and Neo-Platonism: Bryene's predecessor Platonis (or Platonía)²⁰ and Procla (a girl that had been entrusted to Bryene and was raised by her together with Febronia).²¹
- 2) Both Hypatia and Febronia are presented as virgins of great beauty.²²
- 3) Both are praised in the sources for their erudition and learning, although in different fields.²³
- 4) Both appear to be well established teachers/instructors: Hypatia in philosophy and mathematics, and Febronia in Scripture and (perhaps) in Christian doctrine and both counted among their students people of the higher classes of society.²⁴
- 5) Finally, both met a cruel death which even in its details was somehow similar since it included dismemberment of their bodies.

Beyond these parallels, the Greek translation of the *Life of St. Febronia* (but also the Syriac original which corresponds almost word for word to the Greek) contains a few passages that appear to have been written

²⁰ AASS Nov. V (1709) 18–19.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

²² For Hypatia, see *Damascius Vitae Isidori reliquiae*, frag. 109.9–10, ed. Zintzen (1967): οὕτω σφόδρα καλή τε οὖσα καὶ εὐειδής, ὥστε καὶ ἐρασθῆναι τινα αὐτῆς τῶν προσφοιτῶντων. For Febronia, see AASS Nov. V (1709) 19A, 24E.

²³ For Hypatia, see *Socrates Scholasticus Historia ecclesiastica* 7.15.3–8 ed. Bright (1893): ἐπὶ τοσούτον δὲ προὔβη παιδείας, ὥς ὑπερακοντίσαι τοὺς κατ' αὐτὴν φιλοσόφους, τὴν δὲ Πλατωνικὴν ἀπὸ Πλωτίνου καταγομένην διατριβὴν διαδέξασθαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐκτίθεσθαι· διὸ καὶ οἱ πανταχόθεν φιλοσοφεῖν βουλόμενοι κατέτρεχον παρ' αὐτὴν. For Febronia, see AASS Nov. V (1709) 19B: φιλομαθῆς γὰρ γεναμένη ἡ νεάνις, γίνεται καὶ πολυμαθῆς, ὥς θαυμάζειν τὴν Βρυήνην τὴν τοσαύτην τῆς Φεβρωνίας φιλομαθίαν.

²⁴ For Hypatia see the citation in the previous note, for Febronia, see AASS Nov. V (1709) 19B–C.

in direct response and in opposition to the relevant passages in the sources pertaining to Hypatia.²⁵ Compare the citations:

A) *Vita Febroniae*, AASS Nov. V (1709) 19B: ...ἀνθρώπου γὰρ χαρακτηῖρα, ὁποῖός ἐστίν, οὐδέποτε ἐθεάσατο, 23B: ...καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἐώρακεν ἄνθρωπος τὸ πρόσωπόν σου... 27B: οἶδεν ὁ Χριστός μου ὅτι οὐ τεθέαμαι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν χαρακτηῖρα ἀνδρός...

Socrates Scholasticus Historia ecclesiastica 7.15.8–12 ed. Bright (1893): Διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐτῇ ἐκ τῆς παιδεύσεως σεμνὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι σωφρόνως εἰς πρόσωπον ἤρχετο· καὶ οὐκ ἦν τις αἰσχύνῃ ἐν μέσφ' ἀνδρῶν παρεῖναι αὐτήν, πάντες γὰρ δι' ὑπερβάλλουσαν σωφροσύνην πλέον αὐτήν ἠδοῦντο καὶ κατεπλήττοντο.

Obviously, the exceptional privilege of Hypatia to converse on equal terms with men²⁶ is starkly contrasted with the ideal monastic upbringing of St. Febronia who had never seen a man (not even a lay-woman) before her public trial at the age of eighteen (or twenty) which became in fact the “mark of her sanctity.”²⁷

B) *Vita Febroniae*, AASS Nov. V (1709) 19C: Διεδίδετο δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει πανταχοῦ ἡ διδασκαλία τῆς Φεβρωνίας· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ περικαλλῆς αὐτῆς χαρακτηρ καὶ τὸ πρᾶον καὶ ἡ ταπεινοφροσύνη. Ταῦτα ἀκούσασα Ἱερία ἡ Συγκλητική, πόθῳ θεϊκῷ φλεγόμενη, συντυχεῖν ἠπείγετο τῇ Φεβρωνίᾳ.

Damascius Vitae Isidori reliquiae, frag. 109.20–24, ed. Zintzen (1967): οὕτω δὲ ἔχουσιν τὴν Ὑπατίαν, ἔν τε τοῖς λόγοις οὖσαν ἐντρεχὴ καὶ διαλεκτικὴν ἔν τε τοῖς ἔργοις ἔμφρονά τε καὶ πολιτικὴν, ἥ τε ἄλλη πόλις εἰκότως ἡσπάζετό τε καὶ προσεκύνει διαφερόντως, οἱ τε ἄρχοντες αἰεὶ προχειρίζομενοι <τὰ> τῆς πόλεως ἐφοίτων πρῶτοι πρὸς αὐτήν...

Here the structure of the meaning runs parallel on three levels with regards to both women: a) both women display excellence in words and deeds b) as a result the whole city respects them and c) the higher social classes come into contact with them.

²⁵ Both texts I am comparing with the *Vita Febroniae* are earlier than the *Vita* since Damascius died in 538 and Socrates Scholasticus around the middle of the fifth century, while the Syriac *Vita* was probably written in late sixth-early seventh century (Brock and Harvey [1998] 150). For more on the dates and the origins of the text of the *Vita Febroniae* in various languages see Kaplan's article in the present volume.

²⁶ For the extent of παρρησία and its meaning see Brown (1992) 115–117.

²⁷ See Harvey (1990) 48–50.

C) *Vita Febroniae*, AASS Nov. V (1709) 24E–F: Σέληνος...εὐθέως προσέταξεν κήρυκας βοᾶν ἐν τῇ πόλει· Αὐριον δημοσίᾳ πρόδος τῆς Φεβρωνίας. Ακούσαντες δὲ οἱ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τὴν περίχωρον, συνέτρεχον πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν τῆς Φεβρωνίας τὸν ἀγῶνα θεάσασθαι.

Socrates Scholasticus Historia ecclesiastica 7.15.3–8 ed. Bright (1893): ...τὴν δὲ Πλατωνικὴν ἀπὸ Πλωτίνου καταγομένην διατριβὴν διαδέξασθαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐκτίθεσθαι· διὸ καὶ οἱ πανταχόθεν φιλοσοφεῖν βουλόμενοι κατέτρεχον παρ' αὐτήν.

Damascius Vitae Isidori reliquiae, frag. 109.5–7, ed. Zintzen (1967): περιβαλλομένη δὲ τρίβωνα ἢ γυνὴ καὶ διὰ μέσου τοῦ ἄστεως ποιουμένη τὰς προόδους ἐξηγεῖτο δημοσίᾳ τοῖς ἀκροᾶσθαι βουλομένοις ἢ τὸν Πλάτωνα ἢ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην ἢ τὰ ἄλλου ὅτου δὴ τῶν φιλοσόφων.

The common elements in both texts are, first, the public character of the martyrdom (that is a rather drastic form of education) of Febronia and of the teaching of Hypatia and, second, the extensive participation of the public (denoted by the words *συνέτρεχον* and *κατέτρεχον* respectively).

Concluding this part of the paper I suggest that the *Vita Febroniae* was loosely based on a number of particular traits that earlier sources attributed to Hypatia of Alexandria. Even if it is impossible to find in the text direct allusions to Damascius or Socrates Scholasticus, the general outline of the *Vita Febroniae* and the numerous parallels between Hypatia and Febronia advocate a conception on the part of the original author²⁸ of Febronia as a Christian Hypatia. And this is what the learned author of the *Life of David, Symeon and George* or, perhaps, Saint Symeon himself had in mind when the ninth century mute Hypatia was presented to assume the monastic name Febronia. As it should be evident the choice of names was not only symbolic but was based on a profound knowledge of the lives of both women.

It is interesting, however, to note that even the ninth century Hypatia-Febronia shares many of the traits that were common between the original Hypatia and Febronia. To be more precise: Hypatia-Febronia—a very beautiful virgin with a conscious distaste for marriage and

²⁸ Who might have been her Syrian fellow-nun Thomais, see Brock and Harvey (1998) 150; much more detailed discussion in M. Kaplan's article in this volume.

human interaction—was extremely learned in both sacred and secular knowledge. I do not know if one can extrapolate teaching credentials on behalf of Hypatia-Febronia based on the last sentence of her episode,²⁹ but this remains a possibility. Finally, the temporary loss of speech of the girl after the vision may be seen as the equivalent of the extraction of the teeth of Febronia or even the cutting of her tongue (according to the Synaxary entry).

What is missing from Hypatia-Febronia's curriculum is the martyrdom and here I may submit one more suggestion. Seen in its historical context, the whole incident takes place right after St. Symeon had left the little island in the vicinity of Lesbos, where he was forced by the Iconoclast bishop of Lesbos to retire, and, as the *Life* of the three brothers puts it: "...Strengthened by the divine Spirit he set out to fight alongside the persecuted truth and to light up completely the darkness of ignorance that existed in Byzantium and the misty storm of heresy [i.e. Iconoclasm] with the sparks of orthodoxy...". After he met with a number of major Iconophile personalities, such as Niketas of Medikion,³⁰ he ended up in Pegai, where the miracle we examined took place. So we may not be wrong in placing the entire Hypatia-Febronia episode within the Iconophile campaign of St. Symeon. This implies that the entire family of Hypatia-Febronia were Iconophiles and the transformation of their house into a nunnery can be viewed as the establishment of another nucleus of Iconophile resistance.

One additional argument in support of this assumption was that Febronia was a tell-tale name for the Iconophile party of that very period as is evidenced from the letters of Theodore the Studite. As the late Prof. A. Kazhdan and A.-M. Talbot have observed, Theodore of Studios was the only epistolographer of the ninth and tenth century who addressed letters to women³¹ at such a high rate (76 out of the 564 of his *corpus*). The name of St. Febronia appears in five of his

²⁹ Abrahamse and Domingo-Forasté (1998) 196: "he gave her the name Febronia instead of Hypatia and she distinguished herself in the ascetic habit for she was learned and had great experience in the Scriptures". Greek text "Acta graeca Davidis,..." 234, ed. van den Gheyn (1899): ...Φεβρωνίαν ἀντὶ Ὑπατίας αὐτὴν μετωνόμασεν, ἥτις καὶ μεγάλως ἐν τῷ ἀσκητικῷ διέπρεψε σχήματι· ἦν γὰρ ἐλλόγιμος καὶ πείραν ἰσχυρὰν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ἔχουσα. My understanding of the text is slightly different from that of the translators, since I prefer to append the relative sentence (ἥτις καὶ...) to αὐτὴν instead of Φεβρωνίαν.

³⁰ Abrahamse and Domingo-Forasté (1998) 192.

³¹ See the Appendix II in Kazhdan and Talbot (1991/1992) 408.

letters addressed to women,³² and Theodore uses her as an exemplar of steadfastness in the face of cruel martyrdom in order to encourage his female correspondents to endure the Iconoclastic persecution.³³ Moreover, in a long letter addressed to his brethren who were imprisoned by the Iconoclasts, Theodore presents Febronia together with Thecla as fellow-martyrs.³⁴

Therefore, it is possible to add Hypatia-Febronia, her mother and other members of their household to the list of Iconophile women of the second Iconoclast period.

Reaching the end of this short paper I hope to have demonstrated the links that connect Hypatia to St. Febronia and both of them to the ninth century Hypatia-Febronia. And I find it a rather fitting topic for a volume that honors, Prof. Alice-Mary Talbot, our τιμωτάτη colleague, who continues the tradition of these women in erudition, scholarship and education.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Bright, W. ed. 1893. *Socrates' Ecclesiastical History*. Oxford.
 Brock, S. and Harvey, S. A. 1998. *Holy women of the Syrian Orient*. Transformation of the Classical Heritage 13. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London.
 Fatouros, G. ed. 1992. *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, vol. 1–2. CFHB, Series Berolinensis 31. Berlin.
 van den Gheyn, J., ed. 1899. “Acta graeca Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo.” *AB* 18: 209–59.
 Schopen L. and I. Bekker, eds. 1829. *Nicephori Gregorae historiae Byzantinae*, 1st vol. Bonn.
 Zintzen, C., ed. 1967. *Damascii vitae Isidori reliquiae*. Hildesheim.

Secondary Literature

- Abrahamse, D. and D. Domingo-Forasté. 1998. “The life of Sts. David, Symeon, and George of Lesbos.” In *Byzantine defenders of images: Eight saints lives in English translation*. Ed. A.-M. Talbot, 142–241. Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation 2. Washington DC.
 Brown, P. 1992. *Power and persuasion in late antiquity: Towards a Christian empire*. Curti Lecture Series. Madison WI.

³² Letters 85 (to the abbess Anna), 87 (to Eirene patrikia), 244 (to an anonymous abbess), 397 (to a nun) and 472 (to the abbess Euphrosyne). Greek text in Studites, 206, 207–209, 244, 552, 678–79, ed. Fatouros (1992).

³³ See also Kazhdan and Talbot (1991/1992) 400.

³⁴ Letter 301, Greek text in Studites, 439–443, ed. Fatouros (1992).

- Dzielska, M. 1996. *Hypatia of Alexandria*. Trans. F. Lyra. *Revealing Antiquity* 8. Cambridge MA. (Adapted and translated from the unpublished manuscript 1995. *Hypatia z Aleksandrii*).
- Harvey, S. A. 1990. "Women in early Byzantine hagiography: Reversing the story." In *That gentle strength: Historical perspectives on women in Christianity*. Ed. L. L. Coon, K. J. Haldane and E. W. Sommer, 36–59. Charlottesville, VA.
- Kazhdan, A. 1984. "Hagiographical notes." *Byzantion* 54: 185–88.
- Kazhdan, A. and A.-M. Talbot. 1991/1992. "Women and iconoclasm." *BZ* 84/85: 391–408.
- Lauxtermann, M. D. 2003. *Byzantine poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Vol. 1 Texts and contexts*. Vienna.
- Wessel, S. 2004. *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian controversy*. Oxford.
- White, C. 2002. *Christian friendship in the fourth century*. Cambridge.

UNE HÔTESSE IMPORTANTE DE L'ÉGLISE
SAINT-JEAN-BAPTISTE DE L'OXEIA
À CONSTANTINOPLE : FÉBRONIE

Michel Kaplan

L'un des recueils de miracles les plus intéressants du VII^e siècle est sans doute celui dédié à Artémios, officier martyrisé à Antioche sous Julien¹. Sa relique se trouve alors dans la crypte de l'église Saint-Jean Baptiste de l'Oxeia à Constantinople, construite sans doute sous Anastase sur un terrain donné par lui, à proximité des portiques de Domninos qui partent du tétrapyle de la Mésè en direction de la Corne d'Or. Artémios guérit, après incubation dans le collatéral nord de l'église², les maladies qui frappent les organes génitaux masculins. Les femmes ne sont donc pas ses clientes, même si de nombreuses femmes se rendent dans l'église de l'Oxeia, notamment pour accompagner des enfants. Une seule guérison concerne une fille :

Une femme avait une fille sur le point de se marier et, après les fiançailles, elle fut prise d'une enflure soudaine aux parties. Celle-ci vint avec sa mère auprès du saint martyr pour recevoir de lui la guérison. Quand elles y eurent passé quinze jours, elles se découragèrent et rentrèrent chez elles bredouilles. Cette nuit-là, le saint apparaît à la mère et lui dit : « Va voir sœur Fébronie, c'est elle qui la guérira ». À son réveil, elle comprend le sens caché de la vision ; elle prend sa fille avec elle et court à l'église de saint Jean-Baptiste et Prodrôme. Car dans cette église il y a la châsse du saint martyr sous le grand sanctuaire, et, à droite du

¹ La première édition de ce recueil a été publiée par Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1909). Une traduction anglaise et un commentaire ont été publiés récemment par Crisafulli et Nesbitt (1997), avec un essai de J. F. Haldon. Une nouvelle édition avec traduction et commentaire a été réalisée par V. Déroche, *Les miracles d'Artémios (BHG 173a)* (mémoire d'habilitation, Université Paris IV, (Paris) 2002) et devrait paraître prochainement.

² En attendant celle de V. Déroche et celle que je prépare, la meilleure reconstitution existant à l'heure actuelle de ce sanctuaire détruit par l'incendie provoqué par les croisés les 19 et 20 août 1203 se trouve dans Mango (1979). Dernières publications sur les miracles d'Artémios : Déroche (1993) ; Efthymiadis (2004). Les malades d'Artémios pratiquent l'incubation dans le collatéral nord, fermé par des grilles durant la nuit pour empêcher l'errance des malades dans le sanctuaire ; symétriquement, le collatéral sud, qui aboutit à l'est à l'oratoire de Fébronie, est consacré à l'incubation des clientes de celle-ci, et il est clos par des grilles dans les mêmes conditions.

sanctuaire, il y a l'oratoire de la sainte martyre Fébronie. Cette même nuit, la mère de la jeune fille voit de nouveau une femme très belle, portant l'habit monastique, qui fait un emplâtre avec le cérat (κηρωτή) et le place sur le sexe de son enfant en lui disant: «Va, rends grâce à Dieu, au saint Prodrôme et à saint Artémios». Et au moment même où elle lui disait cela, la mère de la jeune fille se réveilla, se leva de son lit et alluma un petit cierge; elle tâta sa fille et trouva l'emplâtre posé comme elle l'avait vu, et son enfant guérie comme si elle venait de naître³.

Bien entendu, l'auteur anonyme du recueil de miracles a pour but de mettre en lumière les exploits d'Artémios, non de Fébronie. Il ne peut toutefois pas négliger totalement la place de cette dernière. À plusieurs reprises en effet, au lieu que la guérison soit opérée par le seul Artémios, elle met en scène les trois saints personnages de l'église, son dédicataire principal Jean-Baptiste et les deux guérisseurs. Lorsque Jean-Baptiste intervient dans les guérisons d'Artémios, Fébronie est présente. C'est le cas au miracle 6: le marin Isidore, une fois guéri, voit apparaître le saint en compagnie d'un ouvrier portant la mélote et des sandales (Jean-Baptiste), et avec eux une femme en habit de moniale, qui s'adressent conjointement à lui pour lui dire de partir⁴. Au miracle 38, Georges Koutalès, fils de changeurs d'or, encore enfant, est lecteur au Prodrôme; il a appris le métier de changeur, mais en méprise les excès et s'installe dans l'église. Ses parents l'en arrachent et il tombe aussitôt malade des testicules. Ses parents le conduisent à l'église du Prodrôme et l'y abandonnent. Le trente huitième jour, il dort dans le collatéral nord et croit voir dans son sommeil sortir du sanctuaire Artémios, suivi du Prodrôme, lui-même suivi à trois pas de Fébronie, habillée en moniale. Ils passent les grilles proches du *skévophylakion* et traversent le collatéral où sont couchés les malades. Artémios dépasse Georges, mais Jean-Baptiste et Fébronie s'arrêtent devant Georges et font revenir Artémios. Celui-ci fait le signe de la Croix sur toute la longueur de l'enfant. Puis ils poursuivent leur chemin jusqu'au narthex, laissant l'enfant guéri⁵. L'intervention de Jean-Baptiste se justifie par le fait que Georges est membre du clergé du Prodrôme. La présence

³ *Miracles of St. Artemios* 140.17–142.8, Crisafulli et Nesbitt (1997). Quand le miracle dit que la mère «voit de nouveau une femme très belle», l'expression renvoie à la précédente vision, celle où Artémios lui était apparu. Quant aux remerciements, adressés à Jean-Baptiste et à Artémios, l'on comprend que Fébronie, par discrétion, ne s'inclut pas dans la liste.

⁴ *Miracles of St. Artemios* 90.3–7, Crisafulli et Nesbitt (1997).

⁵ *Miracles of St. Artemios* 198.16–200.7, Crisafulli et Nesbitt (1997).

de Jean-Baptiste dans la vision réunifie l'espace sacré, ce qui justifie la présence de Fébronie : l'église est bien celle du Prodrôme et lui appartient entièrement ; les espaces symétriques d'Artémios (collatéral nord) et de Fébronie (collatéral sud) ne sont que des subdivisions spécialisées d'un ensemble spatial plus grand.

Que Fébronie est bien en ce lieu à égalité avec Artémios, nous l'apprenons dans un autre miracle. L'église de l'Oxeia est en effet le siège d'une confrérie dont la mission principale est d'assurer la veillée qui se tient chaque samedi soir jusqu'au lendemain matin ainsi que les veilles de fête, accompagnée d'une procession dans le quartier avoisinant. Nous connaissons l'un des membres de cette confrérie, âgé de 62 ans. Il apparaît dès le miracle 18⁶ où il s'est fait voler ses vêtements de procession, puis de nouveau au miracle 22. Il est alors atteint d'hydrocypis et soigné à proximité, au *xénôn* du quartier *ta Christodotès*, près de Sainte-Anastasie dans les portiques de Domninos. Non seulement il ne guérit pas, durant dix mois, mais devient malade des testicules, ce que les médecins lui présentent comme incurable. Il récrimine contre les saints : « oui, saint Jean, saint Artémios et sainte Fébronie, je vous ai servis depuis l'âge de 10 ans jusqu'à aujourd'hui, pour être infirme dans ma vieillesse »⁷. On en déduira que la confrérie s'applique aux trois saints. L'homme implore Artémios qui finit par lui apparaître et le guérir dans cet hôpital voisin.

Il paraît donc clair qu'Artémios et Fébronie sont présents quasiment à égalité dans l'église du Prodrôme de l'Oxeia, avec une différence importante. En effet, la relique d'Artémios repose dans l'église à une place privilégiée, dans la crypte qui se trouve sous l'autel ; les miracles ne mentionnent pour Fébronie qu'un oratoire (εὐκτήριον) sans parler d'une relique. Que l'oratoire contienne ou non les restes de Fébronie, celle-ci ne bénéficie pas de l'emplacement privilégié qui est réservé à Artémios. Les autres sources disponibles qui permettent d'estimer l'importance comparée d'Artémios et de Fébronie à Constantinople sont contradictoires. Les *Patria* du X^e siècle, récits légendaires des origines de Constantinople, portent : « Saint-Artémios à l'Oxeia : l'église du Baptiste fut construite par Anastasios Dikoros, l'ex-silentiaire, celui qui était originaire de Dyrrachion, car, tandis qu'il était *prôtoasèkrètis*,

⁶ Nous ne nous attardons pas sur ces événements, détaillés dans l'article de Efthymiadis (2004).

⁷ *Miracles of St. Artemios* 132.12–14, Crisafulli et Nesbitt (1997).

il avait coutume d'habiter là. Après la translation des reliques de saint Artémios, l'église prit son nom »⁸. L'intérêt de ce texte est précisément qu'il est faux : les synaxaires parlent de cette église à deux reprises sous le nom de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, le 20 octobre (fête d'Artémios) et le 25 juin (fête de Fébronie) ; les deux sont donc à égalité, mais toujours en sous-ordre du Prodrome. Dans le Synaxaire, au 20 octobre, la notice d'Artémios, sur une colonne, se termine par : « il a été déposé dans le sanctuaire du saint prodrome et baptiste Jean de l'Oxeia, où l'on célèbre sa synaxe »⁹. Fébronie occupe trois colonnes du même synaxaire, qui se terminent par : « sa sainte synaxe est célébrée dans le *propheteion* du saint prophète, prodrome et baptiste Jean, qui se trouve à l'Oxeia »¹⁰. Ce texte confirme a contrario que la relique de la sainte n'est pas présente, puisqu'il ne la mentionne pas. Fébronie est la seule citée dans le *Typikon* de la Grande Église : « Le même mois, le 25, combat de la sainte hosiomartyre Fébronie [...] Sa synaxe se déroule au *propheteion* du saint prophète et baptiste Jean, qui se trouve à l'Oxeia »¹¹. Globalement, même à Constantinople, Fébronie paraît plus connue et honorée qu'Artémios, du moins à l'époque mésobyzantine. Notons toutefois que Fébronie dispose d'un avantage important : sa fête se situe le lendemain de celle du Prodrome, qui donne lieu à une procession particulièrement solennelle durant la veillée qui précède le 24 juin. Nul doute que, par cette proximité, qui fournit d'ailleurs peut-être une raison pour l'installation d'une chapelle de Fébronie dans l'église de l'Oxeia, Fébronie récolte, le jour de sa fête, dont la vigile est une fête particulièrement illustre, le bénéfice de ce rapprochement.

Même si le dossier hagiographique d'Artémios est loin d'être négligeable, celui de Fébronie est infiniment plus important et traduit une forte notoriété de la sainte des confins mésopotamiens de Nisibe et du Tigre jusqu'en Occident.

Artémios jouit néanmoins d'une supériorité sur un point : il a été duc d'Égypte, personnage politiquement important, et son action apparaît dans de nombreuses sources historiques entre 356 et 362, date de son exécution, sans doute pour excès de zèle chrétien. Il s'est d'ailleurs montré un chrétien zélé, vraisemblablement arien, ce qui n'a rien d'étonnant vu les empereurs à qui il doit sa carrière, et adversaire

⁸ *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitarum*, 2:235–36, éd. Preger (1901–07).

⁹ *SynaxCp.* col. 152–53.

¹⁰ *SynaxCp.* col. 769–72.

¹¹ *Typikon de la Grande Église*, 318, éd. Matéos (1962).

d'Athanase d'Alexandrie. Les nombreuses sources non-hagiographiques qui parlent de lui attestent sa parfaite historicité¹². Quant à sa passion, il en existe six versions. Les deux plus anciennes (BHG 169 y et 169 z) sont étroitement liées à l'œuvre aujourd'hui presque entièrement disparue de l'historien cappadocien Philostorge, arien militant¹³; passions épiques, donc postérieures aux événements, elles ne pas font état du transfert de la relique à Constantinople. Cette passion est à l'origine de la notice du synaxaire de Constantinople, mais aussi de deux synaxaires arméniens (celui de Ter Israël et celui de Grégoire Dserents); deux passions arméniennes inédites, sans doute fondées sur un archétype grec, font peut-être le lien entre les passions grecques et les synaxaires, y compris celui de Constantinople, qui, tous, mentionnent le transfert à l'église de l'Oxeia. La version rédigée par le moine Jean (BHG 170 et 171; et trois variantes inédites, BHG 171 a, b, c)¹⁴ est très postérieure. Elle avoue d'ailleurs réécrire en meilleur grec une version antérieure (évidemment BHG 169 et 169z) et incorporer des données empruntées à Eusèbe de Césarée, qui ne parle pas d'Artémios, et à Socratès, qui est dans le même cas, Philostorge et Théodoret de Cyr¹⁵. La version de Jean ne connaît pas l'église de l'Oxeia. Comme V. Déroche, nous estimerons donc qu'elle est postérieure à 558, car elle évoque la reconstruction des Saints-Apôtres par Justinien qui date de cette année-là, et antérieure à la rédaction des miracles, qui commence vers 650. Comme cette rédaction est une œuvre de longue haleine, nous en placerions le début au plus tard au début du VII^e siècle¹⁶. Enfin, le synaxaire de Constantinople suit Jean et ajoute la localisation à l'Oxeia¹⁷.

Fébronie est supposée avoir subi le martyre sous Dioclétien (284–305) à Nisibe¹⁸. On ne peut exclure que Fébronie ait été purement

¹² On se reportera, en attendant l'édition de l'ouvrage de V. Déroche (voir supra n. 1), à la présentation très succincte de Crisafulli et Nesbitt (1997) 1.

¹³ Bidez (1972) 166–75, la version 169 z se trouvant en bas des mêmes pages.

¹⁴ Act. SS. Oct. VIII, Bruxelles 1853, col. 856–83 pour BHG 170; ibid. col. 883–84 pour les ajouts de BHG 171.

¹⁵ Théodoret de Cyr, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 3, 18: 197, éd. Parmentier (1998).

¹⁶ Nous écartons donc deux datations à nos yeux impossibles. Lieu (1996) place l'œuvre dans la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle. Kazhdan (1988/1993) note 18, 200–5, place l'œuvre dans un contexte iconoclaste au VIII^e ou au IX^e siècle.

¹⁷ Cf. supra n. 9.

¹⁸ Le texte s'ouvre par: «Au temps de l'empereur Dioclétien», tant en syriaque (Brock [1998] 152) qu'en grec (Chiesa [1990] 335). Sur Fébronie, voir l'article

imaginaire, contrairement à Artémios, ce qui n'empêche pas la persistance d'un culte à Nisibe comme on le reverra.

Le dossier hagiographique est encore plus complexe que celui d'Artémios. Pour simplifier, nous avons des versions grecques (BHG 659 à 659h, version du synaxaire de Constantinople), des versions syriaques (BHO 302)¹⁹ et des traductions arabes et latines (BHL 2843 et 2844). La Passion est connue dans de nombreuses langues de l'Orient chrétien. La version géorgienne est attribuée à Euthyme du mont Athos, l'un des fondateurs du monastère d'Iviron; elle daterait donc de la fin du X^e ou du début du XI^e siècle. Elle prendrait appui sur la version grecque, très vraisemblablement à partir d'un des manuscrits de Lavra; le plus ancien manuscrit contenant la Passion de Fébronie conservé à Lavra remonte au XI^e siècle²⁰. Une version arménienne (BHO 303) est conservée entre autres dans un manuscrit de New York (Bibliothèque Pierpont Morgan 622); le manuscrit date du XIV^e siècle et la passion a été publiée en 1874²¹. On en trouve une version arabe dans le manuscrit 38* de la bibliothèque de Saint-Marc à Jérusalem²². On trouve une trace du culte de la sainte dans le monde copte à la fin du XV^e siècle²³.

Le dernier ouvrage paru constitue l'édition des deux traductions latines suivie de l'édition de la version grecque, proche de celle des *Acta Sanctorum*, par Paolo Chiesa²⁴. Celui-ci choisit d'éditer le texte qu'il trouve le plus proche des traductions latines, bien que celles-ci reposent néanmoins sur deux versions différentes. Il collationne quatorze manuscrits, ce qui est en soi très impressionnant. Il prend pour base de son édition le Par. Gr. 1470, manuscrit daté de 890, qui est le plus ancien, est passé par un monastère chypriote et constitue la partie d'un ménologe des mois de mars à août (l'autre partie se trouve dans le Par. Gr. 1476). En fait, la passion grecque se trouve dans vingt-neuf manuscrits, dont cinq au Vatican, quatre à Paris, un à l'Escorial, un à

de R. Aubert, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, t. 16 (1967) col. 791–93.

¹⁹ Traduction dans Brock (1998) 152–76. Il s'agit du texte syriaque le plus proche du texte grec. L'original a été publié par Bedjan (1895) 573–615.

²⁰ Peeters (1917–19) 35.

²¹ *Vitæ et passiones martyrum et sanctorum ex Eclogariis* (Venise 1874) t. 2, 409–29.

²² Simon (1924) 69, n. 2.

²³ Budge (1928) 1049.

²⁴ Chiesa (1990), c. r. par A.-M. Helvétius, dans *Scriptorium* 49 (1995) 165–68. L'ouvrage de Chiesa, par ailleurs très convaincant, est souvent difficile à lire, faute d'index. Chiesa suit le découpage des *Acta Sanctorum* de juin, V, col. 17–35.

Milan, un à Brescia, un à Vienne, un à Florence, un dans un monastère des îles des princes, un à Ochrid, un à Jérusalem au patriarcat orthodoxe, un à Moscou, un à Kjirokastër (Argirocastro, métropole d'Albanie) et neuf à l'Athos (un à Philothéou, deux à Kutlumus, trois à Lavra, un à Dionysiou, un à Xèropotamou et un à Vatopédi). Outre le manuscrit de 890 (sans tenir compte des manuscrits datables à cheval sur deux siècles), trois sont du X^e siècle, treize du XI^e, quatre du XII^e, un du XIII^e, etc jusqu'au XVII^e²⁵. L'auteur est réputée être une nommée Thomaïs, qui était l'adjointe de l'abbesse du monastère où Fébronie aurait vécu et lui succède avant la fin du récit²⁶. Le texte, qui occupe 14 folios recto-verso du manuscrit de Paris, est relativement long (p. 368–95). P. Chiesa estime par ailleurs, dans une démonstration extrêmement convaincante, que c'est la rédaction grecque et non la version syriaque qui constitue le texte primitif²⁷. Cela ne laisse d'ailleurs pas d'être étonnant, car Nisibe est une ville dont la population est presque purement syriaque. Mais, en 489, l'école théologique dite d'Édesse, en fait originaire de Nisibe et qui s'est enfuie à Édesse en 363, est chassée de l'Empire romain pour nestorianisme impénitent. Elle retourne à Nisibe et apporte un élément qui s'accroche à la culture grecque et au bilinguisme, voir au trilinguisme, car cette école se fonde sur la version hébraïque de l'Ancien Testament. Il nous semble donc que la question de la tradition du texte n'est pas définitivement résolue. Quoi qu'il en soit, le plus ancien manuscrit grec parvenu date d'une période où circulaient des versions latines, syriaques et arabes, sans compter les versions arméniennes que l'on ne peut pas dater, ce qui peut avoir permis toutes les contaminations. Les plus anciens manuscrits syriaques sont très antérieurs au plus ancien manuscrit

²⁵ Chiesa (1990) 335–55.

²⁶ La possibilité que l'auteur soit réellement une femme, qui est souvent avancée, repose uniquement sur le texte lui-même, ce qui est un indice mais pas une preuve suffisante; il est vrai que l'on voit mal un auteur homme se faire passer pour une femme. De toute façon, il paraît bien que l'histoire, telle qu'elle nous est racontée, n'a qu'un lointain rapport avec la réalité, à supposer que celle-ci ait jamais existé. L'on voit bien que la présence dans le récit d'un monastère à Nisibe sous Dioclétien, totalement exclue, du moins avec des institutions aussi bien rodées, est une conséquence induite de l'existence de monastères consacrés à Fébronie dans les siècles suivants. C'est sans doute l'un des endroits où a pu s'écrire le récit que nous avons. Celui-ci est déjà très élaboré, bien éloigné du modèle des passions primitives; c'est déjà l'ébauche d'une véritable Vie de sainte.

²⁷ Chiesa (1990) 353–55. Il retient ainsi la proposition de Halkin (1958) contre J. Simon, cité supra n. 22, 72–76.

grec: ils datent, de façon intéressante, de la seconde moitié du VII^e siècle (British Museum Add. 14647 de 688), c'est-à-dire l'époque où Fébronie est connue à Constantinople dans l'église de l'Oxeia.

Les premières attestations sûres du culte de Fébronie ne se trouvent pourtant, semble-t-il, que dans la seconde moitié du VI^e siècle. Dans la vie en vers du moine syriaque Rabban bar 'Idta, nous apprenons que, en 563, « sa sœur (Anne, qui y mourra à 80 ans) a construit un couvent sous le vocable de la martyre Fébronie, qui a été martyrisée au temps de Dioclétien ». Ce monastère féminin ne se trouve pas à Nisibe, mais à une distance raisonnable, de l'autre côté du Tigre, dans la région dite Marga²⁸. Marga est un nom chaldéen qui veut dire la prairie.

À Nisibe même, l'existence à la fois du couvent et de l'église de sainte Fébronie, l'une et l'autre attestées dans la Passion, est évoquée dans la Vie de Siméon des Oliviers²⁹, évêque syriaque orthodoxe de Harran, mort en 734. Cette vie mentionne « les anciennes ruines de Sainte-Fébronie qui a été martyrisée à Nisibe », à la place desquelles il édifie une église de saint Théodore, avec l'autorisation expresse du calife. À cette époque, il n'est pas encore évêque, mais un riche higoumène. La Vie dit aussi que l'évêque a restauré le monastère de la Vierge et le couvent de sainte Fébronie, situé à l'ouest de l'église, et lui a donné de nouvelles règles³⁰. Comme il est très riche, il lui a aussi acheté des maisons, des boutiques et des cours. C'est donc bien un monastère urbain. On peut donc en conclure qu'un monastère Sainte-Fébronie s'était créé à côté de l'église construite par l'évêque pour accueillir la relique, différent de celui de Marga. La tradition d'une basilique Sainte-Fébronie s'est maintenue à Nisibe, contrairement à ce que dit la Vie de Siméon sur son remplacement par une église de saint Théodore; elle se serait trouvée à l'emplacement de la mosquée Zayn al-'Ābīdin³¹. Nous avons là une trace d'un culte de Fébronie antérieure au VI^e siècle, puisqu'un édifice lui était consacré; mais nous ne pouvons savoir ni de quand il date, ni si l'on y trouvait la relique de la sainte.

²⁸ Budge (1902) 2, 1, 203.

²⁹ Il en aurait planté 12.000 dans son monastère d'origine; il a naturellement été stylite, comme son prénom le laisse supposer, mais un stylite qui descend de sa colonne et voyage dans toute la région.

³⁰ Résumé de la Vie par Brock (1979).

³¹ Fiey (1977) 126. Au début du XX^e siècle, Guyer (1923) 47-48, rapporte que les turcophones l'appelaient Kilise Cami, littéralement « la mosquée de l'église », terme fréquent pour les mosquées construites sur la base d'une église ou en reprenant les bâtiments eux-mêmes.

La Passion avance que Fébronie, âgée de 20 ans (âge de la vocation d'Antoine), vivait dans un monastère de 90 moniales de Nisibe gouverné par sa tante paternelle Bryénè, où se trouvait également son aînée Prokla, âgée de 25 ans. Au chapitre 7, Bryénè dit que Fébronie est au monastère depuis 18 années; elle y serait donc entrée à 2 ans.

À l'arrivée des persécuteurs, une bonne partie des chrétiens ont quitté la ville. Les moniales obtiennent de l'abbesse, non sans mal, de partir elles aussi. L'abbesse laisse également s'éloigner Prokla, mais prétexte de la maladie de Fébronie pour ne pas l'abandonner. Elles restent donc à trois: Bryénè, Thomaïs, son adjointe et rédactrice supposée de la Passion, et Fébronie. Cette dernière était extrêmement belle, sans préjudice de sa sagesse, ce que les tortionnaires lui reprocheront; c'est ce qui sauve les deux autres. En effet, les responsables militaires veulent l'offrir en mariage à leur chef Lisimaque et, malgré les objurgations des deux autres qui veulent partager son sort, la conduisent seule au persécuteur. Fébronie se voit proposer d'abjurer sa foi et d'épouser Lisimaque, devenant ainsi riche et célèbre; naturellement, elle refuse, ce qui la conduit aux tortures et au martyre. Durant son supplice, Fébronie subit une mutilation sexuelle avec l'ablation des seins³², qui rappelle les martyres de sainte Agathe et parfois de Catherine d'Alexandrie, la blessure étant cautérisée avant que Fébronie ne soit décapitée. Cette mutilation d'organes sexuels féminins n'est évidemment pas sans lien avec la présence à Saint-Jean-Baptiste de l'Oxeia d'une chapelle à elle dédiée, dans le même sanctuaire où exerce Artémios, spécialisé dans le soin des maladies frappant les organes sexuels masculins.

Après le martyre, le corps de Fébronie est rapporté au monastère tandis que ses tortionnaires se convertissent³³. Le monastère, grâce à la relique, devient lieu de pèlerinage. Chaque année, le jour anniversaire du martyre, la sainte apparaît, debout, aux sœurs de son monastère, mais aussi aux moines et aux autres moniales de la cité, ainsi qu'à la foule, accourus³⁴. L'évêque décide de construire une église convenable pour abriter la relique; les moniales refusent d'abord, mais doivent céder devant l'autorité épiscopale. Pourtant, de terrifiants prodiges s'opposent à la translation. L'évêque est obligé de limiter ses ambitions

³² *Passion grecque de Fébronie* 28, 386, éd. Chiesa (1990). Une ambiguïté demeure: Fébronie a-t-elle été mise à mort pour avoir refusé d'abjurer sa foi, ce qui en fait une martyre, ou, plus banalement, pour avoir repoussé son puissant prétendant?

³³ *Passion grecque de Fébronie* 34–37, 390–92, éd. Chiesa (1990).

³⁴ *Passion grecque de Fébronie* 38, 392, éd. Chiesa (1990).

et tente alors d'obtenir une partie de la relique et l'abbesse accepte, mais, quand elle veut retirer une main de la relique, la sienne reste prise dans celle de la sainte. L'évêque doit se contenter d'une dent, qui est transportée dans la nouvelle église en grand appareil; la martyre opère immédiatement des guérisons (boiteux, aveugles et possédés) par l'une de ses dents, mais la passion ne comporte que la brève mention de ces miracles, sans aucun autre récit³⁵.

Plusieurs remarques s'imposent ici, qui laissent dans la plus totale obscurité la question du transfert éventuel de la relique et de la présence du culte à Constantinople avant la fin de la première moitié du VII^e siècle. Premier point: de quand peut dater le récit primitif, qui est destiné à être lu? Le plus simple serait d'envisager le moment où s'édifie le monastère en 563, mais cela suppose une longue transmission orale de la tradition et le monastère se situe dans la région de Marga, non à Nisibe.

Naturellement, la mention de l'écriture par Thomaïs est entièrement légendaire, puisque la rédaction semble très postérieure. Certains auteurs ont néanmoins estimé que l'auteur pouvait être une femme³⁶. Certes, le récit est agencé de telle façon que l'auteur, témoin oculaire de la vie dans le monastère, ne puisse être qu'une femme. Au reste, la description du monastère féminin est assez positive, avec ses lourdes tâches et son haut niveau intellectuel, l'amitié entre les moniales, les liens entre femmes restées dans le monde et moniales, entre femmes mariées et femmes restées vierges, soulignant en commun la dureté de leurs vies, tous traits peu habituels dans l'hagiographie féminine écrite par des hommes. Ne forçons pas le trait cependant et soulignons que le texte sur lequel nous nous appuyons est sans aucun doute le résultat d'une mise au point, écrite ou non, déjà longue.

De toute façon, cela laisse entière la question de la langue de la rédaction primitive: Nisibe et sa communauté chrétienne en terre perse sont a priori entièrement de langue syriaque jusqu'au retour de l'école d'Édesse et la Passion est destinée à être lue à haute voix, si l'on en croit la conclusion qui s'adresse aux auditeurs (c. 45, p. 395: εἰς σωτηρίαν δὲ καὶ προθυμίαν τῶν ἀκουόντων). Il n'y a pas à ce stade de solution satisfaisante pour réconcilier les arguments philologiques exprimés plus haut et la logique historique. Une remarque de détail

³⁵ *Passion grecque de Fébronie* 39–42, 392–95, éd. Chiesa (1990).

³⁶ Brock (1998) 20.

toutefois : la version grecque comprend quelques tournures sémitiques (notamment la répétition immédiate du même verbe : cf. c. 41, p. 394 : *μνήσθητι τῶν μόχθων ὧν ἐμόχθησα*) qui peuvent dénoter la rédaction par une personne de langue syriaque sachant bien le grec, mais pas au point de ne pas laisser dans sa rédaction quelques tournures trahissant sa langue maternelle. Toujours est-il que le texte s'est très largement diffusé dans le monde grec puis latin, vraisemblablement à partir du moment où le culte de Fébronie se matérialise à Constantinople. Malheureusement, nous ne sommes à même de cerner la translation ni du texte, certaine, ni de la relique, non attestée.

Ensuite, nous ne sommes pas en présence d'une passion épique quelconque, mais d'un récit circonstancié, citant avec force détails maints personnages historiques, où la passion proprement dite n'occupe que le quart du récit, qui n'est pas encore une hagiographie complète (il commence quand Fébronie a 20 ans), mais s'en rapproche. Naturellement la mention du monastère tel qu'il nous est décrit ne saurait remonter à l'époque du martyre, antérieur à l'apparition des premiers monastères, mais représente la situation à la date de l'écriture. Tout porte à croire que Nisibe (Nusaybin, sur le Mugdonios-Jaghjaghhaa) se trouve alors dans l'Empire ; en tout cas, la persécution est menée par des fonctionnaires impériaux et il n'est fait aucune allusion aux Perses pour cette ville pourtant fort disputée. Nisibe est incluse dans l'Empire romain depuis Septime Sévère ; sous Dioclétien, elle est le point de passage principal du commerce avec la Perse. Elle fait partie de la province de Mésopotamie (18 kilomètres à l'est de Dara, qui ne sera fortifiée qu'en 506, elle-même à l'est d'Amida³⁷, qui en est la métropole) et c'est alors, semble-t-il, comme on va le voir, une ville grecque.

À la mort de Julien en 363, Jovien est obligé de la céder aux Perses pour une période de cent vingt ans, en compensation des dommages de guerre causés par les Romains en territoire perse. Cependant, la ville était livrée sans ses habitants ; la communauté grecque obtient seulement trois jours pour se replier sur Amida³⁸. Le roi Sapor aurait remplacé la population grecque par une population perse, mais celle-ci continue la tradition chrétienne. En 421, Théodose II ne parvient pas à reprendre Nisibe et Zénon, en 483, ne parvient pas à se la faire

³⁷ Amida est la métropole dont dépend l'évêché de Nisibe, avant que celui-ci ne devienne, par suite de son histoire politique, une métropole.

³⁸ Fiey (1977) 35.

rérocéder. Sous Justinien, la frontière passe entre Dara et Nisibe; le roi de perse masse fréquemment ses troupes dans cette ville. Dès 541, Bélisaire a d'ailleurs réalisé qu'il n'avait pas les forces pour reprendre une ville que le roi perse est décidé à défendre. Après le traité de paix de 561, celui-ci envoie à Constantinople des évêques perses plutôt nestoriens conduits par le métropolite de Nisibe pour tenter (en vain) de trouver un compromis religieux³⁹. En 573, les Byzantins mettent le siège devant la ville, mais Chosroès parvient à la délivrer et assiège Amida⁴⁰. Nisibe est donc l'une des cités les plus disputées, ce qui va à l'encontre de la vie normale d'un monastère qui est à l'arrière-plan de la Vie.

Il faut attendre l'extrême fin de la guerre de reconquête d'Héraclius pour que la ville retourne à l'Empire byzantin. La conséquence semble en être l'apparition à Nisibe, à côté de la hiérarchie nestorienne issue de l'Empire perse, d'une hiérarchie jacobite; l'évêque jacobite de cette cité, Abraham, participe en 631 à Antioche à l'intronisation du patriarche Jean III de Sedré, tandis que, au même moment, un évêque nestorien, Cyriaque, fait partie d'une ambassade perse auprès d'Héraclius⁴¹. En 639, la ville se rend aux Arabes aux mêmes conditions qu'Édesse: «leurs églises ne seront ni détruites ni occupées tant qu'ils paieront la taxe et n'entreront pas dans les intrigues. Cependant ils n'ont pas le droit de bâtir de nouvelles églises ou de nouveaux lieux de culte. Ils ne peuvent frapper les simandres, ni célébrer les Rogations, ni montrer les croix en public»⁴². Vers 640–645, Cyriaque se rallie à l'église de Constantinople, mais meurt peu de temps après⁴³. Quoi qu'il en soit, la tradition grecque ne s'est jamais rétablie à Nisibe, ce qui laisse entier le problème de la Passion. On peut en effet supposer que des premiers récits ont existé en langue grecque avant 363; mais la proximité entre la version syriaque et la version grecque qui, nous l'avons vu, est sans doute la véritable matrice, implique une survie ou une renaissance d'une forte influence grecque que nous avons tenté d'expliquer plus haut et qui se situe à la fin du V^e siècle.

L'un des points les plus intéressants de la Passion est la lutte entre l'abbesse et l'évêque pour le contrôle de la relique. Représentant de

³⁹ Ibid. 52.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 53.

⁴¹ Ibid. 63–4.

⁴² Ibid. 64–5.

⁴³ Ibid. 65.

la cité, l'évêque veut exploiter la réputation de la martyre et en faire profiter l'ensemble des citoyens. L'évêque fait donc construire une église pour la relique de Fébronie. La construction prend six ans, ce qui suggère un édifice de grande taille. Notons que la chronique des métropolitains de Nisibe mentionne, sous l'année 312–313, le début d'une construction d'une grande église par Jacques, souvent présenté comme le premier évêque de Nisibe, qui assista au concile de Nicée et fut considéré comme saint dans de nombreuses traditions; dans cette version, la construction dure sept ans⁴⁴. Jacques serait devenu évêque de Nisibe en 308–309⁴⁵ et l'était encore lors d'une attaque perse en 338, où il aurait été l'âme de la résistance opposée par la ville⁴⁶. Il n'est pas impossible que la Passion de Fébronie reprenne le souvenir de cette construction. Mais elle ignore le grand homme, pourtant connu par d'innombrables traditions, y compris l'Histoire Philothée de Théodoret de Cyr⁴⁷.

Pour la première célébration de la fête, le 25 juin, l'évêque de Nisibe convoque ses collègues des alentours; l'église ne peut contenir toute la foule qui s'assemble. Les évêques se rendent alors au monastère, suivis par la foule avec luminaires et encens⁴⁸. C'est donc bien une procession poliade. L'abbesse et ses moniales implorent l'évêque, mais finalement cèdent et s'en remettent au bon vouloir de la martyre. Le texte est donc politiquement correct: les moniales obéissent à l'évêque et c'est la martyre elle-même qui va désobéir. Mais le triomphe du monastère n'est que partiel: les évêques retournent avec la même procession déposer la dent dans l'église et c'est la dent, non la dépouille

⁴⁴ Élie de Nisibe, *Chronographie*, 64, trad. Delaporte (1910). Il serait toutefois très étonnant qu'il s'agisse de la même église. Le passage de la Passion de Fébronie relatant la construction d'une église à elle dédiée par l'évêque est toutefois intéressant, car il est incompréhensible avant 312–313, où la Paix de l'Église permet à Jacques d'édifier une cathédrale, d'autant que le texte de la Passion laisse entendre que l'église de Fébronie est située en ville. En l'état, il milite pour une rédaction tardive de la Passion telle qu'elle nous est parvenue, à une date où la construction d'une église martyriale en plein cœur de la cité ne pose plus de problème.

⁴⁵ Devreese (1945) 303, range Nisibe dans la province ecclésiastique de Mésopotamie dont la métropole est Amida. Il cesse de s'y intéresser dès la conquête de la cité par les Perses.

⁴⁶ Fiey (1977) 24.

⁴⁷ Peeters (1920). Jacques de Nisibe est le premier des héros dont Théodoret de Cyr raconte la Vie; elle contient la participation au concile de Nicée et la défense de Nisibe: Théodoret de Cyr, *Histoire des Moines de Syrie*, t. 1, 161–91, éd. Canivet et Leroy-Molinghen (1977–79).

⁴⁸ *Passion grecque de Fébronie* 39, 392–93, éd. Chiesa (1990).

conservée dans le monastère, qui opère les miracles⁴⁹. Ceux-ci prennent donc place dans l'église épiscopale.

In abstracto, on peut émettre deux hypothèses pour expliquer la rédaction de la Passion dans son état actuel. Le plus simple est la lecture que nous venons de faire : la Passion donne raison aux évêques et la rédaction est donc épiscopale. Mais ce triomphe n'est que partiel. La relique n'a pas été remise. Malgré leur soumission formelle, les moniales ont résisté et obtenu gain de cause en échange d'une simple dent, certes relativement précieuse puisque, dans son supplice, la sainte a eu les dents arrachées ; ceci explique que les dents reposent sur sa poitrine et qu'il ne faille pas les prendre dans la bouche, ce que la relique aurait refusé comme pour la main. Au bout du compte, la Passion sert l'intérêt des moniales : au prix d'une concession mineure, une dent déjà tombée, elles obtiennent de garder la relique principale et la Passion vient finalement défendre leur indépendance, soutenue par la sainte elle-même, contre l'exigence en apparence admise et en fait refusée de l'évêque. Toutefois, cette interprétation se heurte à un obstacle : les miracles se déroulent bel et bien dans la basilique épiscopale.

Peut-on tenter une histoire du culte ? Une telle enquête, très difficile, soulève quantité de questions. Il nous faut sans doute distinguer le culte de sainte Fébronie intra muros et le culte à Marga. La Vie de Siméon des Oliviers porte au moins la trace d'un monastère Sainte-Fébronie à Nisibe. Ceci veut dire soit que la martyre a réellement existé, soit qu'un évêque l'a inventée, inventé aussi sa relique, construit une église pour abriter celle-ci, puis qu'un monastère de femmes a fini par se créer à côté. Le culte doit être suffisamment populaire en 563 pour que la sœur de Rabban bar 'Idta fonde un monastère sous ce vocable à quelques dizaines de kilomètres plus à l'Est. Ajoutons que, dans cette région, les syriaques chalcédoniens sont relativement nombreux. Ce fait explique que la légende puisse aisément franchir la frontière jusqu'à Dara ou même Amida et, de là, passer jusqu'à Constantinople. De toute façon, nous ne parvenons pas à cerner l'origine réelle du culte, compte tenu de l'écart entre le supposé martyre et ce qui pourrait être une rédaction d'origine. La création du monastère de Fébronie à Marga en 563 traduit à la fois une tension, puisqu'il y a déplacement, et, par cette tension même, un intérêt pour la sainte : cela ne nous livre pas la raison d'une rédaction, de surcroît en grec.

⁴⁹ *Passion grecque de Fébronie* 42, 395, éd. Chiesa (1990).

Celle-ci est en tout état de cause antérieure à la seconde moitié du VII^e siècle, date du premier manuscrit de la Passion syriaque qui en serait la traduction; il n'est pas invraisemblable qu'un texte syriaque existe en 563, et donc le texte grec. Ce qui semble certain, c'est que le déplacement de l'école théologique d'Édesse à Nisibe un peu moins d'un siècle auparavant a provoqué une renaissance de la culture grecque dans cette région de façon croissante au VI^e et encore plus au VII^e siècle; cela rend difficile de savoir si un original est en grec ou en syriaque. Tout ceci pousse à penser que la Passion de Fébronie a été mise par écrit dans cette période⁵⁰.

Le culte de Fébronie n'est pas absent de Constantinople, puisque la sainte figure dans le synaxaire de Constantinople. Martyre exemplaire, Théodore Stoudite la cite dans sa correspondance comme un modèle pour les femmes qu'il exhorte à résister à l'iconoclasme: lorsque Théodore ne fait pas référence à elle seule (lettre 85), Fébronie apparaît alors liée à Eugénie d'Alexandrie et Matrona de Thessalonique (lettre 244), à Thècle et Eupraxia de Constantinople (lettre 472); à Thècle seule (lettres 87 et 397)⁵¹. Sa fête figure dans le *Typikon* de la Grande Église (fin IX^e, début X^e siècle dans l'état le plus ancien), au 25 juin à Saint-Jean-Baptiste de l'Oxeia⁵². En revanche, il n'y a pas de mentions de ses reliques bien que la rédaction des miracles d'Artémios n'exclue pas totalement la présence de celles-ci. L'église ayant brûlé dans l'incendie des 19-20 août 1203 par eux allumés⁵³, les Croisés n'ont ramené en Occident de reliques ni d'Artémios ni de Fébronie.

Est-il possible d'émettre l'hypothèse d'un transfert plus officiel au moins du culte, sinon de la relique, à Constantinople? La seule occasion un tant soit peu satisfaisante, surtout si la translation touchait la relique⁵⁴, se situe lors de la réoccupation de la ville par Héraclius entre 629 et 639. Certes, aucune source, à notre connaissance, n'a gardé la

⁵⁰ Parmi les écrits de S. Brock sur cette question, on notera son article (1995) «The Syriac background», notamment 32-3 et 41 (où il cite la Passion de Fébronie parmi les textes concernés). Je remercie Anne-Marie Helvétius d'avoir attiré mon attention sur ce travail.

⁵¹ Talbot (1991-92/2001) 400.

⁵² *Typikon de la Grande Église*, 318, éd. Matéos (1961).

⁵³ Madden (1991-2) 72-93. Notons qu'aucun des voyageurs occidentaux d'avant la quatrième croisade ne mentionne de relique ni d'Artémios ni de Fébronie.

⁵⁴ Une translation de la relique par Héraclius supposerait qu'elle ait été déposée ailleurs qu'à l'Oxeia, puisque la relique de Fébronie n'est pas mentionnée dans les Miracles d'Artémios, ni, surtout, dans le Synaxaire; or le culte de la sainte n'est attesté par le Synaxaire et le *Typikon* de la Grande Église qu'à l'Oxeia.

trace d'un intérêt particulier de l'Empereur pour cette cité; il avait bien d'autres préoccupations, notamment celle de réinstaller la Croix à Jérusalem. Pourtant, compte tenu de toutes les mentions que nous avons de l'utilisation par les rois de Perse des évêques nestoriens de Nisibe lors d'ambassades à Constantinople, compte tenu de ce que, durant 250 ans, la ville, première place forte du Roi des rois, a littéralement nargué les garnisons romaines établies à quelques kilomètres, que les empereurs ont tenté à plusieurs reprises de reprendre la ville, il n'est pas invraisemblable qu'Héraclius s'y soit intéressé.

De plus, Héraclius aurait appelé Fébronie l'une des filles qu'il a eues avec sa nièce Martine (épousée en 624). La chose est toutefois entourée d'un mystère qui paraît difficile à résoudre. Fébronie apparaît dans l'arbre généalogique de la dynastie d'Héraclius dressé dans la *Chronologie* de Grumel, qui ne cite pas ses sources. Les deux autres filles du couple Héraclius-Martine, Augustine et Martine, sont, elles, citées par les chroniqueurs⁵⁵. Cette Fébronie est absente de la *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (PLRE). Il est donc difficile de retrouver la source utilisée par Grumel pour son arbre généalogique. Le prénom est d'ailleurs mal attesté. Aucune Fébronie ne figure dans la PLRE. Deux seulement figurent dans la *Prosopographie der mittel-byzantinischen Zeit* (PMBZ): la mère d'Anthusa de Mantinée (BHG 2029h), PMBZ 1880⁵⁶; Hypatia, devenue la moniale Fébronie dans les *Actes de David, Syméon et Georges* (BHG 494), PMBZ 2607⁵⁷. Si l'on accepte qu'Héraclius ait donné ce nom à l'une de ses filles, cela traduirait un intérêt pour la sainte susceptible de créer un culte à Constantinople, par exemple dans l'église de l'Oxeia, où l'on honore un autre saint, Artémios, dont le martyre est supposé lui donner également un pouvoir sur les maladies touchant les organes sexuels. Mais

⁵⁵ Par exemple, dans Nicéphore, *Histoire Brève* 27, 76 éd. Mango (1990); voir aussi le commentaire, p. 191, qui suppose une possible confusion de cette Martine avec sa mère.

⁵⁶ PMBZ, t. 1 (1999) 592.

⁵⁷ PMBZ, t. 2 (2000) 147. Cet exemple, pour isolé qu'il soit, est de fait plus intéressant, car le choix du prénom est ici délibéré. En effet, Hypatie, entrant au monastère contre la volonté de sa mère, reçoit son nom monastique d'un stylite de la région de Constantinople, appelé sans surprise Syméon: le choix de ce nom monastique par l'hagiographe, pour un épisode se situant en pleine période iconoclaste, donc de persécution alléguée des moines, montre que la martyre de Nisibe est alors connue. Les *Actes de David, Syméon et Jean* sont écrits au plus tôt dans la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle.

cela pourrait traduire aussi bien un intérêt pour un culte existant déjà à Constantinople.

Ajoutons une hypothèse susceptible de réconcilier les données historiques et philologiques. La victoire d'Héraclius fait rentrer dans le giron de l'Empire romain la communauté chrétienne de Nisibe qui vivait de façon finalement assez tranquille au sein de l'Empire perse depuis deux siècles et demi. À bien y regarder, la Passion défend deux points de vue : il faut pour le moins se méfier des autorités romaines qui ont martyrisé Fébronie ; les moniales tiennent à garder leur relique et il ne saurait être question d'abandonner à la hiérarchie plus qu'une dent. Or, en 629, les autorités romaines reviennent et, dans leurs wagons, un évêque jacobite, tandis que les Perses favorisaient les nestoriens qu'ils continuent d'utiliser par la suite pour leur diplomatie. Il s'agit donc de défendre les moniales et leur relique contre toute tentative de s'emparer de celle-ci, ce qui a vraisemblablement réussi, mais aussi contre la nouvelle hiérarchie alors que l'ancienne a sans doute été contenue. Il devient dès lors facile de comprendre pourquoi la Passion dans sa version longue a été rédigée en grec : c'était l'administration byzantine hellénophone qu'il fallait d'abord convaincre que Fébronie ne se laisserait pas enlever. Le texte grec daterait donc des années 630 ; une traduction syriaque n'était pas superflue, pour les mêmes raisons, mais cette fois à destination du clergé jacobite, et elle est sans doute contemporaine de la rédaction grecque.

Mais la carrière de Fébronie ne s'arrête pas à Constantinople. Paradoxalement, cette martyre présumée des confins les plus orientaux de l'Empire a finalement reçu un culte qui semble bien plus diffusé dans l'Occident latin⁵⁸. Nous devons maintenant nous rendre en Italie où furent écrites deux versions de la Passion qui semblent étroitement liées à la principale version grecque, que nous avons tenté de dater plus haut. La première version latine (BHL 2844) a pu être établie dès le VII^e siècle en Italie du Nord, probablement en Vénétie⁵⁹ ; à cette époque, l'exarchat de Ravenne était encore très puissant et en relation étroite avec Constantinople. L'arrivée du texte en Italie du Nord

⁵⁸ Au contraire, notre martyr Artémios est inconnu dans l'hagiographie latine. Son culte ne s'est pas diffusé en Occident. Pourtant, un évêque métropolitain de Sens, mort au tout début du VII^e siècle, porte le nom d'Artemius, facile à rapprocher d'Artémios. Il apparaît dans les conciles de Mâcon de 581-83 et 585 (*Concilia Galliae A. 511-A. 695*, éd. Clercq [1963] 229 et 248). Il n'est pas impossible, à cette époque, que cet Artemius soit d'origine grecque.

⁵⁹ Chiesa (1990) 112-3.

s'explique aisément et sa traduction en latin ne présente en théorie aucune difficulté. Cette traduction est écrite en langue plutôt populaire mais elle est très proche de l'original. Pas moins de dix-huit manuscrits de cette version nous sont parvenus; le plus ancien date du IX^e siècle. Ces manuscrits peuvent se regrouper en quatre familles différentes⁶⁰, ce qui montre un texte très vivant et utilisé.

La seconde version (BHL 2843) est plus facile à dater, car le prologue indique qu'elle a été écrite à Naples à la fin du IX^e siècle⁶¹. Elle est conservée dans dix manuscrits; là encore, le texte est bien vivant, car, si les variantes sont légères, elle font le plus souvent sens⁶². À cette époque, les liens culturels étaient encore étroits entre Naples et l'Empire byzantin; des Napolitains séjournant à Constantinople ont pu y connaître le culte de Fébronie, ce qui ne serait pas étonnant car Fébronie est bien attestée dans le *Typikon* de la Grande Église qui est contemporain. Cela pourrait indiquer que l'église de l'Oxeia fonctionnait encore comme centre de soins à cette époque: comme nous l'avons vu, le texte grec de la Passion de Fébronie circulait alors dans le monde byzantin et tout napolitain qui était intéressé par ce roman exotique pouvait aisément acheter une copie ou se la faire établir, la ramener dans sa cité et la faire traduire en latin. Le traducteur de cette version n'a pas opéré *kata podas*, mot à mot, mais comprenait le sens de ce qu'il traduisait et écrivait un latin correct selon les exigences de l'époque carolingienne. Nous pouvons remarquer par ailleurs que d'autres Passions reçurent une semblable traduction à Naples à la même époque⁶³.

Les manuscrits de la *Passio Febroniae* nous permettent de suivre la diffusion du culte de cette martyre orientale dans la chrétienté occidentale. La sainte faisait l'objet d'un culte dans la cité de Trani⁶⁴, dans la Pouille, une métropole importante de la côte méridionale de l'Adriatique. La légende, que l'on trouve dans les *Acta Sanctorum*, veut que la

⁶⁰ Étude très complète de ces manuscrits: Chiesa (1990) 67–116.

⁶¹ *Passio sanctae Febroniae*, prologue (F2) 297, éd. Chiesa (1990). L'évêque commanditaire est nommé: Athanase II (voir Chiesa (1990) 12 et n. 46). En revanche, le traducteur reste anonyme. Il est toutefois identifié, parmi les nombreux traducteurs en activité à Naples dans la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle et la première du X^e, à un nommé Guarimpotus: Devos (1958); Fébronie est traitée aux pages 164–70. Elle figure dans le calendrier gravé dans le marbre à Naples probablement dans le troisième quart du IX^e siècle: Delehay (1939); Mallardo (1947) 23 et 186; cf. Chiesa (1990) 21–2.

⁶² Chiesa (1990) 227–47.

⁶³ Ibid. 12–5.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 20.

dépouille intacte de Fébronie ait été trouvée dans un reliquaire échoué sur la côte à la suite d'une tempête; mais, finalement, seul un bras fut préservé. La fête en était à juste titre célébrée le 25 juin jusqu'au XIX^e siècle, tandis que la translation est fêtée le 15 du même mois. Malheureusement, nous n'avons pas d'indication qui permette de dater cette translation, en fait une invention, mais elle doit se situer à une époque assez haute. La Pouille devint particulièrement importante pour l'Empire byzantin dans la seconde moitié du IX^e siècle, quand elle remplaça la Sicile comme principale tête de pont byzantine en Italie⁶⁵. En Pouille, on trouvait également un culte de Fébronie à Bovino, une antique cité située au Sud de Troia, et à Canosa, à l'est de Trani⁶⁶. L'un des manuscrits vient de Troia, cité fondée en 1019⁶⁷.

Bien sûr, Fébronie faisait l'objet d'un culte à Naples⁶⁸, où subsistaient plusieurs églises de rite byzantin; plusieurs calendriers préservés incluent la fête de la sainte au 25 juin. Nous trouvons également Fébronie au nord de la Campanie, à Capoue, où la sainte figure dans quatre calendriers liturgiques. C'est également le cas au Mont Cassin et à Bénévent⁶⁹.

Comme on peut s'y attendre, la traduction pratiquée en Italie du Nord a entraîné la diffusion du culte, par exemple à Bologne⁷⁰. Même chose à Pavie, à proximité de l'endroit où aurait été effectuée la traduction du VII^e siècle: une église Saint-Marin y abrite des reliques de la sainte au XIII^e siècle et la Passion y est connue. Comme les textes liés à ces reliques évoquent une martyre à la fois vierge et moniale, il est vraisemblable que les fidèles considéraient qu'il s'agissait de Fébronie de Nisibe, dans une région où le prénom Fébronie n'est pas alors fréquent. Son histoire est donc connue et elle bénéficie d'un culte⁷¹.

C'est également le cas à Milan. Aux environs de 1100, dans l'église dédiée à saint Protas qui possédait des reliques de saint Georges, un autel était consacré à Fébronie. Celle-ci figure dans un nombre significatif de calendriers liturgiques à partir du XI^e siècle selon les manuscrits qui nous sont parvenus, mais la fête, toujours placée à juste titre le 25 juin, a pu apparaître avant. Monza et Milan abritent deux

⁶⁵ Martin (1993).

⁶⁶ Chiesa (1990) 20–21.

⁶⁷ Martin (1990).

⁶⁸ Chiesa (1990) 21–3.

⁶⁹ Pour Capoue, le Mont Cassin et Bénévent, Chiesa (1990) 23–4.

⁷⁰ Chiesa (1990) 25.

⁷¹ Ibid. 25–8.

manuscripts de la Passion en version nord-italienne, datant des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. Un sermon écrit dans les années 1270 par le franciscain Jean d'Opremo, qui prêche à Saint-Eustorge évoque également Fébronie; la lecture du sermon révèle plusieurs citations de la même Passion⁷².

Notons que Fébronie fait encore aujourd'hui l'objet d'un culte en Sicile⁷³; elle est la patronne de Patti, qu'elle aurait sauvé d'une invasion des Turcs, et de Palagonia; son culte revêt un aspect particulièrement solennel à Palerme. Le prénom est assez fréquent dans l'île. Bien que plusieurs mentions de Fébronie en Sicile soient reliées à la tradition campanienne, il convient de se rappeler que, au VII^e siècle, la Sicile était l'une des provinces les plus importantes de l'Empire byzantin, l'une des plus fermement tenues en main, et donc en relation étroite et constante avec Constantinople; beaucoup de gens savaient le grec⁷⁴. De plus, la Sicile fit office de refuge pour de nombreux chrétiens qui fuyaient l'invasion arabe, avec parmi eux de nombreux syriaques; on ne peut donc exclure que la version syriaque ait été elle aussi connue en Sicile. Quoi qu'il en soit, la Sicile la fête toujours le 25 juin. À l'inverse, Rome l'ignore presque complètement; on ne trouve qu'un seul manuscrit de la Passion latine au Vatican, en version nord italienne. Au VII^e siècle, date de cette traduction, les liens étaient encore très forts entre Rome et Ravenne.

Fébronie est également connue dans le monde germanique et notamment dans la partie orientale de celui-ci, dont l'Autriche⁷⁵. Trois manuscrits proviennent de Bohême et de Hongrie. Dans ces trois manuscrits, il ne s'agit pas de l'inclusion dans un ensemble de *Vitæ* à finalité liturgique; l'intérêt se porte sur l'histoire elle-même de la martyre et son aspect édifiant. Une dévotion particulière envers la sainte se fait sentir dans ce cas.

Fébronie constitue donc un bon exemple d'une sainte dont l'existence même reste douteuse, mais dont la célébrité et le culte, conséquences de la diffusion de sa *Passio*, qui vire parfois à la *Translatio*, se sont largement répandus du coin le plus reculé de l'Orient chrétien jusqu'à Constantinople et surtout l'Occident. Ce phénomène se produit à peu près certainement au VII^e siècle et ne peut se comprendre

⁷² Ibid. 28–34.

⁷³ Ibid. 37.

⁷⁴ Voir en dernier lieu la thèse encore inédite de Prigent (2006).

⁷⁵ Chiesa (1990) 34–6.

sans tenir le plus grand compte de la situation politique. Byzance regagna d'abord ses provinces orientales sur l'Empire perse au prix de grandes difficultés, pour les perdre presque aussitôt au bénéfice des Arabes musulmans. Au contraire, malgré l'arrivée des Lombards, Byzance contrôle le nord-est de l'Italie, Rome, l'Italie méridionale et la Sicile, en relation constante et étroite avec la capitale; plusieurs papes furent alors d'origine grecque ou orientale. Dès lors, nous comprenons mieux comment cette période par ailleurs troublée fut particulièrement propice au transfert d'est en ouest, via Constantinople ou peut-être même directement, d'une tradition hagiographique telle que celle de Fébronie.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Sources

- Bedjan, P. 1895. *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, t. 5. Paris.
- Bidez, J. et F. Winkermann, éd. 1972. *Philostorgius Kirchengeschichte, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte* 21, 166–75. Berlin.
- Brock, S. et S. Harvey. 1998. *Holy women of the Syrian Orient. The Transformation of the Classical Heritage* 13. Berkeley.
- Budge, E. 1902. *The Histories of Rabban Hormizd in the Persian and Rabban bar 'Idta*. 2, 1, 203. London.
- . 1928. *The Book of the Saints of Ethiopian Church: A translation of the Ethiopic Synaxarium...made from the manuscripts Oriental 660 and 661 in the British Museum*. Vol. 4. Cambridge.
- Canivet, P. et A. Leroy-Molinghen, éd., trad. 1977–79. *Histoire des moines de Syrie: Histoire Philothée / Théodoret de Cyr*. Paris.
- Chiesa, P. 1990. *Le versioni latine della Passio Sanctæ Febrionæ. Storia, metodo, modelli di due traduzioni agiografiche altomedievali*. Biblioteca di Medioevo Latino 2. Spolète.
- Clercq, C. de, éd. 1963. *Concilia Galliae A. 511–A. 695. Corpus christianorum. Series latina* 148A. Turnhout.
- Crisafulli, V. et J. Nesbitt. 1997. *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A collection of miracle stories by an anonymous author of seventh-century Byzantium, The Medieval Mediterranean* 13. Leyde-New York-Cologne.
- Delaporte, L., trad. 1910. *La Chronographie d'Élie bar-Šinaya, métropolitain de Nisibe*. Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Sciences historiques et philologiques; 181. Paris.
- Mango, C., éd. 1990. *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople. Short History, Text, translation and commentary*. CFHB XIII, Dumbarton Oaks Texts 10. Washington, DC.
- Matéos, J. éd. 1962. *Typikon de la Grande Église, Le Typicon de la Grande Église*. Ms. Sainte-Croix n° 40. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes, t. 1: *Le cycle des douze mois*. *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 165. Rome.
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A., éd. 1909/1975. *Varia Graeca Sacra*. Leipzig.

- Parmentier, L. et F. Scheidweiler, édd., 1998. Théodoret de Cyr, Histoire ecclésiastique rééd. révisée H. C. Hansen, Theodoretos Kirchengeschichte, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte. Neue Folge 5. Berlin.
- Preger, T. éd. 1901–07. *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitarum*. 2 vols. Leipzig.
- Vitæ et passiones martyrum et sanctorum ex Eclogariis. 1874. Venise.

Études

- Brock, S. 1979. «The Fenqitho of the monastery of Mar Gabriel in Tur 'Abdin.» *Ostkirchliche Studien* 28: 168–82.
- . 1995. «The Syriac background.» Dans *Archbishop Theodore*. Éd. M. Lapidge, 30–53. *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* 11. Cambridge.
- Delehaye, H. 1939. «Hagiographie napolitaine.» *AB* 57: 5–64.
- Déroche, V. 1993. «Pourquoi écrivait-on des recueils de miracles? L'exemple des miracles d'Artémios.» Dans *Le saint et son sanctuaire à Byzance: textes, images et monuments*. Éd. C. Jolivet-Lévy, M. Kaplan, J.-P. Sodini, 95–116. *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 11. Paris.
- Devos, P. 1958. «L'œuvre de Guarimpotus, hagiographe napolitain.» *AB* 76: 151–87.
- Devreese, R. 1945. *Le patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'Église jusqu'à la conquête arabe*. Études Palestiniennes et Orientales. Paris.
- Efthymiadis, S. 2004. «A day and ten months in the life of a lonely bachelor: The other Byzantium in *Miracula S. Artemii* 18 and 22.» *DOP* 58: 1–26.
- Fiey, J.-M. 1977. *Nisibe, métropole syriaque et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours*. *Subsidia, Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium Subsidia*. Louvain.
- Guyer, S. 1923. *Meine Tigrisfahrt auf dem Floss nach den Ruinenstätten Mesopotamiens*. Berlin.
- Halkin, F. 1958. «La passion grecque des saintes Libyè, Eutropie et Léonis, martyres à Nisibe.» *AB* 76: 293–315.
- Kazhdan, A. 1988. «Hagiographical notes (17–20).» *Erytheia* 9.2: 197–209. Repris dans *Authors and texts in Byzantium*. A. Kazhdan, VII. *Collected Studies* 400. Aldershot.
- Lieu, S. 1996. «From villain to saint and martyr: The life and after-life of Flavius Artemius, *Dux Aegypti*.» *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 20: 56–76.
- Madden, F. 1991–92. «The fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203–1204: A damage assessment.» *BZ* 84–5: 72–93.
- Mallardo, D. 1947. *Il calendario Marmoreo di Napoli*. Rome.
- Mango, C. 1979/1993. «On the history of the Templon and the Martyrion of St Artemios at Constantinople.» *Zograf* 10: 1–13. Repris dans *Studies on Constantinople*. C. Mango, XV. *Variorum Collected Studies Series* 394. Aldershot.
- Martin, J. 1990. «Troia et son territoire au XI^e siècle.» *Vetera Christianorum* 27: 175–201.
- . 1993. *La Pouille du VI^e au XII^e siècle*. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 179. Rome.
- Peeters, P. 1917–19. «Histoires monastiques géorgiennes.» *AB* 36–37: 35.
- . 1920. «La légende de saint Jacques de Nisibe.» *AB* 38: 285–373.
- Prigent, V. 2006. *La Sicile byzantine (VI^e–X^e siècle)*. Thèse, Université Paris IV. Paris.
- Simon, J. 1924. «Note sur l'original de passion de Sainte Fébronie.» *AB* 42: 69–76.
- Talbot, A.-M. et A. Kazhdan. 1991–92/2001. «Women and iconoclasm.» *BZ* 84–85: 391–408. Repris dans *Women and religious life in Byzantium*. A.-M. Talbot, III. *Variorum Collected Studies Series* 733. Aldershot.

LEARNED WOMEN OF BYZANTIUM AND THE SURVIVING RECORD

Maria Mavroudi

The narrative sources that inform us about learned women in Greek-speaking antiquity and the medieval period are in their overwhelming majority the result of late antique and subsequently also Byzantine selection and preservation. Since we recognize that the attitude of a society regarding aspects of its past reveals its views about the present, the following fact calls for some reflection: Greek narrative sources created or preserved during the Byzantine period seem to convey a significantly greater amount of information about learned women of the ancient than of the Byzantine period. Indeed, already in the early modern period, it was possible to collect a mine of information on learned women (for example, philosophers, poets, doctors, alchemists) who were active in Graeco-Roman antiquity¹ and use them in order to argue in favor of female participation in public intellectual life in the seventeenth century, a period for which female authors are relatively well recorded and studied by modern researchers.² Likewise—and closer to our own frame of reference—the study of women in earlier historic periods was intensified since the late 1970s and early 1980s, the time when “women’s studies” took shape as an academic discipline and employed various tools, including the exploration of historic precedent, in order to argue in favor of a new place for contemporary women in academia and society at large. By the same token, could we interpret the Byzantine collection and preservation of information

¹ A well-known such work is by Lucrezia Marinella (1571–1653), *The nobility and excellence of women, and the defects and vices of men*, ed. and trans. Dunhill (1999); it was based on earlier works on famous women, the earliest of which was Boccaccio’s *De mulieribus claris* (1374), the collected biographies of 106 women. Boccaccio seems to have intended this as an imitation of known works from Roman antiquity on illustrious men [Kolsky (2003)] and was unaware of Plutarch’s *Noble Deeds of Women* (= *Moralia* 17) [Franklin (2006) 1]. Later authors reference Boccaccio’s work, such as Christine de Pisan in *The Book of the City of Ladies* (1405) [Lawson (1985) 21]. For other works on famous women, see Dunhill (1999) xvi ff. and the not always adequate McLeod (1991).

² Findlen (2002).

about learned women in antiquity as a contemplation by the Byzantines (whether men or women) on equivalent roles potentially played by Byzantine women in their contemporary societies? A brief answer to this large question is possible by looking at the associations three Byzantine writers evoke when mentioning Aspasia, one of the most famous female figures of Greek antiquity. The ancient sources read by the Byzantines offer a range of positive as well as negative evaluations for Aspasia ranging between a prostitute and a respectable woman;³ this is also reflected in Aspasia's mention by Byzantine authors, who chose depending on whether they wanted to convey a positive or negative example of womanhood as it applied to the point they wished to make regarding their own society. In the tenth century, Euthymios Protasecretis wrote an *encomium* on St. Mary the Egyptian praising her asceticism in which he compared her with a number of virtuous men and women from antiquity. The female examples include not only Aspasia, but also Antigone, Pheretima, Phemonoe, Pantheia, Thargelia, and Theano the Pythagorean. The modern editor of the text, F. Halkin, registered surprise at this seemingly incongruous catalogue,⁴ but Euthymios' choices become perfectly intelligible when we realize that he identified these figures as philosophers following a definition of philosophy current in a number of ninth to eleventh century texts such as the *Suda* and the *Lexicon* of Zonaras as "moral perfection based on the true gnosis of Being."⁵ In a world that had known Christian revelation, such a definition can only lead to the identification of philosophy with Christianity and of a monk or nun with a philosopher;⁶ accordingly, Euthymios compared the ascetic Mary with non-Christian models of virtue, since all of them are philosophers; of course, Mary far surpasses the others because of being a Christian.⁷ A positive

³ Henry (1995); Taylor (2003) 182–86. Both Henry and Taylor discuss the seventh-century drawing of a gemstone thought to depict Aspasia because of its inscription ΑΣΠΑΣΟΥ, seemingly a Byzantine version of her name. Since this would have been a unique such instance, a correction is in order: this is a first-century BC gem depicting the gold and ivory statue of Athena by Pheidias. The inscription (ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΥ) gives the name of the engraver. See Zwierlein-Diehl (2007) 111–12, 408–9, plate 96, fig. 436. I am grateful to Professor Nikos Papazarkadas for the correction and reference.

⁴ Ed. Halkin (1981), 34, note 17.

⁵ On the appearance of the term in other texts, see Ševčenko (1956) 449.

⁶ See Ševčenko (1956) 449 and Dölger (1953). On the identification of male and female ascetics with philosophers in Late Antiquity, see Clark (1998).

⁷ Ed. Halkin (1981) 7. 12–15: Τί πρὸς ταῦτα ἡμῖν Ἑσσαῖοι καὶ γυμνοσοφισταί; Τί δὲ Βραχμάνες οἱ τραγλοῦται, Ἀντισθένης τε καὶ Διογένης καὶ Κράτητες τὰ τῆς κενῆς

attitude towards Aspasia is also registered at the beginning of the fifteenth century, though in a different way: in an address to emperor Manuel II, Manuel Chrysoloras called the emperor's mother, Helena Kantakouzene, a new Aspasia, in an attempt to pay her the ultimate compliment on account of her erudition.⁸

An elaborate negative portrayal of Aspasia is given in the twelfth century:⁹ John Tzetzes (*Chiliades* 360.943–61) presents her as the cause of the Peloponnesian war, an allegation traceable to Aristophanes¹⁰ and repeated in a number of ancient and Byzantine sources¹¹ though absent from Thucydides, whose text Tzetzes had read and commented on:¹² Pericles excluded the Megarians from all markets and ports controlled by Athens by claiming they had destroyed a sacred meadow (ὄργας), whereas the real reason was that they had insulted his wedded wife, Aspasia, whom they had formerly known as a prostitute in their city. Tzetzes' punch line is that, while lying, Pericles was also telling the truth, because both the real and the fabricated cause of the Megarian exclusion was an ὄργας, a word which Tzetzes stretches to convey a double entendre: Pericles' ὄργας was not a sacred meadow but Aspasia, a crazed devotee (rendered by Tzetzes irregularly also as ὄργας)¹³ not of Athena (therefore no learned woman) but of Aphrodite (that is, a mere prostitute). In this word play Tzetzes exploits a well-known

δόξης πάρεργα; Ἡ γυναικῶν ὅσαι περίδοξοι δι' ἄρετὴν ἀνεγράφησαν, Ἀντιγόνη φημὶ καὶ Φερετῖμα καὶ Φημονόη καὶ Πάνθηα, Θαρρηλία τε καὶ Ἀσπασία καὶ ἡ πυθαγορικὴ Θεανώ; Ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ μιγνύειν τὰ ἄμικτα; Τίς γὰρ κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; ἢ τίς μερὶς πιστῷ μετὰ ἀπίστου; Τίς δὲ συγκατάθεσις ναῶ θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδώλων; Ἐξὸν ἐκ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι.

⁸ Ἔσχομεν γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τούτοις, Ἀσπασίαν νέαν, τὴν σὴν μητέρα καὶ βασιλίδα λέγω, δυναμένην καὶ αὐτὴν ἄριστα λέγειν. For references to this inaccessible text, see Mergiali (1996) 122.

⁹ Byzantine literature contains both negative and positive portrayals of pagan female intellectuals, sometimes by the same author. For example, Psellos mentions Sappho, Diotima, Aspasia and Theano negatively when he compares them with the prophetess Dosithea in his *Accusation of the Patriarch* (*Orationes forenses et acta* 1.1114); Sappho and Theano, together with the Sibyls and "the Egyptian wise woman" (i.e. Hypatia) are positive models in Psellos' *Encomium for His Mother* (1873). Theano's reputation was so firmly established in Greek by the late antique period that her gnomic sentences also exist in Syriac translation; see Possedel (1998) and Brock (2003) 15.

¹⁰ Henry (1995) 25–28; Taylor (2003) 184.

¹¹ E.g. Plutarch, *Life of Pericles*, 30; Scholia in Aelium Aristidem, *Hyper ton tettaron*, ed. Jebb, 137.6; George Synkellos (304.12 and 309.10); etc.

¹² Luzzatto (1999).

¹³ ὄργας = "crazed devotee" is not an attested meaning of the word in modern or Byzantine dictionaries; a more correct choice would have been ὄργιας or ὄργεών, words that appear right after ὄργας in some Byzantine dictionaries.

metaphor of ancient and medieval literature, the woman as a garden,¹⁴ with connotations of both sexual purity and lewdness, also analyzed by Eustathios of Thessaloniki at around the same time.¹⁵ Tzetzes is repeatedly sarcastic towards women renowned for their erudition. In the introduction to his commentary on the *Odyssey*, he also attacked Demo, an author of unknown date that modern scholars tend to place around the fifth or sixth century; the surviving fragments of her work indicate that she drew from astronomy and astrology in order to offer rationalized allegorical interpretations of myths and deities following a traditional method of Homeric interpretation.¹⁶ She is quoted a number of times in the Byzantine scholia to Homer, also by Eustathios of Thessaloniki. Tzetzes mocked her name with a pun (Demo = Mimo = monkey) and dismissed her as too high-minded, which in the immediately preceding line he contrasts (not without self-satisfaction) with his own simplicity and clarity. The literary pursuits of women, not only those of the remote past, but also of the living present, seem to have bothered him: in a brief verse invective against an unnamed woman who wrote schedographies (a kind of grammatical exercise),¹⁷ he admonished her that spinning and weaving is a more appropriate female occupation.¹⁸ Could this be a woman trying to support herself as a paid professional of letters (especially since she turned to a literary product included in school textbooks of the twelfth century, therefore potentially lucrative through its use in beginning education),¹⁹ like the

¹⁴ On this metaphor, see Dolezal and Mavroudi (2002) 139.

¹⁵ Stallbaum (1825/1970) 1: 265.39: γυναῖκα γάρ τις μανιόκηπον εἶπε, τὴν μεμνηῦαν περὶ μίξεις. κῆπον ἐκεῖνος ὑποθέμενος εἶναι, τὸ παρὰ Λυκόφρονι ἐπέσιον. [Someone called a woman who is mad [with desire] to have intercourse “a mad garden.” He suggested that a garden is what Lycophron calls *epeision* (pudenda muliebria)]. Cf. also *Suda*, Μυσάχνη: ἡ πόρνη παρὰ Ἀρχιλόχῳ [...]. Ἀνακρέων δὲ καὶ πανδοσίαν καὶ λεωφόρον [ταύτην φησὶν] καὶ μανιόκηπον. κῆπος γὰρ τὸ μόριον.

¹⁶ The most detailed discussion on Demo remains Ludwich (1895) that also collects a number of her fragments. Hunger (1978), = Greek trans. (1992) 2: 445, places her in the sixth century. Wilson (1983) 228 considers her date uncertain. Montanari (2010) gives the fifth century. One must consider whether she could be identified with the second century AD poetess Demo (Damo), who wrote a poem inscribed on the Colossus of Memnon and was knowledgeable in Homeric poetry; see Plant (2004) 156–58; Brennan (1998) further identified Demo of Memnon’s graffiti with a wealthy Athenian woman of the second century AD attested in an inscription from Attica.

¹⁷ On *schedographia*, see Hunger (1978), = Greek trans. (1992) 2: 396–402.

¹⁸ Mercati (1951) 416–18; Mercati believes that Tzetzes wrote these verses out of hostility to the genre of schedography, not the woman who wrote in it.

¹⁹ On the status of schedography in the twelfth century, see Hunger (1978) = Greek trans. (1992) 2: 397.

Venetian born Christine de Pisan (1365–c. 1431) managed to do at the courts of France?²⁰ Christine is the only female from the Middle Ages, East or West, known to have supported herself and her children through her activities as a professional woman of letters. She turned to writing after being widowed at a young age and, in doing so, followed the profession she had watched her father and husband exercise while she was under their care;²¹ it may have been the only thing she knew how to do to earn a living. The key to her success during her lifetime — and the preservation of her work and reputation in posterity—is that she catered to aristocratic patrons (including women) with important political agendas; she presented them with luxurious manuscripts of her work, some of which survive. Tzetzes' woman schedographer may have been pushed to writing under similar circumstances but seems to have followed a diametrically opposed business model, which may be the reason why we do not hear about her again. Such a hypothesis is, of course, impossible to substantiate; yet the invective is an exhibition of Tzetzes' own grammatical prowess and control of stylistic techniques that may respond to a perceived threat to his own status as a perennially poor professional man of letters. One wonders whether it was also triggered by his testy relations with at least two female patrons of his literary activity, empress Eirene (born Bertha von Sulzbach), first wife of Manuel I and *sebastokratorissa* Eirene, wife of Andronikos, older brother of Manuel I.²² Professional men of letters like him were catering to a remarkably numerous group of female patrons known to be active during the Komnenian period. The extent of this social phenomenon is possible to gauge through the following statistic: among sixty-four poems from three twelfth-century collections of verse naming magnates, thirty-one (almost half) mention women, either by themselves or together with their male kin.²³ In such an atmosphere, some

²⁰ Biographical information on Christine de Pisan in Briesemeister (1977).

²¹ Christine's father, Tommaso da Pisano, had been a professor at the University of Bologna before being invited to Paris as court astrologer by Charles V. Her husband, the Picard nobleman Etienne du Castel, was a notary and royal secretary.

²² Jeffreys (1974) 151.

²³ Count based on the combined evidence of the lists 1–3 drawn up by Magdalino (1993) Appendix 3. These magnates could be actual or potential literary patrons, even if the poets who mention them do not explicitly say so. The overall number of male and female patrons is somewhat greater, since emperors, empresses and magnates whom the authors explicitly identify as actual or potential patrons were excluded from Magdalino's list. On one of the manuscripts from which Magdalino's data is drawn, see Odorico and Messis (2003).

aristocratic women must have developed definite literary tastes and may have even tried their own hand at composition. Tzetzes' female schedographer may have been not an aspiring professional like him, but a dilettante, which can be even worse: a rich lady playing literary games with her other rich lady friends addresses (at least partially) their need for this kind of intellectual fare and curtails the niche that a professional like Tzetzes is trying to carve for himself as she over-saturates the market by making even more products available for free. Tzetzes has a positive opinion about a single literary woman: empress Eudocia, of whose work he admits he knows little. What he emphasizes instead is her long apprenticeship under the grammarians Hyperechios, Orion, and other rhetoricians and philosophers—male professionals like himself to whom she paid due respect, we are to understand; he sharply, vehemently, and at length, contrasts this with his own, unnamed contemporaries, who know nothing about literary composition but pour excrement on the one who tries to help them out of their ignorance.²⁴ It is impossible to miss that he is using an example from the remote past in order to criticize his own wretched times.

If we grant, as the above examples suggest that we do, that Byzantine discussions and comments on learned women in antiquity reflect Byzantine attitudes towards Byzantine learned women, and therefore the record on ancient women's intellectual pursuits preserved in Byzantine manuscripts can also be counted as reflecting implicit Byzantine attitudes towards learned women, this goes only part of the way in bridging the gap in the amount of information on learned women in the ancient vs. the Byzantine period. Two related questions remain open: why do Byzantine women with an education seem to have authored little, or at any rate considerably less than their ancient counterparts?²⁵ In addition, a cumulative comparison of known female intellectual activity in antiquity with its counterpart in the Byzantine period seems to reveal not only a quantitative but also a qualitative difference: The surviving written record allows us to detect women in Greek-speaking antiquity engaging in a number of different yet inter-related disciplines: poetry, philosophy (broadly conceived), alchemy,

²⁴ *Chiliades* 10 ed. Leone (1968) 306. 52–94; I read μακρὸν instead of μικρὸν ἀκροωμένη in verse 59.

²⁵ Laiou (1985) 60: "The extant writings of <Byzantine> women are surprisingly few in a society which, especially after the eleventh century, could boast of a certain degree of female literacy and even, at times, of highly learned aristocratic women."

and medicine—all of which we recognize as “secular” pursuits.²⁶ By comparison, learned women of the middle and late Byzantine period seem to have expended their intellectual energies in “religious” pursuits: hymnography, hagiography, copying of religious manuscripts, epistolography (mostly, though not exclusively, exchanged with men of the church on religious topics). How justified is this impression?

The Byzantine archeological record lacks a particular kind of source that modern scholars have used productively in order to retrieve information on women in the ancient world, including professionals and women of letters: inscriptions, the habit and taste for which drastically diminished and all but disappeared after the end of antiquity.²⁷ Yet Byzantinists can make up for it with existing manuscripts known through notes on their pages to have been copied or owned by women.²⁸

The earliest modern publication on female scribes in the Greek language is a 1903 study by Spyridon Lampros, evidently borne out of a life-long occupation with Greek manuscripts.²⁹ He enumerated thirty-one women scribes and manuscript owners active between the fourth and the seventeenth centuries, in their majority undistinguished and otherwise unknown to the historic record, mostly on the basis of notes on existing manuscripts, but also consulting narrative sources. Understandably, as the manuscripts become more recent, therefore more abundant, so do the names of the women who copied or owned them: six can be dated between the fourth and the twelfth centuries

²⁶ Ancient women poets and philosophers are discussed below; on ancient women physicians, see Fleming (2007); women alchemists, Letrouit (1995), no. 26.7; no. 2.1.1; no. 26.9; no. 3; no. 9.

²⁷ Inscriptions are used by Haines-Eintzen (1998) on female scribes in the early Christian period; Parker (1997) and Fleming (2007) for female physicians up to the sixth century; Dronke (1984) and Plant (2004) use them to retrieve poems by women inscribed formally or as graffiti on stone, though in such cases one needs to carefully distinguish between poems composed or commissioned by women, which is not always easy.

²⁸ Seals, an important source for Byzantine prosopography, are not helpful in discerning women scribes or in other activities indicating literacy: they generally belonged to aristocratic women whom they identify with their noble titles or the names of the administrative offices held by their husbands; for examples, see Margarou (2000), 26, 44, 46, 52, 54, 64, 66–68, 73, etc.

²⁹ Lampros (1903); perhaps the inspiration for this publication can also be placed within the context of the feminist activities spearheaded in Greece by Kalirroë Parren (1861–1940) during the last decades of the nineteenth century; Spyridon Lampros, briefly a prime-minister (1916–17), was also the father of the first female minister on a Greek government, Lina Tsaldari (minister of social welfare, 1956–58).

(among whom three are recorded only in narrative sources),³⁰ twelve between the thirteenth and the fifteenth, while the remaining thirteen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³¹

Recently, K. Haines-Eitzen proposed that some of our earliest Christian manuscripts may have been copied by women.³² As for later Byzantine scribal activity and manuscript ownership by women, the best available treatment is by Alice-Mary Talbot, discussing the Paleologan period, when the overall greater availability of manuscripts yields more data.³³ We remain without a systematic investigation of

³⁰ No. 1, Saint Melania the Younger; no. 3, Kassia; no. 6, Constantina, whose very existence Lampros doubted. The education of no. 5, Eirene Doukaina, is more evident from the information recorded about her in the *Alexiad* than her autograph signature on the *Typikon* of her nunnery (MS Paris. gr. 383). No. 2, "Empress Maria," considered at least since the eighteenth century as the scribe of a manuscript with scholia on the Acts of the Apostles and identified as Maria of Amnia, the granddaughter of St. Philaretos the Merciful and first wife of emperor Constantine VI, writing around the year 800, must be Maria of Alania (ca. 1050–1103) who was not the copyist but the recipient of the manuscript. See Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1905) and Rydén (2002) 23. Clearly, Lampros was unable to identify manuscript notes giving evidence of female scribal activity before the thirteenth century, though such information could be gleaned from earlier narrative sources. Consistently with this pattern, Laiou (1981) 255 finds that the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are the earliest time for which enough archival documents survive to allow even an attempt to statistically measure female literacy. The basis for such statistics are almost exclusively Athonite documents (which involve aristocratic and peasant women but largely exclude the urban, non-aristocratic females and do not reveal anything about belletristic activity); the criterion applied for defining literacy is the ability of the women to sign their names; the rate of female literacy is 1.8% for the thirteenth century and 16.0% for the fourteenth. The studies of both Lampros and Laiou suggest that it is very difficult to find evidence independent of the narrative sources that could be used to measure how many women could read and write, and if so what kind of texts, earlier than the thirteenth century.

³¹ This count is still generous, because among the thirty-one women that Lampros discussed, he sometimes doubted the female authorship alleged by the sources. On no. 12, Smaragda, see Tselikas (2000) 355 (with photographic reproduction of the manuscript).

³² Haines-Eitzen (1998). To the Greek sources known to Lampros (the testimony of Eusebius on Origen's virgin scribes and the hagiographic account of a fifth-century saint, Melania the Younger) Haines-Eitzen added two Greek inscriptions from Asia Minor and Latin epigraphic and literary evidence pertaining to female calligraphers who could write Greek, as well as a later legend, the earliest surviving record of which dates to the fourteenth century, indicating that the codex Alexandrinus, one of the earliest biblical codices in existence, was copied by St. Thecla. On St. Thecla and three more legendary female scribes (empress Theodora the restorer of the icons, Kassia and St. Matrona), see Casetti Brach (1975).

³³ Talbot (1983) 609–14, providing a catalogue of Paleologan manuscripts that can be associated with convents. To the women scribes of the Paleologan period known to Lampros, two more were added by later research: the nun Anna in the thirteenth century and her close contemporary Eirene, the daughter of Theodore Hagiopetrites,

female scribal activity in the middle Byzantine and the Comnenian period other than Lampros', though scholarly remarks on female education during these centuries are pertinent.³⁴ Katerina Nikolaou recently outlined that from the eighth until the beginning of the eleventh century the presence of women in the context of Byzantine educational institutions is hard to discern, or completely missing. This changes towards the end of the eleventh century, from which time onwards we know of a number of well-educated women, a phenomenon that lasts throughout the Comnenian period. Aristocratic women of any period had better chances to receive an education, while royal women of different centuries were often (but not always) given one because of the exalted duties they were expected to perform and the possibility that they may be called upon to assist with governance.³⁵

This brief overview suggests a pattern in the availability of information on educated women in Byzantium that is entirely consistent with the distribution of the preserved record on any aspect of Byzantine social and cultural life. True, the evidence collected by modern scholars on Byzantine female bibliophiles suggests that women produced and owned mostly biblical, liturgical, and hagiographical—therefore “religious” rather than “secular”—manuscripts. Yet notable exceptions include the famous sixth-century manuscript of Dioscorides now in Vienna that was produced for Juliana Anicia;³⁶ the collection of classical

active in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries; see Schreiner (1999) 37–38 and Weyl Carr (1985) 5–6.

³⁴ References from the fourth to the fifteenth centuries to women in occupations that suggest female literacy and access to education are collected in Margarou (2002) 163–65 and 217–18 (teacher = *didaskalos*), 215 (calligrapher), 223–26 and 235–36 (physician and midwife), 257–58 (preparer of potions and amulets). However, almost all mentions of “teachers” occur in a monastic context and could simply indicate guidance in matters of spirituality and conduct; as for medicine, midwifery, and knowledge of herbs, drugs and magic, they could be imparted through practice instead of academic training. Margarou (2002) 265–71 differentiates the levels of education attained by nuns depending on the social class to which they had been born and generally agrees with the conclusions outlined in Nikolaou (2005).

³⁵ Nikolaou (2005) 185–213. See also the remarks on female literacy in Laiou (1981) 253–57. A well-known instance of advertising the education given to the daughters of emperor Basil I (born an illiterate peasant) is their depiction holding books in a painting decorating the imperial palace [Anderson (2000) 127]; educated imperial princesses also include the daughters of emperor Theophilos and Constantine VII's daughter Agathe. Psellos, on the other hand, accused Constantine VIII and Basil II of neglecting the education of Constantine VIII's daughters; for references to primary sources and further instances, see Herrin (1995) 77–78.

³⁶ On Juliana Anicia and the Dioscorides manuscript, see Brubaker (2002) and Talbot (1997) 135–37; for a recent suggestion that parts of the manuscript preexisted

authors associated with Theodora Raoulaina in the second half of the thirteenth century;³⁷ a further example could be the fifteenth-century female owner of a manuscript with two comedies by Aristophanes who is mentioned together with her husband, though it is impossible to ascertain whether co-owning the manuscript also meant that she read it;³⁸ beyond manuscript copying, in the realm of literary composition, “secularly minded” is the translation into Greek of an Arabic or Persian work on geomancy commissioned to the monk Arsenios by the lady Theodora Doukaina, future wife of emperor Michael VIII Paleologos;³⁹ it almost becomes possible to argue that the primacy of religious content is not a peculiarity of manuscripts connected with women but consistent with the overall distribution of texts in the surviving Byzantine manuscripts, where the “religious” outnumbers the “secular.”⁴⁰

and were only bound together and prefaced with the dedicatory page for the occasion of Juliana Anicia’s wedding, see Gamillscheg (2007) 192.

³⁷ Talbot (1983) 611; Katsiampoura (2002); Reghelin (2006). Theodora Raoulaina owned the famous 10th-century Thucydides (MS *Monac. Gr.* 430) and copied with her own hand the *Orations* of Aelios Aristeides (MS *Vat. Gr.* 1899) and Simplicius’ commentary on Aristotle’s *Physics* (MS *Mosq. Hist. Mus.* 3649); see Fonkić (1974) 134 and Evangelatou-Notara (1982/83) 204. Her scholarly interests are also clear in the letters of men such as Maximos Planoudes and Nikephoros Choumnos addressed to her; for example, a letter by Choumnos indicates that she had asked to borrow from him a manuscript of Aristotle’s *Meteorologika* and its commentaries by Alexandros of Aphrodisias. On her many correspondents and references to primary sources, see Nicol (1996) 41–44.

³⁸ Lampros (1903) no. 11; the same reservation applies to the sixteenth-century widow who owned a manuscript with patristic texts and world chronicles and gifted it to a monk [Lampros (1903) no. 18]. Two further manuscripts with secular content are purportedly autographs by women authors but Lampros dismisses the claim by arguing that they could not possibly have mastered the classicizing language of these texts (nos. 28 and 29).

³⁹ Mavroudi (2002) 408–9. An outline of the intellectual interests documented in connection with women throughout the Byzantine centuries can be found in Talbot (1997) 135–37; specifically for the Paleologan period, Talbot (1983) 609–14.

⁴⁰ The reasons for this are multiple and cannot be attributed simply to the “theocratic” character of Byzantium; patterns of preservation must also be taken into consideration, such as the utilitarian purpose of books with religious content in the only institutions of the Byzantine world that retained their continuity after the political end of Byzantium, i.e. monasteries and patriarchal sees. These remained the most important depositories of manuscripts after the fifteenth century and their holdings enriched modern European collections of Greek manuscripts. Let it also be remembered that the text of the Bible remains, even in our secular era, the most frequently printed single work. Interestingly, the group of mostly religious manuscripts attributed to the “atelier of the Palaiologina” (identified as Theodora Raoulaina) are no longer viewed as exclusively commissioned and owned by her; see Lowden and Nelson (1991) and

So much about what women read; how about what they wrote? If we compare Greek antiquity with Byzantium or even Latin antiquity, it seems that not only the names of female authors but also texts written by or attributed to them survive in considerably greater numbers from the ancient Greek world.⁴¹ For example, it is possible to compile an anthology quoting from the work of forty-six women authors writing in Greek between the seventh century BC and the early third century AD.⁴² In the current state of research, Byzantinists would be hard pressed to create as extensive an anthology covering an equivalent amount of time, between the fourth and the fifteenth century AD.⁴³ The only published attempt known to me, Kadel (1995), includes only seven women authors. This disparity can, at least partly, be explained by the eagerness with which modern scholars in different fields have scrutinized the historic record. Such an effort was undertaken more intensively for Graeco-Roman antiquity, early Christianity and the Latin Middle Ages because not only are these fields more populated in Western academia than Byzantine studies, but their conclusions can more readily provide arguments in the context of contemporary political debates, since all three are broadly considered as ancestors to the modern “Western” world in a way that Byzantium, rightly or wrongly,

the earlier comments in Talbot (1983) 612. This affects our understanding of the balance between her “religious” vs. “secular” interests.

⁴¹ Ludwich (1895) 296 contrasted the abundance of material attributed to female authors in Greek with the paucity in Latin.

⁴² Plant (2004), anthologizing a total of fifty-five female authors, seven of whom wrote in Latin and the rest in Greek; the last five in Plant’s catalogue (three of whom wrote in Latin) lived between the fourth and the sixth centuries and have been excluded from our count of fifty because they could be reckoned as falling within the “Byzantine” period. The authors anthologized by Plant are many of those discussed in the earlier monograph by McIntosh Snyder (1989). Dronke (1984) does the same for late antique and medieval literature in Latin. These pioneering efforts do not always address limitations inherent in the source material. For example, Plant includes the reports of men on works by women that do not survive; Dronke (1984) 21–26 collects from inscriptions poems with a female narrative voice without discussing the possibility that these may have been commissioned to professional poets; on female poetry in epigraphic evidence, see also Kadel (1995) 44.

⁴³ Kadel’s goal is to include Christian writers from the first to the fifteenth century regardless of language; the work builds on the earlier research by Dronke (1984) and mostly includes women writing in Latin and Western European vernaculars, though it does make an effort to include Christian women from the churches of the East writing not only in Greek, but also Armenian (two examples). Kadel is so eager to extend the record as far and wide as possible that he includes four lives of female saints written in Syriac that he acknowledges as most probably written by men.

is not.⁴⁴ A closer look at the channels through which information on learned women in antiquity reached us reveals that they are considerably limited and fragile but have been greatly amplified by systematic scholarly efforts over centuries. The domain in which ancient female literary production survives most extensively is poetry, and modern efforts to create a systematic corpus of female poetic production are in evidence at least as early as the sixteenth century.⁴⁵ The work of Sappho, the superstar of ancient poetesses, has been (and continues to be) painstakingly recovered from fragments quoted in later philological works, anthologies and papyri. By comparison, the body of secular and religious poetry attributed to Kassia, Sappho's Byzantine counterpart as far as fame is concerned, has not yet received a systematic edition nor an extensive discussion of the problems it presents in spite of some initial steps in this direction.⁴⁶ Some further comparisons are illuminating: the electronic collection of Greek texts *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* in its present state includes the names of 411 ancient poets (eighth century BC–fourth century AD), nine among whom are female (approximately 2%). Conversely, Hunger's *History of the High-Style Secular Literature of the Byzantines* (1978) reviews approximately 120 Byzantine poets for an equivalent period (fourth- fifteenth century AD) including two women, empress Eudocia (early fifth century) and Kassia (ninth century).⁴⁷ Since this excludes religious poetry, a corrective can be supplied by adding the authors listed in Wellesz' *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (1961), which yields seventy

⁴⁴ For a wide-ranging examination of why Byzantium does not have the same cachet as Graeco-Roman antiquity in the context of modern political debates, see Cameron (2008). Especially regarding women in the early Christian church, research on them has grown almost commensurately with the intensity of the contemporary debate within a number of Christian denominations regarding whether women can become ordained members of the clergy or not, a debate in which the modern doctrinal and institutional heirs to Byzantine Christianity did not become particularly involved. On the necessity to not only "recover" the female figures of the past but also critically reflect on the context in which the evidence about them survives, see Clark (1998).

⁴⁵ The earliest printed edition of ancient women poets I have been able to trace is Ursinus (1598) followed by Wolfius and Olearius (1734–35); a history of early editions of ancient poetry by women can be found in the introduction to Schneider (1802); such efforts must be viewed within the context of the philological study of ancient poetry as a whole.

⁴⁶ The most systematic discussion of Kassia's manuscript tradition and the *testimonia* on her person that could form the basis for a future edition is Rochow (1967); for a recent discussion on the problem of authorship regarding the poems attributed to Kassia, see Lauxtermann (2003) 248–52.

⁴⁷ Hunger (1978), = Greek trans. (1992) 2: 479–598.

more names of poets including one woman, Thecla (ninth century).⁴⁸ More recent research into Byzantine hymnography brought to light two additional female hymnographers, Theodosia (ninth century) and Palaiologina (fourteenth century).⁴⁹ This means that among 190 Byzantine poets five are women (2.6%). Though these calculations are based on non exhaustive data—especially since a sizeable chunk of Byzantine poetic production remains unexplored—⁵⁰ they still indicate that the statistical discrepancy in the number of recorded women authors in antiquity as compared with the Byzantine period is minimal; and that, within this small margin, a more systematic effort to “recover” women authors from unpublished (and even published) source material may yield statistically significant results even if it does not spectacularly increase the number of women authors that we know of.

The best recorded Byzantine woman poet is Eudocia, who—Tzetzes’ comments notwithstanding—owed her education primarily to her pagan philosopher father, Leontios of Athens, though she became a Christian (and an empress) by marrying Theodosios II in 421.⁵¹ Her close contemporary, Hypatia, who excelled not in poetry but Neoplatonic philosophy, was also taught by her father, the famous pagan philosopher Theon of Alexandria.⁵² Since both men were professional teachers, they may have educated their daughters not simply out of paternal love but also as a way to advertise their own ability to teach, especially in an era when their pagan professional credentials

⁴⁸ We have subtracted the names of hymnographers that also appear as “secular” poets in Hunger (1978).

⁴⁹ Catafygiotou-Topping (1982–83), recovering the names of women hymnographers from the catalogue in Follieri (1966) 251–306.

⁵⁰ Hunger (1978) ends the chapter on poetry by stating that he will now stop enumerating Byzantine poets though there are many more to name: most Byzantine authors also wrote poetry.

⁵¹ Tzetzes mentions Leontios as Eudocia’s father but does not assign him a role in educating her, which is not surprising given that he wanted to emphasize her debt to paid professionals like himself. His information on her studies with Hyperechios and Orion is not repeated anywhere else in the sources; see Martindale (1980) 408–9.

⁵² On Eudocia, see Holum (1982) 112–46; on Hypatia, see Saffrey (2005). Father-daughter teams are also known among professional scribes, such as Theodore Hagiopetrites and his daughter Eirene (who also appears to have had her own independent clientele) in the late thirteenth century and in the sixteenth century Angelus Vergicius whose daughter worked on the illustrations of the manuscripts copied by her father; see Weyl Carr (1985) 6–7. The daughter of Ioannes Honorios from sixteenth-century Otranto helped him with copying; see Vogel and Gardthausen (1909) 181–82, note 8.

may have been undermined by the aggressive triumph of Christianity. An educated daughter could also serve as a trusted research assistant: Hypatia is known to have worked on at least some of her father's projects.⁵³ The historic record preserved information on Eudocia because she became empress and Hypatia on account of her martyrdom to the pagan cause; yet there must have been other women educated by their male kin and participating in their intellectual endeavors about whom we know little or nothing because their life circumstances were far less dramatic. Such an instance must be the thirteenth-century Athenian maiden Constantina, whose reported ability to predict earthquakes and other natural phenomena sounds perfectly analogous to that of the fourth-century Neoplatonist Sosipatra.⁵⁴ She is known only through the thirteenth-century Latin chronicle of Matthew Paris, where she is said to have taught Master John of Bassingstoke, archdeacon of Leicester, a man of great erudition and translator of several treatises from Greek into Latin who visited Athens during the first half of the thirteenth century.⁵⁵ Matthew Paris knew John of Basingstoke personally and is explicit that his report is based on his friend's oral communications. Yet modern scholars are inclined to dismiss his account of Constantina as literary fiction.⁵⁶ True, his description of her predictive abilities can make modern scholars incredulous. Since he died before finishing his manuscript, the existing autograph is unrevised and its overall narrative of the history of England during his time contains repetitions, contradictions, and a heartfelt defence of English politics vis-à-vis the Italian papacy. Yet in spite of such flaws Matthew is not known to fabricate lies and the passage on John of Bassingstoke's Athenian sojourn accurately describes at least one independently verifiable fact, Robert

⁵³ Cameron (1990).

⁵⁴ Our only source for Sosipatra is Eunapius' *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*, 6.6; for fabulous elements in her story, see Pack (1952).

⁵⁵ In the words of Matthew Paris [Ed. Giles (1853) 2: 485], "There was a young woman, the daughter of the archbishop of Athens, Constantina by name, who was not twenty years old, endowed with every virtue, and had learned all the difficulties of the trivium and the quadrivium; from which circumstance, on account of her remarkable learning and knowledge, the said Master John used jestingly to call her another Catherine, or simply Catherine. She was the mistress of Master John, and whatever good he acquired in the way of science, as he often asserted, he had begged from her, although he had studied and read for a long time at Paris. This young woman foretold pestilence, thunders, eclipses, and, what was more remarkable, earthquakes; and thus gave an infallible forewarning to all her auditors."

⁵⁶ Lampros (1903) 13–14.

Grosseteste's interest in biblical apocrypha.⁵⁷ Whether Constantina was actually clairvoyant or not, there seems to be no good reason to dismiss her very existence other than our own reluctance to accept that, though extraordinary, it was indeed possible for a young woman in thirteenth-century Athens to have been more knowledgeable than a Paris educated man, at least in some domains.⁵⁸

Philosophy (broadly defined in its literal sense as "love of wisdom") is, after poetry, the field of intellectual endeavour in which ancient women are reported to have been most frequently active. Ancient women philosophers have attracted the attention of modern scholars since the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ Though Aristotle did not accord women a share in philosophy, Plato and his followers did and even included philosopher-queens among the rulers of the ideal state.⁶⁰ As a result, women are more likely to be visible in circles friendly to Platonic philosophy. Even the information we have on Pythagorean women, i.e. female followers of a philosophy earlier than Plato, is available because the Neoplatonists after the first century BC and in particular Iamblichos (ca. 240–325 AD) collected, reinterpreted and disseminated much Pythagorean material.⁶¹ In his *Life of Pythagoras*,

⁵⁷ According to Matthew Paris [Ed. Giles (1853) 2: 484] Grosseteste became aware of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* through John of Basingstoke; as a result, he procured a manuscript from Greece (today MS Ff. 1.24 of the Cambridge University library) and translated the text into Latin. The account of Matthew Paris (minus the explicit mention of John of Basingstoke's name) is consistent with Robert Grosseteste's preface to his translation in Grosseteste (1716).

⁵⁸ This is not to suggest that Constantina was a "regular" phenomenon for early thirteenth-century Athens; she may have been the product of the (unattested) Athenian equivalent of the (well-attested) Constantinopolitan philosophical and literary salons (θέατρα) associated with the desire of literary patrons to assert themselves socially during the Comnenian period [Magdalino (1993) 335–56]; she may have met with reactions analogous to those towards the better recorded learned women of the modern period, such as the eighteenth-century Milanese Maria Gaetana Agnesi who appeared at her father's salon almost as a public attraction. Her multilingualism, philosophical and mathematical training, and mastery of typically masculine techniques of academic disputation became an instrument for her family's social advancement. See Mazzotti (2007) 17–21.

⁵⁹ McIntosh Snyder (1989) 99–121 and Dorandi (1991); the earliest is Menagius (1690), listing sixty-five ancient women philosophers and dedicated to the published classicist Madame Dacier, the wife and daughter of classical scholars.

⁶⁰ On women in Platonic and Neo-platonic philosophy, see O'Meara (2003) 83–86.

⁶¹ Riedwig (2005) x and 124–28; Athanassiadi (2006) 166–69; the present paper adopts the term "Neoplatonist," invented by nineteenth-century scholars to designate the followers and interpreters of Platonic philosophy from Plotinus onwards, for reasons of simplicity, without wishing to enter the more recent scholarly discussions on

Iamblichos gives a list of male and female Pythagoreans that comprises two hundred and eighteen men and seventeen women, eight among whom are identified as wives, daughters, or sisters of the men mentioned in the same catalogue.⁶²

Neoplatonists paid attention to women for practical reasons, too: the schools of Athens and Alexandria depended on dynastic succession, which was often made possible through marriage.⁶³ We also know of women followers of Cynicism, like Hipparchia of Maroneia, and Epicurianism, such as Leontion, who may have been attracted to these philosophical schools due to their lack of emphasis on the traditional division of labor between men and women.⁶⁴ In general, we are much better informed about philosophically inclined women in the ancient than the Byzantine world, partly because information on them is conveyed in collections of biographies conceived as intellectual history, a genre that, after the sixth century AD was no longer cultivated as such.⁶⁵ Female figures seem to have played a role in the intellectual endeavors of writers who include women in their biographical collections: the Neoplatonist Plutarch of Chaironeia (46–122 AD) was married to Timoxena, an author in her own right;⁶⁶ Philostratos was a protégé of “the most philosophical” empress Julia Domna

the appropriate terms to describe the various manifestations of this intellectual tradition at different times and places.

⁶² Data collected from Iamblichos' *Life of Pythagoras* in Diels and Kranz (1951) 446 ff. (a1); same text in Klein (1937) 36. 267; discussion of women Pythagoreans in Taylor (2003) 178 ff.

⁶³ O'Meara (2003) 83. The view that Platonic philosophy was friendly to women somewhat differs from McIntosh Snyder (1989) 121, where Neoplatonism is said not to have attracted many female followers due to its conservative values regarding the role of women and the family, the example of Hypatia notwithstanding.

⁶⁴ McIntosh Snyder (1989) 121.

⁶⁵ The latest collection of biographies I am aware of is the sixth-century *Onomatologos* by Hesychios of Miletos, a work no longer extant, which was used as a source for the biographical entries in the tenth-century *Suda*. Of course, biographies were still written after the sixth century, such as lives of saints and emperors, but are understood by us as hagiography and historiography. It seems to me that the genre was revived in Greek only in the eighteenth century with the works of Demetrios Prokopiou, *Ἐπιτετμημένη ἀπαρίθμησις τῶν κατὰ τὸν παρελθόντα αἰῶνα λογίων γραικῶν καὶ περὶ τινῶν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι ἀνθοούντων* (1722); Kaisarios Dapontes, *Ἱστορικὸς κατὰ-λογος ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων*; and parts of the *Ὑπομνήματα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας* by Sergios Makraios (or Makres). It can be argued that in the medieval period intellectual biography was transformed into hagiography, especially if we take into consideration the definition of philosophy as following a Christian way of life mentioned above.

⁶⁶ Pelling (2010); Plutarch's many works include *On the Virtues of Women* and *Sayings of Spartan Women*.

(ca. 172–250 AD);⁶⁷ Diogenes Laertius (third century AD) dedicated his *Lives of the Philosophers* to an unnamed woman interested in Platonic philosophy;⁶⁸ and Eunapios of Sardis (b. 347 AD) was married to a kinswoman of his mentor Chrysanthios, a student of Iamblichos. These authors frequently provide biographical information about their own teachers and colleagues, an intellectual circle connected also through marriage, friendship, and social intercourse. Since women cannot but play a role in establishing and sustaining such a network (in their capacity as marriageable material, hostesses of philosophical salons, or companions of great men) their names and accomplishments are mentioned because the authors of the biographical works had a direct or indirect personal connection with them. However, almost nothing of what they may have written survives; we know of their teaching mostly through gnomic sentences and riddles that read more like a condensed written record of oral communications.⁶⁹ This, perhaps already in antiquity or in later centuries, may have been regarded as a genre of literature expected of female authors, since examples of it are attributed to Kassia in manuscripts dating from the thirteenth century onwards, whether she really cultivated it or not.⁷⁰

The lack of biographical collections from the sixth century onwards means that, for the middle and late Byzantine period, information on female philosophical interests must be painstakingly sought in a wide variety of sources. The enterprise is complicated by at least two factors: most Byzantine philosophical writings remain unpublished; and we know significantly more about Byzantine philosophy after the second half of the eleventh century than before.⁷¹ In the current state of research, the examples are few and far in between. Predictably, most can be found from the late eleventh century onwards, a period also thought by modern scholars to have dramatically improved the access of women, especially aristocrats, to education.⁷² From the end of the

⁶⁷ Bowie (2010).

⁶⁸ *Lives of the Philosophers* 3.47; on Diogenes Laertius, see Runia (2010).

⁶⁹ On the aptitude of ancient women philosophers for riddles, see Taylor (2003) 177.

⁷⁰ On its manuscript tradition, see Lauxtermann (2003) 248 ff. The genre is also akin to the Christian *Apophthegmata Patrum*, appropriate for Kassia as a nun.

⁷¹ The problem is outlined in Ierodiakonou (2002) 5.

⁷² Outline in Reinsch (2000) 85–87 and more briefly Laiou (1981) 253, who rightly emphasizes the importance of social class in the improved access to education over three generations of women in Michael Psellos' family.

eleventh and into the twelfth century, we can discern the outlines of literary-philosophical salons maintained by a number of women with close ties to the imperial house: Maria of Alania, Eirene Doukaina, Anna Komnena,⁷³ and the aforementioned *sebastokratorissa* Eirene, sister-in-law of the emperor.⁷⁴ Information can be gleaned from conventional historiography, epistolography, and the dedication of works by men to women, either as flattery by ambitious literati to politically and socially influential women, or as the result of direct female patronage. In the twelfth century, Eustratios of Nicaea, a member of Anna Komnena's circle, dedicated his commentary to Book Six of the *Ethica Nicomacheia* to an unnamed woman whom he addressed as princess (βασίλῖς), most probably Anna herself; he also dedicated a short essay on meteorology to Maria of Alania.⁷⁵ In the thirteenth century, the narrative of George Akropolites (*Annales* 39) informs us that Eirene, empress of Nicaea and wife of John III Doukas Vatatzes, though far from proficient in philosophy, had an avowed interest in and respect for it. In the fourteenth century, Theodora Raoulaina's autograph copy of Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* and the letters of her male correspondents such as Maximos Planoudes leave no doubt regarding her advanced philosophical readings.⁷⁶ Several decades later, Nikephoros Gregoras dedicated his commentary on Synesius' treatise on dreams to Eudocia Paleologina, a figure whom he describes in his *Roman History* 8.3.B as famous for her beauty and intellect, a voracious reader and auditor of teaching by others, likened by her contemporaries to Hypatia and Theano the Pythagorean.⁷⁷ Towards the end of that century, Matthew Kantakouzenos addressed two essays to his daughter, Theodora Kantakouzene, titled *On the Love of Learning*

⁷³ Brief discussion and earlier bibliography in Reinsch (2000) 87; Nardi (2002) 56–58; see also Papaioannou in this volume.

⁷⁴ On her position as literary patroness relative to other such patronage in the twelfth century, see Magdalino (1993) 344; for a cumulative portrait with references to earlier literature, see Jeffreys and Jeffreys (2009) xxiv–xxix.

⁷⁵ Cacouros (1989) 382–83. Cacouros' identification of Anna is uncertain because the term βασιλῖς is occasionally used for a Roman imperial princess but more frequently applies to an empress; see Liddell and Scott (1996) and Sophocles (1888) s.v. βασιλῖς.

⁷⁶ See above, note 33.

⁷⁷ On the re-dedication to Eudocia of Gregoras' commentary on Synesios, see Pietrosanti (1999) xxvi–xvii.

and *On the Qualities of the Soul*.⁷⁸ At around the same time, emperor Manuel II wrote his *Dialogue on Marriage*, where, in good Platonic fashion, he cast himself and his mother Helena Kantakouzene (Chrysoloras' "new Aspasia") as interlocutors; the work may reflect discussions that had actually taken place between them decades before it was written; it is only formally on matrimony and in fact offers a series of reflections on politics, the moral duties of a ruler, and the relation of an emperor to his subjects; it is also a portrayal of and a homage to Helena for her political acumen and advice, her virtue and education.⁷⁹ Intellectually, Helena was clearly able to appreciate the dialogue's literary and philosophical merits, as evidenced by the letters addressed to her by the likes of Nikephoros Gregoras⁸⁰ and Demetrios Kydones, which also reveal that she was an author in her own right.⁸¹

Although increased access of women to education is better attested from the end of the eleventh century onwards, the most evidence we have about a similar phenomenon in Byzantium at an earlier period is concentrated around the middle decades of the ninth century (admittedly better documented than the earlier iconoclastic century, the eighth, in our overall source material), when three of our four attested female hymnographers lived.⁸² In spite of the numerous and profound differences in the economic and social conditions of the ninth, the twelfth, and the fourteenth centuries, there is at least one analogy: all

⁷⁸ Περὶ φιλομαθείας and περὶ ψυχῆς δυνάμεων, edited in Sakkelion (1888); on Theodora, see Trapp (1976–94) no. 10939. The two essays were written towards the end of Matthew's life because he mentions that, at the time of his writing, he is a bit over seventy-one years old [Sakkelion (1888) 275]. Trapp (1976–94) no. 10983 gives his birth ca. 1325 and his death in 1391 (therefore at age 58). The internal evidence of the essay Περὶ φιλομαθείας suggests that these dates must be revised.

⁷⁹ Angelou (1991) 55–57. Given that the dialogue skirts explosive contemporary political problems like the dynastic ambitions of imperial relatives that undermined Manuel's political power, it may be fruitful for future research to investigate whether the appearance of the empress mother is not only an exaltation of her rationality but also a cover for what otherwise would be unspeakable; for the application of such an analysis to celebrated ancient philosophical dialogues between men and women (of which Manuel is likely to have been aware), such as Socrates and Diotima in the *Symposium* and Gregory of Nyssa and his sister Makrina in *On the Soul and Resurrection*, see Clark (1998). (2007) argues that the dialogue was written to show the importance of inheritance for the imperial family and revised in order to encourage Manuel's son, John, to marry and have successors.

⁸⁰ Leone (1983), Letters 42 and 158.

⁸¹ She wrote victory orations for her father, John VI Kantakouzenos, that do not survive; on her correspondence with Kydones, see Angelou (1991) 40.

⁸² This was also noticed by Kazhdan and Talbot (1991/92) 400–401.

three centuries were, each for different reasons, periods of important social and ideological change. The fourteenth century brought, in addition to a series of civil wars, deep ideological divisions on account of the Arsenite schism, Hesychasm, and the imperial policies regarding union with the church of Rome, in which women played a pronounced role.⁸³ Their intervention was encouraged by the proponents and despised by the enemies of the causes they championed.⁸⁴ Earlier, the twelfth century was also a period of transition because the ruling class of the empire was being restructured; political divisions were created in each generation of imperial relatives as they antagonized each other for power. Within this context, aristocratic women could exercise remarkable authority in the name of their clan and broadcast its claims to power through becoming patrons of an extensive literary production by male authors, though the most famous case of such broadcasting is Anna Comnena, a woman writing with her own pen.⁸⁵ This social transition gave aristocratic women—perhaps even the female kin of lesser magnates—⁸⁶ a new public role and offered opportunities to access education and literary culture that would have been unavailable under different circumstances.⁸⁷ The ninth century can also be viewed as a period of transition due to the iconoclastic controversy. In addition, socially prominent women during this time seem to have enjoyed considerable financial independence, as was also

⁸³ Talbot (1983) 614–17 chronicles the active involvement of women, including literary patronesses like Theodora Raoulaina and Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina, to these disputes.

⁸⁴ It would be interesting for a future study to examine in which terms the negative criticism is cast. An example is Philotheos Kokkinos who describes a series of Gregory Palamas' healing miracles involving women. As a result, one of them became a Palamite after having belonged to the opposition, described in the following words (*PG* 151, col. 642): "Those superficial and empty-headed women, whom Constantinople breeds in large numbers, who add to their supposed nobility vacuousness and a schismatic predilection, and who... have the ambition of building around them a following, and acquiring fame and an unbecoming name." Translation by Laiou (1985) 97. Kokkinos must have been referring to anti-Palamites like the literary minded Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina and Eirene, wife of John Kantakouzenos; see Laiou (1981) 251 and note 92.

⁸⁵ Magdalino (2000).

⁸⁶ Magdalino (1993) 345; see also above, note 31.

⁸⁷ Indeed, Kazhdan and Wharton (1985) 99–102 suggested that the increased appearance of imperial women in Byzantine historiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is due to the "aristocratization" of Komnenian society and politics. More recently, Neville (2010) 72 attributed this phenomenon to an "increased use of Classical Roman models by Byzantine historians." Such an explanation does account for the well-attested female literary patronage and implies that literary tastes were either disconnected from or generated social trends, instead of reflecting them.

the case in the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries.⁸⁸ We hear of a noble woman of the senatorial class who “had been left a widow with two daughters along with much wealth and a conspicuous lifestyle” and in the 820s was inducted with her entire household into monastic life by the iconophile St. Symeon of Lesbos.⁸⁹ Her older daughter, Hypatia, had showed an earlier predilection for monastic life by her determination to devote herself “to divine studies and also to poetry and grammar and the metrical works of the divine fathers.”⁹⁰ She was of the same age and social class as the poet Kassia, which leads to the hypothesis that the study of poetry and hymnography may have been a standard feature of female aristocratic education around the beginning of the ninth century—this would help explain the concentration of women hymnographers in that generation. There is further evidence of female financial independence around the same time, though it is impossible to know to which degree it may have been combined with access to education and a predilection for intellectual endeavors. The well known story of the ship owned by Theodora, wife of emperor Theophilos (829–42), which he burnt, claiming outrage that his wife had turned him from emperor into a trading ship owner (ναύκληρος), suggests substantial financial activity by the wife unbeknownst to the husband and considerable independence of mind and action.⁹¹ The destruction of his wife’s ship notwithstanding, Theophilos restored justice to a widowed woman who had lost her own ship and its cargo to

⁸⁸ Laiou (1981) 242–43 and Laiou (1985) document the financial resources available to women in the Comnenian and Paleologan period.

⁸⁹ The entire story is related in Abrahamse and Domingo-Forasté (1998) 193–96; see also Alexakis in this volume.

⁹⁰ “...ταῖς θείαις μελέταις, ἔτι δὲ ποιητικῇ καὶ γραμματικῇ καὶ τοῖς τῶν θείων πατέρων ἐμμέτροις πονήμασιν ἔγνω αὐτὴν ἐπιδιδόναι,” translation by Abrahamse and Domingo-Forasté (1998) 193. Discussion of her education *ibid.*, 193–94.

⁹¹ The story can be found in three Byzantine sources (the Continuator of Theophanes, Genesisios, and Zonaras); for references and a discussion, see Laiou (2002) 729 and Dagron (2002) 416. Its version by the Continuator of Theophanes suggests that the sight of the magnificent ship must have caused Theophilos to fear that its owner’s wealth may pose a threat to imperial authority [on a preemptive move by Theophilos to avoid conspiracies, see Treadgold (1988) 272]: Theophilos is said to have been relieved upon hearing that the ship belonged to his own wife (τότε μὲν ἐφρησυχάσαι λέγεται). The complaint that Theodora’s commercial activities were an insult to his own imperial dignity must have served him more as an excuse to punish the empress for her independence than an opportunity to apply his ideas regarding the commercial activities of aristocrats.

the rapacity of the imperial Praepositus Nikephoros (*Patria* 3. 28).⁹² In the 850s Danielis, a fabulously wealthy widow from the Peloponnese, played an important role in the career of Basil I.⁹³ The social leverage of wealthy women could be particularly consequential if they embraced causes under dispute. It is not surprising that Theodore of Stoudios (in the manner of the early Church Fathers) discouraged his female correspondents from marrying; this would have jeopardized their independence and possibly ended their support for the icons, since men connected with the imperial administration would have been obliged to pay at least lip service to iconoclast orthodoxy.⁹⁴ Alice-Mary Talbot and Alexander Kazhdan have remarked on the extraordinary number of women addressees of letters by Theodore of Stoudios (759–826) that can be paralleled only in the epistolography of the early Christian period, a time when women became soldiers to the causes of Christianity and its doctrinal development.⁹⁵ Yet forty-one women correspondents do not make him a feminist, only a pragmatist. Jean Gouillard argued that Theodore was most interested, among the many women to whom he wrote, in those that could further the cause of iconophile orthodoxy and its elite corps, the Stoudites.⁹⁶ We know from other moments in history such as the European Reformation or—within the “feminist” twentieth century—the Cuban revolution and the first Palestinian Intifada, that whenever there is a political and social struggle women are invited to join the army of partisans because every soldier is needed and every soul counts. As a result, their social importance and independence increase—for a brief moment. They are then pushed back to the social niche they occupied before the struggle begun, sometimes even before its final triumph.⁹⁷ The greater social consequence of women as partisans of a cause gives them an

⁹² Preger (1907) 223–24. The *praepositus* Nikephoros was punished with burning at the stake; the widow regained the value of her lost property and a portion of his confiscated estate.

⁹³ Anagnostakes (1989) suggested that Danielis is a literary fiction created for propagandist purposes by the author of the *Life of Basil*, a hypothesis rejected by Ševčenko (1992) 193; even if she did not exist, creating her must have been based on the real existence of wealthy independent women in ninth- and tenth-century society. On Danielis, see Winkelmann and Lilie (1999) 392, no. 1215.

⁹⁴ Kazhdan and Talbot (1991/92) 399.

⁹⁵ Kazhdan and Talbot (1991/92) 399.

⁹⁶ Gouillard (1982).

⁹⁷ On the efforts to limit the greater freedom of women generated by the Intifada while it was taking place, see Hammami (1990) and Abdo (1991).

opportunity to become more vocal in public, therefore potentially increases their participation in intellectual life and literary production. For many women, Protestantism meant such an invitation to participate, which included the right to publicly preach and interpret the scripture; Calvin, Pierre Viret, and others, responded by formally forbidding women to do so.⁹⁸ Byzantine iconophile women fared much the same: Theodore of Stoudios' letters portray women who had shown considerable independence and endurance by risking their lives or being subjected to flogging, imprisonment, and banishment, yet his ideal feminine qualities are conservative.⁹⁹ Their struggle on behalf of the icons briefly gave women a public voice as hymnographers included in formal church rites. Yet after the end of iconoclasm they returned to a more restricted social condition, which included the removal of their compositions from the liturgy, as already observed by Alice-Mary Talbot and Alexander Kazhdan.¹⁰⁰

An additional factor may have contributed to the concentration of women hymnographers in the ninth century: as a result of iconoclasm, this is a period of changing poetic and musical tastes, therefore open to imports from the cultural periphery of Byzantium, such as Palestine¹⁰¹ and —why not?—the compositions of women. The novelty of iconophile ninth-century chant by Theodore of Stoudios was such that it elicited ridicule in Byzantine Sicily.¹⁰² Women hymnographers seem to be embracing novelty, too: Diane Touliatos has pointed out that Kassia's most famous composition, her Troparion on *The Fallen Woman*, has some exceptional musical features when compared with other examples of Mode IV Plagal, in which it is written.¹⁰³ In composing a canon on Hosios Ioannikios the Great (754–846) soon after his death, Theodosia was definitely tackling a theme outside established tradition.¹⁰⁴ The Virgin, the topic of Thecla's only surviving hymn, is much more conventional, but her treatment of it is unusual in voicing an openly and exclusively female perspective throughout.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ See, for example, Timmermans (1993) 28 ff.

⁹⁹ Gouillard (1982).

¹⁰⁰ Kazhdan and Talbot (1991/92) 404 and 401.

¹⁰¹ Lauxtermann (2003) 137–38; Ciolella (2000) xxvi ff.

¹⁰² Taft (1999) 534.

¹⁰³ Touliatos (1984) 77, accepting this troparion as genuine.

¹⁰⁴ Catafygiotou-Topping (1982/83) 102–04.

¹⁰⁵ Catafygiotou-Topping (1982/83) 105.

There is promise that a more systematic investigation of the Byzantine sources, both published and unpublished, will help modern scholarship take stock of more literary products by women than we are currently aware of. For example, to the meager corpus of female poetry from Byzantium one must add the two dodecasyllabic poems by Theodora Raoulaina found in her autograph copies of Simplikios and Aelios Aristeides celebrating her scribal work and the nobility of her blood.¹⁰⁶ This also nuances her profile as author, since her only generally known literary composition is her lengthy hagiographic account of the ninth-century saints Theodore and Theophanes;¹⁰⁷ it also extends to women what Herbert Hunger observed regarding men: most Byzantines who ever wrote anything also tried their hand at poetry.¹⁰⁸ There is firm evidence that Byzantine women wrote more and in more genres than what we now possess. For example, we no longer have empress Eudocia's entire poetic production,¹⁰⁹ nor the panegyrics for emperor John Kantakouzenos written by his daughter Helena, nor Palaiologina's hymns that Georgios Sphrantzes stated he had read.¹¹⁰ Further, it is clear that a number of letters written to women by Theodore of Stoudios are responses.¹¹¹ More such instances can certainly be uncovered after a systematic search for letters addressed to female correspondents among the voluminous epistolographic corpora of Byzantine men.

Two things stand out in our examination of the literature produced by women, both ancient and Byzantine. First, already in antiquity, female literary output is better recorded for genres in which performance (poetry) or oral transmission of learning (philosophy, alchemy, medicine) is paramount, although the only reason we are aware of it is because it was eventually committed to writing. Second, both in the ancient and the Byzantine period, the preservation of texts, whether by men or women, frequently depends not only on their intrinsic quality and usefulness for subsequent generations of readers, but also on steps

¹⁰⁶ Quoted in full by Evangelatou-Notara (1982/83) 204.

¹⁰⁷ On this *Vita*, see Talbot (1983) 606 and 611.

¹⁰⁸ Hunger (1978) = Greek translation (1992) 2: 598.

¹⁰⁹ A biblical cento and the *Martyrdom of St Cyprian* survive; her verses on the Roman victories of 421 and 422 over Persia and *encomium* of Antioch do not; her entire literary production seems to have been cast in Homeric hexameters; see Hunger (1978) = Greek translation (1992) 2: 514.

¹¹⁰ Catafygiotou-Topping (1982/83) 110–11.

¹¹¹ Kazhdan and Talbot (1991/92) 399.

taken by an author during his or her lifetime. Such steps include the publication or at least organization of their own body of work and the cultivation of disciples who would continue to study and disseminate it beyond the lifetime of its author. For example, the numerous texts written by or attributed to Psellos would not have been as many without his career in education, which created a circle of students (and later their students) who kept copying and citing his work throughout the twelfth century. The prolific literary output of Tzetzes (condemned by modern scholars as not of very high caliber) survives because he took pains to organize, edit, publish it, and clearly mark it with his name, as is natural for a professional seeking to advertise himself and make a living out of his literary craft. In contrast, the literary games of a dilettante, perhaps like Tzetzes' woman schedographer, made for amusement and not out of professional ambition, would generally be regarded by herself and her circle as ephemera, likely to disappear for lack of motivation to preserve them (and her name) for the sake of immediate or long-term posterity.¹¹² Yet we have vestiges of female literary production due to the chance survival of such ephemera the subsequent care for which can clearly be linked with members of the author's close personal circle: the only letters by a Byzantine woman known to survive, those by Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina, are part of a sequence of letters copied on the last thirty folia of a miscellany with medical, astrological, philosophical and patristic texts written by a number of different fourteenth- and fifteenth-century hands.¹¹³ The sequence begins with four letters by a known protégé of hers, Gregory Akindynos, followed by one addressed to John Kyparissiotēs¹¹⁴ and a chronologically arranged exchange between herself (a total of eight letters) and an unnamed male figure,¹¹⁵ to whom she turned for spiritual guidance (fourteen letters). His literary style, grammar and spelling

¹¹² Compare the accidental survival of the poems by one of the most famous women poets in English, Emily Dickinson: they were meant as private musings and were written on forty notebooks and loose leaves of paper. They were found locked in a chest after her death in 1886 by her sister Lavinia and were published only because of Lavinia's determination. Even so, a systematic and complete edition did not materialize until 1955, after Emily's literary reputation was firmly established.

¹¹³ Detailed description of the contents in Zuretti (1932) 113–20.

¹¹⁴ Hero (1986) 22. Like Akindynos, John Kyparissiotēs and Choumnaina were anti-palamist.

¹¹⁵ Possibly Ignations, a hesychast and correspondent of Barlaam; he disagreed with Palamas after 1341, which places him and Choumnaina on the same side of the Palamite controversy; see Meyendorf's introduction in Hero (1986) 18.

meet the expectations of Byzantine epistolography as a rhetorical genre, while hers do not. This means that they were collected not for their belletristic but their personal value. Though she most likely did not copy these folia, they must have belonged to her or a member of her immediate circle.¹¹⁶ A similar situation led to our knowledge of Palaiologina's fourteenth-century canons that two generations later Sphrantzes reports to have read (ἀνέγνωσα), not heard; though he does not explain where he accessed her writings, he does mention that Palaiologina bequeathed all her possessions (evidently including her personal papers) to his godmother, who later ended up at a nunnery in Constantinople joined by his mother's sisters. According to Sphrantzes, Palaiologina, a nun at the nunnery of St. Theodora of Thessaloniki, composed canons honoring "St. Demetrios and St. Theodora and other saints"; her choice of subjects, focusing on figures revered in her nunnery and its surrounding city, suggests that her compositions were expressions of private devotion without aspiration or intention to reach an audience wider than her own spiritual community, as befits a nun's humility. As a result, her writings would likely not have survived for Sphrantzes to read and tell us about without his godmother's attachment to the spiritual legacy of the Palaiologina, which must have been the reason for her to preserve them when fleeing Thessaloniki after the Ottoman occupation of 1387 to become a refugee in Lesbos first and Constantinople later.¹¹⁷ Palaiologina may be an exceptional but not unique case; given how many nunneries there were throughout the Byzantine centuries, there must have existed a whole body of hymnography by women that even then few would have known much about—we will never know much, either.

The little evidence we have on the social condition of females in Byzantium, including literacy and access to education, is geographically and chronologically so scattered that it yields no continuous narrative. Yet scholarship in the last twenty years has cautiously outlined how political and ideological transformations (the introduction of Christian ideology to state legislation in the late antique period,¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Hero (1986) 22.

¹¹⁷ The life stories of Palaiologina and Sphrantzes' godmother Thomaïs (both aristocrats and therefore implicitly with easier access to education) are narrated in Greco (1966) *Chronicle* 18.1 ff. corresponding to Bekker (1838) *Chronicle* 2.5, 139–44; see also Catafygiotou-Topping (1982–83) 110–11.

¹¹⁸ Beaucamp (1990–92).

legal changes regarding the institution of marriage in the late ninth and tenth centuries,¹¹⁹ or the “aristocratization” of society in the Comnenian period mentioned above) impacted women’s lives in a number of distinct historical moments. This effort cannot continue without reflecting on the causes and patterns of preservation in our primary source material.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Abrahamse, D. and D. Domingo-Forasté. 1998. “Life of Sts. David, Symeon, and George of Lesbos.” In *Byzantine defenders of images. Eight saints’ lives in English translation*, 143–242. Washington, DC.
- Bekker, I., ed. 1838. *Georgius Phrantzes, Ioannes Cananus, Ioannes Anagnostes*. Bonn.
- Casetti Brach, C. 1975. “Donne copiste nella leggenda di Bisanzio.” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 41: 479–89.
- Diels, H. and W. Kranz, ed. 1951/1966. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Vol. 1. 6th ed. Repr. Berlin.
- Giles, J. A., trans. 1853. *Matthew Paris’s english history from the year 1235 to 1273*. 2 vols. London.
- Grecu, V., ed. 1966. *Georgios Sphrantzes. Memorii 1401–1477*. *Scriptores Byzantini* 5. Bucharest.
- Green, M., ed., trans. 2002. *The Trotula: An english translation of the medieval compendium of women’s medicine*. Philadelphia.
- Grosseteste, R. 1716. *The testament of the twelve patriarchs, the sons of Jacob*. Translated out of the Greek into Latin, by Robert Grosthead [i.e., Grosseteste], sometime Bishop of Lincoln; and out of his copy into French and Dutch by others, & now Englished; To the truth whereof, an ancient Greek copy written on parchment, is kept in the University Library of Cambridge. Charlestown. [N.B.: this is one of several reprints that appeared between the 17th and the 19th centuries].
- Halkin, F., ed. 1981. “Panégryque de Marie l’Égyptienne.” *AB* 99: 19–44.
- Hero, A., ed. 1986. *A woman’s quest for spiritual guidance. The correspondence of princess Irene Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina*. Brookline, MA.
- Ieraci Bio, A. M. ed. 1996. *Paolo di Nicea, Manuale medico*. *Hellenica et byzantina neapolitana* 16. Naples.
- Klein, U. (post L. Deubner), ed. 1937/1975. *Iamblich de vita Pythagorica liber*. Repr. Leipzig.
- Lawson, S., trans. 1985. *Christine de Pisan, The treasure of the city of ladies or the book of the three virtues*. London.
- Leone, P. L. M., ed. 1983. *Nicephori Gregorae epistulae*. Matino.
- Menagius, A. 1690. *Historia mulierum philosopharum*. Lyon.
- Pietrosanti, P., ed. 1999. *Nicephori Gregorae Explicatio in librum Synesii “De insomniis”; scholia cum glossis. Introduzione, testo critico e appendici*. Bari.
- Preger, Th. 1907/1989. *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*. Leipzig.

¹¹⁹ Laiou (1989).

- Sakkelion, I., ed. 1888. "Ματθαίου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ, Λόγοι δύο. Ἐκ χειρογράφου τῆς ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τοῦ Βερολίνου. Ἔκδοσις συμπληρωμένη." *Parnassos* 11/6: 265–84.
- Schneider, A.-W. 1802. *Μουσῶν ἄνθη sive Selecta poetiarum Graecarum carmina et fragmenta ed., earum vitas, animaduersiones et indices*. Giessen.
- Stallbaum, G., ed. 1825–26/1970). *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*. 2 vols. in 1. Repr. Hildesheim.
- Ursinus, F. 1598. *Carmina novem illustrium feminarum, Sapphus, Myrtidis, Praxillae, Erinnae, Corinnae, Nossidis, Myrus, Telesillae, Anytae. Et Lyricorum Alcmanis, Ibyci, Stesichori, Anacreontis, Alcaei, Simonidis, Bacchylidis. Elegiae Tyrtaei, & Mimnermi. Bucolica Bionis & Moschi. Latino versu à Laurentio Gambara expressa. Cleanthis, Moschionis, aliorumque fragmenta nunc primum edita*. Antwerp.
- Wolfius, J. C. and G. Olearius. 1734 and 1735. *Poetiarum VIII: Erinnae, Myrus, Myrtidis, Corinnae, Telesillae, Praxillae, Nossidis, Anytae, fragmenta et elogia Graecae et Latine*. Hamburg.
- Zuretti, C. O. 1932. *Codices hispanienses, catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*. Vol. 11/1. Brussels.

Secondary Literature

- Abdo, N. 1991. "Women of the Intifada: Gender, class, and national liberation." *Race and Class* 32/4: 19–34.
- Anagnostakes, E. 1989. "Τὸ ἐπεισόδιο τῆς Δανιηλίδος: Πληροφορίες καθημερινοῦ βίου ἢ μυθοπλαστικά στοιχεῖα;" In *Ἡ καθημερινὴ ζωὴ στὸ Βυζάντιο. Τομὲς καὶ συνέχειες στὴν ἑλληνιστικὴ καὶ ρωμαϊκὴ παράδοση*. Ed. Ch. Angelide, 375–90. Athens.
- Anderson, J. C. 2000. "Anna Komnene, learned women, and the book in Byzantine art." In Gouma-Peterson, 125–56.
- Angelou, A., ed. 1991. *Manuel Paleologos, Dialogue with the Empress-Mother on marriage*. Byzantina Vindobonensia 19. Vienna.
- Athanassiadi, P. 2006. *La lutte pour l'orthodoxie dans le platonisme tardif de Numénios à Damascius*. Paris.
- Beaucamp, J. 1990–92. *Le statut de la femme à Byzance, 4^e–7^e siècle*. 2 vols. Paris.
- Bowie, E. 2010. "Philostratus." *Brill's new Pauly, antiquity volumes*. Ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Brill Online.
- Brennan, T. C. 1998. "The poets Julia Balbilla and Damo at the Colossus of Memnon." *The Classical World* 91/4: 215–34.
- Briesemeister, D. 1977. "Christine de Pisan." In *Lexikon des Mittelalters*. Vol. 2: cols. 1918–19. In *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias—Lexikon des Mittelalters Online*.
- Brock, S. 2003. "Syriac translations of Greek popular philosophy." In *Von Athen nach Bagdad. Zur Rezeption griechischer Philosophie von der Spätantike bis zum Islam*. Ed. P. Burns, 9–28. Bonn.
- Brubaker, L. 2002. "The Vienna Dioskorides and Anicia Juliana." In *Byzantine garden culture*. Ed. A. Littlewood, H. Maguire, J. Wolschke-Bulmahn, 189–214. Washington, DC.
- Cacouros, M. 1989. "Eustrate de Nicée." *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*. Vol. 3: 378–88. Paris.
- Cameron, Al. 1990. "Isidore of Miletus and Hypatia: On the editing of mathematical texts." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 31: 103–27.
- , Al. 1993. *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planoudes*. Oxford.
- , Av. 2008. "The absence of Byzantium." *Nea Hestia* 163/1807: 4–58.
- Catafygiotou-Topping, E. 1982–83. "Women hymnographers in Byzantium." *Diptycha* 3: 98–111.
- Ciccolella, F. 2000. *Cinque poeti bizantini. Anacreontee dal Barberiniano Greco 310*. Alessandria.

- Clark, E. 1998. "Holy women, holy words: Early christian women, social history, and the 'linguistic turn'." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6/3: 413–30.
- Dąbrowska, M. 2007. "Ought one to marry? Manuel II Paleologos' point of view." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 31/2: 146–156.
- Dagron, G. 2002. "The urban economy, seventh-twelfth centuries." In *The economic history of Byzantium from the seventh through the fifteenth century*. Ed. A. Laiou, 393–462. Washington, DC.
- Dolezal, M.-L. and M. Mavroudi. 2002. "Theodore Hyrtakenos' *Description of the garden of St. Anna* and the ekphrasis of gardens." In *Byzantine garden culture*. Ed. A. Littlewood, H. Maguire, J. Wolschke-Bulmahn, 10–58. Washington, DC.
- Dölger, F. 1953. "Zur Bedeutung von φιλόσοφος und φιλοσοφία in byzantinischer Zeit." *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, 197–208. Ettal.
- Dorandi, T. 1991. "Figure femminile nella filosofia antica." In *Le rose di Pieria*. Ed. F. De Martino, 261–78. Bari.
- Dronke, P. 1984. *Women writers of the Middle Ages. A critical study of texts from Perpetua (†203) to Marguerite Porete (†1310)*. Cambridge.
- Dunhill, A., ed. and trans., with L. Panizza. 1999. *Lucrezia Marinella, The nobility and excellence of women, and the defects and vices of men*. Chicago.
- Evangelatou-Notara, Ph. 1982/83. "Ελληνες γραφείς του 13ου αιώνα. Προσθήκες και διορθώσεις στο εὑρετήριο τῶν Vogel-Gardthausen." *Diptycha* 3: 184–239.
- Findlen, P. 2002. "Ideas in the mind: Gender and knowledge in the seventeenth century." *Hypatia* 17/1: 183–96.
- Fleming, R. 2007. "Women, writing and medicine in the classical world." *Classical Quarterly* 57/1: 257–79.
- Follieri, E., ed. 1966. *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae graecae*. Vol. 5. Vatican City.
- Fonkić, B. L. 1974. "Zametki o grečeskich rukopisjach Sovjetskich chranilišč: VV/ I. Moskovskij avtograf Feodory Rauleny." *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 36: 134–39.
- Franklin, M. A. 2006. *Boccaccio's heroines: Power and virtue in renaissance society*. Aldershot.
- Gamillscheg, E. 2007. "Das Geschenk für Juliana Anicia. Überlegungen zu Struktur und Entstehung des Wiener Dioskurides." In *Byzantina mediterranea. Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag*. Ed. K. Belke, E. Kislinger, A. Külzer, M. A. Stassinopoulou, 187–98. Vienna, Cologne, Weimar.
- Garland, L. 1994. "The eye of the beholder: Byzantine imperial women and their public image from Zoe Porphyrogenita to Euphrosyne Kamaterissa Doukaina (1028–1203)." *Byzantion* 64: 19–39 and 261–313.
- Gouillard, J. 1982. "La femme de qualité dans les lettres de Théodore Stoudite." *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/2: 445–52.
- Gouma-Peterson, T., ed. 2000. *Anna Komnene and her times*. New York and London.
- Green, M. 1996. "The development of the *Trotula*." *Revue d'histoire des textes* 26: 119–203.
- Haines-Eitzen, K. 1998. "Girls trained in beautiful writing: Female scribes in roman antiquity and early Christianity." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6/4: 629–46.
- Hammami, R. 1990. "Women, the hijab and the Intifada." *Middle East Report* 164/65: 24–28.
- Henry, M. M. 1995. *Prisoner of history: Aspasia of Miletus and her biographical tradition*. Oxford.
- Herrin, J. 1995. "Theophano: Considerations in the education of a byzantine princess." In *The empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the turn of the first millennium*. Ed. A. Davids, 64–85. Cambridge.
- Holum, K. 1982. *Theodosian empresses. Women and imperial dominion in late antiquity*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London.

- Hunger, H. 1978. *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 5: Byzantinisches Handbuch. Munich. (= Greek transl. 1987–94. *Βυζαντινή λογοτεχνία. Ἡ λόγια κοσμική γραμματεία τῶν βυζαντινῶν*. 3 vols. Athens.)
- Ierodiakonou, K., ed. 2002. *Byzantine philosophy and its ancient sources*. Oxford.
- Jeffreys, E. and M., ed. 2009. *Iacobi monachi epistulae*. Corpus christianorum, series graeca 68. Turnhout.
- Jeffreys, M. 1974. "The nature and origins of the political verse." *DOP* 28: 141–95.
- Kadel, A. 1995. *Matrology: A bibliography of writings by christian women from the first to the fifteenth centuries*. New York.
- Katsiampoura, G. 2002. "Θεοδώρα Ραούλαινα." In *Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Asia Minor*. <http://www.ehw.gr/l.aspx?id=4489>.
- Kazhdan, A. and A.-M. Talbot. 1991/92. "Women and Iconoclasm." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84/85: 391–408. Repr. in Talbot 2001 (essay 3).
- Kazhdan, A. and A. Wharton. 1985. *Change in Byzantine culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries*. Berkeley.
- Kolsky, S. D. 2003. *The genealogy of women: Studies in Boccaccio's De mulieribus claris*. New York.
- Laiou, A. 1981. "The role of women in byzantine society." XVI. *Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress (Wien, 1981) = Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31/1: 233–260. Repr. in Laiou 1992 (essay 1).
- . 1985. "Observations on the life and ideology of byzantine women." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9: 59–102. Repr. in Laiou 1992 (essay 2).
- . 1989. "Η ιστορία ενός γάμου: ο βίος της αγίας Θωμαΐδος της Λεσβίας." *Ἡ καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο: Τομὲς καὶ συνέχειες στὴν ἐλληνιστικὴ καὶ ρωμαϊκὴ παράδοση*. Ed. Ch. Angelide, 237–51. Athens.
- . 1992. *Gender, society, and economic life in Byzantium*. Aldershot.
- . 2002. "Economic and noneconomic exchange." In *The economic history of Byzantium from the seventh through the fifteenth century*. Ed. A. Laiou, 681–770. Washington, DC.
- Lampros, S. 1903. "Ἑλληνίδες βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κυρίαὶ κωδίκων κατὰ τοὺς Μέσους Αἰῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας." *Ἀπόσπασμα ἐκ τῆς Ἐπετηρίδος τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου*. Athens.
- Lauxtermann, M. 2003. *Byzantine poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and contexts*. Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 24/1. Vienna.
- Letrout, J. 1995. "Chronologie des alchimistes grecs." In *Alchimie, art, histoire et mythes*. Ed. D. Kahn and S. Matton, 11–93. Paris.
- Liddell, H. and Scott, R. 1996. *A Greek-English lexicon*. Oxford.
- Lowden, J. and R. Nelson. 1991. "The palaeologina group: Additional manuscripts and new questions." *DOP* 45: 59–68.
- Ludwich, A. 1895. "Die Homerdeuterin Demo." In *Festschrift zum fünfzigjährigen Doctorjubiläum Ludwig Friedlaender dargebracht von seinen Schülern*, 296–321. Leipzig.
- Luzzatto, M.-J. 1999. *Tzetzes lettore di Tucidide: note autografe sul Codice Heidelberg palatino greco 252*. Bari.
- Magdalino, P. 1993. *The empire of Manuel Komnenos, 1143–1180*. Cambridge.
- . 2000. "The pen of the aunt: Echoes of the mid-twelfth century in the Alexiad." In Gouma-Peterson, 15–44.
- Margarou, E. 2000. *Τίτλοι και επαγγέλματα γυναικών στο Βυζάντιο. Συμβολή στη μελέτη για τη θέση της γυναίκας στη Βυζαντινή κοινωνία*. Thessaloniki.
- Martindale, J. R. 1980. *The prosopography of the later Roman Empire*. Vol. 2, A.D. 395–527. Cambridge.
- Mavroudi, M. 2002. *A byzantine book on dream interpretation: The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and its arabic sources*. Leiden.

- Mazzotti, M. 2007. *The world of Maria Gaetana Agnesi, mathematician of God*. Baltimore.
- McIntosh Snyder, J. 1989. *The woman and the lyre: Women writers in classical Greece and Rome*. Carbondale and Edwardsville.
- McLeod, G. 1991. *Virtue and venom*. Ann Arbor.
- Mentzu-Meimare, K. 1982. "Ἡ παρουσία τῆς γυναίκας στὶς ἐλληνικὲς ἐπιγραφές ἀπὸ τὸν Δ΄ μέχρι τὸν Ι΄ αἰῶνα." *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/2: 433–43.
- Mercati, S. G. 1951. "Giambi di Giovanni Tzetze contro una donna schedografa." *BZ* 44: 416–18.
- Mergiali, S. 1996. *L'enseignement et les lettrés pendant l'époque des Paleologues (1261–1453)*. Athens.
- Montanari, F. 2010. "Demo." *Brill's New Pauly, antiquity volumes*. Ed. by H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Brill Online.
- Nardi, E. 2002. *Né sole né luna. L'immagine femminile nella Bisanzio dei secoli XI e XII*. Florence.
- Neville, L. 2010. "Strong women and their husbands in Byzantine historiography." In *The Byzantine world*. Ed. P. Stephenson, 72–82. London and New York.
- Nicol, D. 1996. *The byzantine lady: Ten portraits, 1250–1500*. Cambridge.
- Nikolaou, K. 2005. *Η γυναίκα στη Μέση Βυζαντινή εποχή. Κοινωνικά πρότυπα και καθημερινός βίος στα αγιολογικά κείμενα*. Athens.
- O'Meara, D. 2003. *Platonopolis. Platonic political philosophy in late antiquity*. Oxford and New York.
- Odorico, P. and Ch. Messis. 2003. "L'anthologie Comnène du *Cod. Mar. gr.* 524: problèmes d'édition et problèmes d'évaluation." In *L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique. Actes de la 16e Table ronde du XXe Congrès international des Études Byzantines*, 191–213. Dossiers byzantins 3. Paris.
- Pack, R. 1952. "A romantic narrative in Eunapius." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 83: 198–204.
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A. 1905. "Ἀνύπαρκτος κῶδιξ Μαρίας βασιλίσσης τοῦ 800οῦ ἔτους" *BZ* 14: 260–70.
- Parker, H. T. 1997. "Women doctors in Greece, Rome, and the Byzantine Empire." In *Women healers and physicians: Climbing a long hill*. Ed. L. Furst, 131–50. Lexington, KY.
- Patlagean, E. 1977. *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4^e–7^e siècles*. Paris.
- Pelling, C. B. R. 2010. "Plutarchus." *Brill's new Pauly, antiquity volumes*. Ed. H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Brill Online.
- Plant, I. 2004. *Women writers of ancient Greece and Rome: An anthology*. Norman, OK and London.
- Possedel, U. 1998. "Der Rat der Theano: Eine pythagoreische Spruchsammlung in syrischer Überlieferung." *Le Muséon* 111: 7–36.
- Reghelin, C. 2006. "Un ritratto bizantino: Teodora Raulena." *Porphyra* 7: 6–20.
- Reinsch, D. R. 2000. "Women's literature in Byzantium? The case of Anna Komnene." In Gouma-Peterson, 107–24.
- Riedwig, C. 2005. *Pythagoras: His life, teaching, and influence*. Ithaca and London.
- Rochow, I. 1967. *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und dem Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia*. Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten 38. Berlin.
- Runia, D. T. 2010. "Diogenes." In *Brill's new Pauly*. Ed. by H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Brill Online.
- Ryðen, L. 2002. *The life of St. Philaretos the Merciful written by his grandson Niketas. A critical edition with introduction, translation, notes, indices*. Uppsala.
- Saffrey, H. D. 2005. "Hypatie." In *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*. Vol. 3. Ed. R. Goulet, 814–17. Paris.

- Schreiner, P. 1999. "Kopistinnen in Byzanz; mit einer Anmerkung zur Schreiberin Eugenia im Par. Lat. 7560." *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* N.S. 36: 35–45.
- Ševčenko, I. 1956. "The definition of philosophy in the *Life of Saint Constantine*." In *For Roman Jakobson: Essays on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, 11 October, 1956*. Ed. M. Halle, et al., 449–57. The Hague. Repr. in Ševčenko 1991 (93–106).
- . 1991. *Byzantium and the Slavs*. Cambridge, MA and Napoli.
- . 1992. "Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus." In *Byzantine diplomacy*. Ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin, 167–98. Aldershot.
- Sophocles, E. A. 1888. *Greek lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods*. New York and Leipzig.
- Taft, R. 1999. "Comparative liturgy fifty years after Anton Baumstark (d. 1948): A reply to recent critics." *Worship* 73/6: 521–40. Repr. in Taft 2001 (essay 10).
- . 2001. *Divine liturgies—Human problems in Byzantium, Armenia, Syria and Palestine*. Aldershot.
- Talbot, A.-M. 1983. "Bluestocking nuns: Intellectual life in the convents of late Byzantium." In *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko by his colleagues and students*. Ed. C. Mango and O. Pritsak, 604–18. Harvard Ukrainian Studies 7. Cambridge, MA. Repr. in Talbot 2001 (essay 18).
- . 1997. "Women." In *The Byzantines*, ed. G. Cavallo, 117–143. Chicago, IL. Repr. in Talbot 2001 (essay 1).
- . 2001. *Women and religious life in Byzantium*. Aldershot.
- Taylor, J. E. 2003. *Jewish women philosophers of first-century Alexandria: Philo's Therapeutai reconsidered*. Oxford.
- Timmermans, L. 1993. *L'accès des femmes à la culture (1598–1715)*. Paris.
- Touliatos, D. 1984. "Women composers of medieval byzantine chant." *College Music Society Symposium* 24/1: 62–80.
- Trapp, E., ed. 1976–94. *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*. Vienna.
- Treadgold, W. 1988. *The byzantine revival, 780–842*. Stanford, CA.
- Tselikas, A. 2000. "Ἱεροσολυμιτικά χειρόγραφα τοῦ 15ου καὶ 16ου αἰώνα." *Ἡ ἐλληνικὴ γραφὴ κατὰ τοὺς 15ο καὶ 16ο αἰῶνες*. Ἑθνικὸ Ἰδρυμα Ἑρευνῶν, Ἰνστιτοῦτο Βυζαντινῶν Ἑρευνῶν, Διεθνὴ σύμπόσια 7. Ed. Sophia Patoura, 349–96. Athens.
- Vogel, M. and Gardthausen, V. 1909. *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*. Leipzig.
- Wellesz, E. 1961. *A history of byzantine music and hymnography*. Oxford.
- Weyl Carr, Annemarie. 1985. "Women and monasticism in Byzantium: Introduction from an art historian." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9: 1–15.
- Wilson, N. 1983. *Scholars of Byzantium*. Baltimore, MD.
- Winkelman, F. and R.-J. Lilie. 1999. *Prosopographie der mittel-byzantinischen Zeit, Erste Abteilung (641–867)*. Berlin and New York.
- Zwierlein-Diehl, E. 2007. *Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben*. Berlin & New York.

WOMEN IN BYZANTINE HISTORY IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES: SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Stamatina McGrath

Understanding the role of gender in Byzantine society is a task that has drawn the attention of scholars systematically since the 1980's. A number of different methodological approaches have been employed in the interpretation of women in literary, historical, hagiographical and theological texts, as well as, in art and music.¹ These most valuable contributions have advanced our concept of women and most importantly gender in Byzantium. Teasing out what authors intended when they included women in their stories helps us reveal not only the writer's philosophical and political agenda but also more deep rooted concepts of social structure, authority and patriarchy.² Elizabeth Clark's notion that literary, philosophical, and theoretical critique of premodern texts is a fruitful avenue of study and that 'the social logic of the text' is one of the tools that aids researchers in examining the literary production of the past offer the ideological framework for this paper.³ I propose the examination of Skylitzes' history with a focus on revealing the social concerns of the Byzantine society in the eleventh century specifically in the realm of women's involvement in public life. This type of examination of texts is most revealing at times of societal change when the strain of the conflict between one ideology and another reveals the weak points in a society's ideology.

In Byzantium, one such time of change was the eleventh century.⁴ Among the historians of this time John Skylitzes has received particular attention for his connection with the ruling dynasty, his legal expertise, moralizing tendencies and negative attitudes toward women.⁵

¹ Herrin (1983) 167–89; Garland (1988); Talbot (2001); Laiou (1981/1992a); Garland (2006); James (1997); James (2009) and Peltomaa (2005) for the most recent overviews of gender studies in Byzantium.

² Clark (2004) 156–85.

³ Clark (2004) 166–67; James (1997) ix–xxi.

⁴ Kazhdan and Epstein (1990); Harvey (1989); Kazhdan and Franklin (1984); Laiou and Simon (1994).

⁵ Laiou (1992b); Holmes (2005) 66ff.; Strugnell (2006); Sklavos (2006).

Going beyond these types of examination, his history is a most valuable resource for the closer assessment not of Skylitzes as a man and a historian, but as a spokesman for the ideology of the Byzantine educated elite.⁶ Writing during a turning point in Byzantine society, when the nobility's claim to power coupled with economic expansion signaled societal change, Skylitzes vocalized in his work the views of his society through the incorporation of long established ideological concepts. The ideological construction of womanhood in eleventh century Byzantium clashed with developing societal realities. Women played a significant role as representatives, transmitters and legitimators of lineage and wealth. In this role many had access and power in the public sphere unsettling the balance achieved in previous centuries. Skylitzes illuminated this conflict by stereotyping and censuring the behavior of women that exceeded accepted societal norms.

SKYLITZES AND HISTORY WRITING

Skylitzes wrote in his proemium that the finest histories available were the works of George Synkellos and Theophanes the Confessor. He praised the work of these historians for the 'simple language and unadorned style' used to synthesize these historical works and offer the essence of past events to the reader.⁷ It was his intention that his own work would continue where the history of Theophanes left off. Skylitzes' history covered the period from 811 to 1057, however, his account did not become independent from the Continuator of Theophanes until 920 and Constantine VII's accession to the throne. Given this dependence on Theophanes Continuatus it seems logical to focus attention on the period between 920 and 1057 when the history appears to synthesize a number of no longer extant works. It is in this section of the text that we can best study what Ruth Macrides referred to as "the historian in the history" and see the ways in which Byzantine historians of the eleventh century wove into their works their own

⁶ Holmes (2005) 66–119 on Skylitzes as a historian of the elite.

⁷ I agree with Wortley (2010), 1, who translates this portion of the text as "simple, unaffected language" and disagree with Grigoriadis (1998), 331 n. 14, who seems to read criticism in Skylitzes' description of the language of George the Synkellos and Theophanes the Confessor by translating the Greek as "unpolished and artless." Skylitzes has "λόγῳ μὲν ἀφελεῖ καὶ ἀπεριέργῳ." Skylitzes, 3.10, ed. Thurn (1973).

opinions, ideologies and even personal information while employing classicizing models of historiography.⁸

Skylitzes' own approach to history is made clear in the prologue where he stated his goal was to provide an accurate recounting of past events based on piecing together accounts he gathered from the works of past historians and what he learned himself from oral accounts of old men.⁹ His collection was meant as an abbreviated guide for the reader through the volumes on history available in his day. The author admitted to having edited accounts written by other historians who in his opinion infused their histories with personal passions and mythical stories, or were directed to write according to their patrons' wishes. We have no evidence of the method Skylitzes used to discern 'truth' from 'fiction' when selecting the stories to include in his narrative. In the period prior to 920 he incorporated historical works in their entirety with little evidence of critical editing. It appears that most of the synthesis he alluded to in his proemium involved the sources for the period after 920. In his proemium he reserved the most scathing criticism for the historians of the tenth century and his own time many of whom served as the sources for his history. The list of authors is extensive and seems to be divided in two sections: general historical works encompassing a number of imperial reigns like the work of Psellos and shorter accounts like those of Leo the Deacon (959–76) and Joseph Genesios (813–86). Skylitzes criticized the former for producing histories that were inaccurate, sketchy and lacking in enumeration of the most important events, while the latter were accused of writing in a biased way to satisfy their personal agendas in praise or blame of an important figure.¹⁰ We have no internal evidence in the text to suggest that this history was commissioned by a specific patron to magnify the genealogy or noble deeds of an ancestor. The author's particular approach to historical writing attempted to strip away partisanship and focus on the specific deeds that made history, or at least that is the claim made by the author.¹¹ Catherine Holmes has made a valuable contribution in evaluating some of the author's less clear intentions and has suggested that Skylitzes' close connection to the administration of Alexios I Komnenos may have served this emperor's

⁸ Macrides (1996).

⁹ Skylitzes, 3.5–4.59, ed. Thurn (1973).

¹⁰ Skylitzes, 4.35–39, ed. Thurn (1973).

¹¹ Skylitzes, 4.40–59, ed. Thurn (1973).

policy of dynastic integration. In other words Skylitzes' history may have been a part of Alexios I's propaganda efforts toward healing the divisions within the nobility by offering a recollection of the political and military involvement of many noble families in the history of the Byzantine state.¹²

Regarding the purpose of his history writing Skylitzes aimed to provide a "gentle nourishment" (τροφήν ἀπαλήν), a book that was easy to read and understand for his readers and asserted that lack of memory of past events leads to forgetfulness and confusion while "reading creates recollection and recollection nourishes and magnifies memory."¹³ Conceptually, the aim of the history appears to have been the creation of what we might call an 'objective' resource free of personal bias and political purpose, an easy reference for important historical events and a way of acquiring a general knowledge and a complete memory of past events. It is difficult to know if by the term ἀνάγνωσις (reading) the author meant the individual act of reading to oneself, or if indeed a public reading or reading aloud of the text was intended. Possibly both, as both forms of 'reading' would have been practiced in Byzantium during this period.¹⁴ When contrasted with some of his sources it has been shown that Skylitzes omitted passages that contained legends and discussions of the ethnography of peoples and encomiastic elements (as promised in his proemium). He added what would have appeared to be useful clarifications for actions undertaken by individuals, motives mentioned in the history and details on names, surnames, titles and offices held by actors in his stories.¹⁵

Analysis of the writing style in Skylitzes' history (and other historical synopses) and Byzantine military manuals has suggested common rhetorical characteristics between the two genres.¹⁶ Skylitzes' emphasis on maintaining and amplifying his society's recollection of past

¹² Holmes (2005) 217.

¹³ Skylitzes, 4.51, 4.53–54, ed. Thurn (1973). Catherine Holmes (2005) offers the most up to date discussion of the secondary literature regarding Skylitzes' biography and methods of composition and provides an in-depth textual analysis of various sections of the history with attention to the reign of Basil II in her volume on *Basil II and the governance of empire (976–1025)* especially pages 66–298.

¹⁴ Roueché (2002) for a discussion of the *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos with attention to the audience. Given the connection between the genres it is possible to envisage similar audiences for both types of writing.

¹⁵ Holmes (2003) for Skylitzes' omissions and additions to his work in comparison to his sources.

¹⁶ Holmes (2003) 188; Roueché (2001) 28–30; Mullett (1984).

events is not unique but certainly reflects the preoccupation of the Byzantine nobility with the memory of itself as a social group and speaks to the author's intended audience. Studies of memory and its connection to the formation of history especially in the west offer tantalizing possibilities for the application of this ideological framework to Byzantine histories as well. Peter Burke in his article "History as Social Memory" emphasized that documents "are not innocent acts of memory, but rather attempts to persuade, to shape the memories of others."¹⁷ Adopting this principle, it is possible to interpret Skylitzes' writing as an attempt to create a concept of lineage and a consciousness by providing connections to family ancestors who were active in the political and military arena of the empire. Indeed this ideology would coincide with the political agenda of Alexios I Komnenos represented by Skylitzes in his history according to Holmes.¹⁸ If the *Synopsis Historion* was read aloud at court it would have served as a tool for imposing a particular representation of the past and shaping memory to the advantage of a specific social group whose members would be connected to military and political deeds and would create kinship with those in power. As a written record of past deeds the history would have provided a documented memory that could serve as 'proof' of the lineage of the nobility. Burke argues that social memory itself is often consciously used by those who don't have solid cultural roots.¹⁹ The changes of the eleventh century did bring to power the Komnenian dynasty that had the very specific challenge of creating unity among the warring factions of Byzantine nobility and setting the roots of the expanding nobility. The effort to create a unifying strategy may well have necessitated the writing of a history that established the noble connections and political claims of a number of Byzantine aristocratic families.²⁰

¹⁷ Burke (1989) 101; Fentress and Wickham (1992) especially Chapter 4 for social memory in the Middle Ages.

¹⁸ Holmes (2005) 66–119 for Skylitzes' career and connection to the administration of Alexios I Komnenos.

¹⁹ Burke (1989) 101–3.

²⁰ Skylitzes' claim of producing an impartial history could be seen as a further effort to create a unifying narrative under the umbrella of what we would call 'objectivity' and to discredit centrifugal histories aiming to magnify one noble house over another.

SKYLITZES AND WOMEN

Understanding Byzantine women is by necessity through the filter of the male point of view. This view has been most often described as misogynistic and the outcome of stereotypes developed to support the social structures of a patriarchal society.²¹ A long tradition of negative stereotypes for women from the classical and patristic literature provided Byzantines with the theoretical underpinnings for understanding women and their roles within the Byzantine world.²² Angeliki Laiou in her article on "The role of Women in Byzantine Society" cautioned against presuming that the condition of women remained unchanged during the entire life of the Byzantine Empire. She identified the eleventh century as a time of change when women appeared to have had greater economic freedom, legal initiative, levels of literacy and access to power (at least in the case of some imperial women).²³ Urban women were no longer confined at home, but were seen as active participants in trade, manufacturing and the public expressions of religious life in the capital.²⁴ Through the custom of dowries women assisted in the formation of the economic nucleus of the family.²⁵ The implication is that, although Byzantine society remained strongly patriarchal, there was a 'new' place for women in society. Influencing this trend was the nobility and its efforts to secure a place in imperial administration and access to power. In their function as continuators of lineage through child bearing and marriage alliances women were an integral part in the legitimation of power.

²¹ Although I agree that Byzantine women—indeed medieval women in the east and west—were perceived in misogynistic terms, I question the value of using this term laden with 20th and 21st century meaning for attitudes that reflect a very different world. Byzantine authors were sometime fearful, suspicious and hateful toward women and women certainly constituted the 'other' in their society. The dichotomy in Byzantine society between the Virgin Mary and Eve, the mother and the harlot, requires further examination before scholars are able to unravel the complexity of the mind frame that allowed their coexistence. At the same time I do think these attitudes must be clarified within the social context that created them and not interpreted through the filter of modern mentalities.

²² The classical and patristic literature is far too voluminous to list here, but for a starting point see, Pomeroy (1975/1995); Cantarella (1987); Clark (1994) 155–84.

²³ Laiou (1981/1992a); Hill (1999); Kaldellis (2006) 17–28.

²⁴ Laiou (1986/1992a) 111–22.

²⁵ Laiou (1981/1992a) 233–41 for the vital role of the dowry in the formation of the economic base of the Byzantine family.

In this environment of change the history of Skylitzes seems anachronistic since for the most part, women in his narrative occupy a very negative role and their presence is circumscribed to conform to familiar stereotypes. Textual analysis based on gender theory has shown the women in his text can be seen to fit in the Theotokos/Eve/Sorceress model developed by Catia Galatariotou in her work on gender perceptions in the Life of Neophytos the Recluse.²⁶ Skylitzes may have been the historian of Alexios I's modern unifying propaganda, but based on the evidence of his history the author's social ideology was deeply rooted in the moral foundations of traditional patriarchal society that prevented him from recognizing the changing role of women in Byzantine social power structures. Skylitzes' moralizing tendencies and deep religiosity compelled him to interpret the world around him based on a powerful Christian ethos. Pious rulers received God's favor in the form of military victory and prosperity, while immorality brought about divine retribution in the form military defeat, natural catastrophes and suffering.²⁷ Obedient mothers, wives and daughters fulfilled their roles in silence and submission and Skylitzes seems intent on showing that when they did not the results were catastrophic. His lack of flexibility in accepting non conventional roles for women appears clear from the evidence in his text.

Whether conscious or not Skylitzes' selection of historical episodes for his *Synopsis* and the portrayal of historical actors tends to emphasize the dichotomy between the public sphere where men should be dynamic actors and the private sphere where women should be passive observers. When women forced themselves into the public arena, especially the realm of political authority, the results were shown to be devastating. Natural order was disturbed until the women were removed from their positions of dominance and returned to their appropriate domain. Of the few references to women in the *Synopsis*, the story of Helen Lekapene the wife of Constantine VII (913–59) and daughter of Romanos I Lekapenos (920–44) falls in this category. Helen betrayed her family when she encouraged her husband to remove her brothers from power.²⁸ It was proposed that along with Basil the *parakoimomenos* (her half brother and a eunuch) Helen was responsible for the

²⁶ Galatariotou (1985); for a parallel construction of women and gender models in Skylitzes see, Strugnell (2006).

²⁷ Sklavos (2006) offers an in-depth discussion of Skylitzes' moralizing tendencies.

²⁸ Skylitzes, 236.79–80, ed. Thurn (1973).

selling of high offices in the empire.²⁹ According to Skylitzes Helen's meddling was behind the disagreement between the emperor and the patriarch Polyeuktos.³⁰ Skylitzes' contempt for the empress had much to do with her transgressing her gender boundaries and moving into the male sphere of the public domain, attempting to influence ecclesiastical affairs, and displaying the contemptible characteristics of disloyalty and avarice.

Skylitzes' narration of the events surrounding the empresses Theophano, and Zoe shared a number of commonalities. Both women were shown to have lacked emotional control and decorum, allowing their personal desires to affect the fate of the empire and the lives of prominent men.³¹ The issue of Patriarch Polyeuktos' objections to the marriage of Nikephoros II Phokas (963–69) and Theophano were discussed by Skylitzes with evident objection on moral and legal grounds. The corrupting influence of Theophano incited Nikephoros II, a man known for his piety and ascetic lifestyle, to act blindly and above all immorally in the eyes of the church.³² Nikephoros II's brutal and dishonorable demise because of Theophano (according to Skylitzes) might be perceived by his readers as both divine justice and warning for those allowing themselves to be swayed by feminine counsel and emotions.³³

The historian outlined traditionally accepted social stereotypes for women by highlighting a few cases of appropriate female behavior. One of the rare instances of inclusion of a non-imperial woman in the narrative of Skylitzes was in a miraculous dream vision that is visited upon a Constantinopolitan woman. The woman was described as being *σεμνή* (modest).³⁴ In her dream vision she witnessed the Virgin commanding a soldier to assist the emperor John Tzimiskes in battle. The next morning the woman related her vision to her neighbors. The same day it was said that the martyr Theodore was seen fighting on the side of the Byzantines against the Rus in the battle of Dorostolon (971).³⁵ It

²⁹ Skylitzes, 237.18–20, ed. Thurn (1973).

³⁰ Skylitzes, 244.1–14, ed. Thurn (1973).

³¹ Garland (1999) 126–67; Strugnell (2006) 120–36.

³² Laiou (1992b) 173.

³³ Skylitzes, 240.85–285.38, ed. Thurn (1973) for Theophano and 374.37–478.80 for Zoe.

³⁴ Magdalino (1989) 198–9 and 206–7 on the concept of modesty as the supreme female virtue. Also Garland (1988) 372–74.

³⁵ Skylitzes, 308.19–309.25, ed. Thurn (1973).

is important to note that the woman described remained anonymous. Her only defining characteristic was her modesty. As we consider the heavy editing Skylitzes imposed on his sources and the fact that there was very little room to mention anyone who was not an important political or military actor we must ask why this story was included in his compilation. The answer rests with the social consciousness and moral sensibilities of the community for which Skylitzes was writing. The story is both edifying and miraculous. A woman operating within the appropriate parameters of her gender remaining at home even though she lived in a highly urban environment, and maintaining a high standard of modesty was rewarded for her womanliness by being granted a vision that foretold of divine assistance to the emperor and military victory.

The *Synopsis* also includes a story of a non imperial, but in this case noble, woman whose tale is told in light of her sacrifice and selflessness on behalf of her husband. In the story the fate of Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034) depended on the magnanimity of his wife Helen. Presented with the option of agreeing to divorce her husband so that he might marry the heiress to the throne, Zoe the daughter of Constantine VIII, or have her husband blinded Helen willingly took monastic vows and “gave her husband the gift of sight and the empire.”³⁶ The brief mention of Helen’s sacrifice would not go unnoticed by the audience that would recognize the stereotype of a woman’s silent forbearance.³⁷ Acting with compassion and decorum Helen made it possible for her husband to retain his honor and even magnify his social status to that of emperor. Helen’s story no doubt served as an example of virtuous womanhood to be emulated by other noble women. Skylitzes included that on Helen’s passing in 1032 Romanos III distributed alms in her name.³⁸ This too is significant for her sacrifice brought her honor that was augmented by the emperor’s act of charity in her memory. The same story was told very differently by Michael Psellos. In this case Helen did not agree to the divorce but was tricked and forced to take monastic vows. Laiou, in her examination of the legal aspects of Romanos III’s divorce from Helen and his marriage to Zoe had difficulty reconciling the discrepancy in the

³⁶ Skylitzes, 374.30–32, ed. Thurn (1973).

³⁷ The concept of long suffering and the benefits to one’s soul in the New Testament see Gal. 5:22 and 1 Tim. 1:16.

³⁸ Skylitzes, 386.77–78, ed. Thurn (1973).

sources and proposed that Skylitzes' favorable account might have been due to the author's positive outlook on Romanos III's reign. The detail in which the author went on to discuss the validity of the marriage in the *Synopsis* allowed for further questions. Laiou concluded that "Skylitzes, true perhaps to his concept of history, cannot avoid mentioning the problems of the marriage, but presents the legalistic solution and is satisfied."³⁹ It is also possible that Skylitzes' positive report of the entire incident was colored by his intention to relate a morally beneficial story that would satisfy his audience's expectations for appropriate behavior by a noble woman under stressful circumstances. The 'final act' of the story with Romanos III's generous almsgiving upon Helen's death completed the cycle of noble behavior on behalf of the principal actors. This story was artfully balanced by the opposite narration that would occur later in Zoe's reign when she attempted to marry Constantine Artoklines [prior to her marriage to Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055)]. Artoklines' wife poisoned him before he could complete marriage negotiations with Zoe, not because she disliked him, but because she would lose him while he was still alive.⁴⁰ Psellos did not relate the same story, but only mentioned the death of Artoklines without further detail.⁴¹ The juxtaposition of these two passages would not have been lost to the Byzantine readers. The presentation of these two stories would have touched upon the social sensibilities of the audience that on the one hand would have rejoiced at the honor bestowed upon one family by the observance of the positive ideological stereotype while they would have criticized the other for fulfilling the negative.⁴² The didactic purpose of the stories would have been clear: When women observed their socially appropriate roles everyone benefited.

³⁹ Laiou, (1992b) 167–69.

⁴⁰ Skylitzes, 422.26–423.33, ed. Thurn (1973); Laiou (1992b) 175.

⁴¹ Renauld (1926–28) 1: 123.

⁴² Markopoulos (2003) 186, where the author identifies a new elements of history writing in Byzantium in the tenth century: "The main concern of this new compositional approach lies not only in the desire to satisfy curiosity about the past, but also—and principally—to gather precisely those features that were to form the basis, via a complex of moral examples and symbols, of the ideals, way of life, and models worthy of emulation."

CONCLUSION

Crucial to understanding Skylitzes' criticism or praise of the women that were included in his *Synopsis* is the appreciation of social values that permeated the society in which he lived. These values were best expressed in literary works such as the epic romance of Digenes Akrites and the *Strategikon* of Kekaumenos. The social mobility witnessed in the middle of the eleventh century sparked the reaction of Byzantine nobility leading to greater interest in social status and lineage as determinants of rank and high office. Concepts of honor and shame defined individual actions and influenced the social status of noble households. Religious ideas of the reciprocal nature of the imperial and heavenly courts set a high standard for earthly order. While male honor was achieved by the display of bravery, female honor was characterized by modesty. Both sexes also received honor when fulfilling their expected roles within the household as spouses, parents and children confirming the concept of *τάξις* (universal order) in the micro-universe of the household.⁴³

The women that received most of Skylitzes' criticism, Helen Lekapene, Thephano [wife of Romanos II (959–963)], Zoe and Theodora broke from the positive stereotypes of womanhood and invaded the male sphere of power, action and public life. Skylitzes' stereotypical representation of these empresses has been considered by scholars elsewhere.⁴⁴ My emphasis here is reconstructing the world view that emerged from the *Synopsis*, one that enforced the foundations of Byzantine patriarchy. Liz James wrote "The so-called 'linguistic turn' in gender studies has established that words that purport to be about women are, in fact, more informative about the men who wrote them and the political and moral strategies they sought to promote, than about actual women."⁴⁵ What then does Skylitzes reveal about the men and society of the eleventh century and what types of political and moral strategies did that society promote? Going beyond the Virgin/Eve/sorceress dichotomy what were the specific behaviors that formulated the stereotypes? These appear to be disloyalty to their families and/or husbands, independent mindedness and the pursuit

⁴³ Magdalino (1989).

⁴⁴ Strugnell (2006); Garland (1999); Garland (1988).

⁴⁵ James (2009) 38.

of 'masculine' goals particularly in relation to political power. These women were also accused of avarice, immodesty and criminal behavior. Their actions dishonored their families as they themselves failed to fulfill their expected roles as wives, daughters, sisters and mothers. In most cases their husbands were also led by them to disgraceful behavior lessening their own honor and social status by association, disrupting the order of their respective households and dishonoring the ultimate household, the imperial court. Access to power for such women was inevitably disastrous to the state and there is little doubt that Skylitzes wished his readers to retain in their personal and social memories what happened when 'universal' order was destroyed. Women's perceived weak nature and their proclivity toward evil made them vehicles for dishonor and shame.⁴⁶

It has been shown that there existed a significant rift between perceptions of idealized behavior advanced in literature and what actually occurred in Byzantine society in the eleventh century.⁴⁷ Still a solid patriarchal ideology regarding traditional roles and values for women persisted in the works of most Byzantine authors who continued to support this philosophy, especially in regard to nobility and imperial lineage. Psellos, commenting on the short period of the reign of Zoe and Theodora, wrote that there was common agreement that the Byzantine Empire ought not to be ruled by a woman, and that this was an accepted fact among his contemporaries.⁴⁸ Psellos' statement affirms two things—that there were women in positions of power and that there was a reaction against this trend voiced by Byzantine *literati*. Skylitzes' narrative supports this argument. Going one step further he offered his readers (both male and female) the ideological framework through which they were to interpret female behavior. The moralizing episodes were written with care to augment their edifying value, offering examples for emulation and cautionary tales of what happens when order is disturbed and women come to power. Read carefully, Skylitzes and his fellow Byzantine authors of the 11th century reveal the struggles of their society to retain traditional patriarchal values at a time of change.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Wassiliewsky and Jerrnstedt (1965) 45–55.

⁴⁷ Laiou (1981/1992a); Laiou (1982/1992a).

⁴⁸ Renauld (1926–28) 2: 73.

⁴⁹ For a discussion of the struggle between ideology and reality see Garland (1988).

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Reiske, J., ed. 1829–30. *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*. 2 vols. Bonn.
 Renauld, É., ed. 1926–28. *Michel Psellos. Chronographie*. 2 vols. Paris.
 Talbot, A.-M. and D. Sullivan. 2005. *The history of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine military expansion in the tenth century*. Washington, DC.
 Thurn, J., ed. 1973. *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*. Berlin.
 Wassiliewsky, B. and V. Jernstedt, eds. 1896/1965. *Cecaumeni strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regis libellus*. Repr. Amsterdam.
 Wortley, John. 2010. *A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057*. Cambridge.

Secondary Sources

- Burke, P. 1989. "History as social memory." In *Memory: History, culture, and the mind*. Ed. T. Butler, 97–113. Wolfson College Lectures 1988. Oxford.
 Cantarella, E. 1987. *Pandora's daughters: The role and status of women in Greek and Roman antiquity*. Trans. M. Fant. Baltimore.
 Clark, E. 2004. *History, theory, text: Historians and the linguistic turn*. Cambridge.
 Fentress, J. and C. Wickham. 1992. *Social memory*. Oxford.
 Galatariotou, C. 1985. "Holy women, and witches: Aspects of Byzantine conceptions of gender." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 9: 55–96.
 Garland, L. 1988. "The life and ideology of Byzantine women: A further note on conventions of behaviour and social reality as reflected in eleventh and twelfth century historical sources." *Byzantion* 58: 361–93.
 —. 1999. *Byzantine empresses: Women and power in Byzantium, AD 527–1204*. London.
 —, ed. 2006. *Byzantine women: Varieties of experience AD 800–1200*. Aldershot.
 Grigoriadis, I. 1998. "A study of the prooimion of Zonaras' *Chronicle* in relation to other 12th-century historical prooimia." *BZ* 91: 327–44.
 Harvey, A. 1989. *Economic expansion in the Byzantine empire, 900–1200*. Cambridge.
 Herrin, J. 1983. "In search of Byzantine women: Three avenues of approach." In *Images of women in antiquity*. Ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, 167–90. Detroit and London.
 Hill, B. 1999. *Imperial women in Byzantium, 1025–1204: Power, patronage and ideology*. London.
 Holmes, C. 2003. "The rhetorical structures of John Skylitzes' *Synopsis historion*." In *Rhetoric in Byzantium*. Ed. E. Jeffreys, 186–200. Aldershot.
 —. 2005. *Basil II and the governance of empire (976–1025)*. Oxford.
 James, L., ed. 1997. *Women, men and eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*. London and New York.
 —. 2009. "Men, women, eunuchs: Gender, sex, and power." In *Social history of Byzantium*. Ed. J. Haldon, 31–50. Oxford.
 Kaldellis, A. 2006. *Mothers and sons, fathers and daughters: The Byzantine family of Michael Psellos*. Notre Dame.
 Kazhdan, A. and S. Franklin. 1984. *Studies on Byzantine literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries*. Cambridge.
 Kazhdan, A. and A. Wharton Epstein. 1990. *Change in Byzantine culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries*. Berkeley.
 Laiou, A. 1981/1992a. "The role of women in Byzantine society." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31: 233–60. Repr. in Laiou 1992a.
 —. 1982/1992a. "Addendum to the report on the role of women in Byzantine society." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32: 98–103. Repr. in Laiou 1992a.

- . 1986/1992a. "The festival of 'Agathe': Comments on the life of Constantinopolitan women." *Byzantion, Apheroma ston Andrea N. Strato* 1: 111–22. Athens. Repr. in Laiou 1992a.
- . 1992a. *Gender, the family and social structures*. Brookfield, VT.
- . 1992b. "Imperial marriages and their critics in the eleventh century: The case of Skylitzes." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46: 165–76.
- Laiou, A. and D. Simon, eds. 1994. *Law and society in Byzantium, ninth-twelfth centuries*. Washington, D.C.
- Macrides, R. 1996. "The historian in the history." In *Φιλέλλην: Studies in honour of Robert Browning*. Eds. C. Constantinides, N. Panagiotakes, E. Jeffreys and A. Angelou, 205–24. Venice.
- Magdalino, P. 1989. "Honour among the Rhomaioi: The framework of social values in the world of Digenes Akrites and Kekaumenos." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 13: 183–218.
- Markopoulos, A. 2003. "Byzantine history writing at the end of the first millennium." In *Byzantium in the Year 1000*. Ed. P. Magdalino, 183–97. Leiden/Boston.
- Mullett, M. 1984. "Aristocracy and patronage in the literary circles of Comnenian Constantinople." In *The Byzantine aristocracy, IX to XIII centuries*. Ed. M. Angold, 173–201. Oxford.
- Peltomaa, L. 2005. "Gender and Byzantine studies from the viewpoint of methodology." *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse* 140: 23–44.
- Pomeroy, S. 1975/1995. *Goddesses, whores, wives and slaves: Women in classical antiquity*. New York.
- Rouché, C. 2001. "The rhetoric of Kekaumenos." In *Rhetoric in Byzantium*. Ed. E. Jeffreys, 23–38. Aldershot.
- . 2002. "The literary background of Kekaumenos." In *Literacy, education and manuscript transmission in Byzantium and beyond*. Eds. C. Holmes and J. Waring, 111–38. Leiden and Boston.
- Sklavos, T. 2006. "Moralising history: the *Synopsis Historiarum* of John Skylitzes." In *Byzantine Narrative*. Ed. J. Burke, 110–19. Melbourne.
- Strugnell, E. 2006. "The representation of *Augustae* in John Skylitzes' *Synopsis Historiarum*." In *Byzantine Narrative*. Ed. J. Burke, 120–36. Melbourne.
- Talbot, A.-M. 2001. *Women and religious life in Byzantium*. Aldershot and Burlington, VT.

ANNA KOMNENE'S WILL*

Stratis Papaioannou

At the beginning of the last book of Eumathios Makrembolites' novel *The Story of Hysmine and Hysminias*, the eponymous lovers have finally reunited after their many adventures. Hysmine and Hysminias are about to celebrate their reunion with a public feast and are asked to narrate their respective stories of separation. Showing an initial, rather temporary, hesitation, Hysminias goes first, "in a fine voice." After his long narrative, it is Hysmine's turn to speak, but she refuses; "the ornament of virgins," she claims, "is silence." In order to give her own, yet considerably shorter, account, Hysmine must be convinced by two significant men in her audience: the officiating priest and her father. The tale is then delivered by her in sheer agony; Hysmine is "with sweat and in tears, with a failing tongue, her voice interrupted by shortness of breath, her eyes entirely fixed to the ground."¹

It hardly needs repeating that, leaving aside archaeological work, our access to the lives and minds of Byzantine women is more or less limited to their representations by Byzantine men. This is especially evident in what has survived from Byzantium's culture of writing. Byzantine texts display numerous female characters, often protagonists of narratives—whether real or fictional—, and representations of their appearance, behavior, or speech. Yet, as the cited scene from Makrembolites' novel suggests, the voices of women require special treatment. To replicate female speech seems to incite a certain authorial anxiety on the part of some Byzantine writers. In order for Hysmine to take on the role of narrator and speak about herself in the first person singular, a set of frames must be established, affirming the gender hierarchy that, among other things, defined the social economy of Byzantine discourse.²

* I owe thanks to Elizabeth Fisher, Denis Sullivan, and Charis Messis who read the entire paper and made valuable suggestions.

¹ Marcovich (2001) 11.1–16 (the cited passages at 11.2, 11.11, and 11.13); for Makrembolites' novel see Nilsson (2001).

² This is, of course, not particular to Byzantium. See Harvey (2001) for a discussion of the Syriac tradition and Miller (1993) for a discussion of modern literary theory.

Another example from a different Byzantine discursive register may help to substantiate this point further. Perhaps the best known female self-representational narrative for a Byzantine audience would have been that of St. Mary of Egypt as related in her *Vita* written by Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem (c. 560–638). Mary's story had an immediate and enduring success. Sophronios' text survives in numerous manuscripts and was included, in the tenth century, in Symeon Metaphrastes' revision of *Saints' Lives*, while the story was rendered in various medieval languages and had a notable impact on Byzantine readers and writers.³ In Sophronios' lengthy *Vita*, Mary tells her extraordinary tale of early prostitution and later extreme repentance in the first person singular.⁴ Yet the reader must pass through nearly half of Sophronios' text before he can hear Mary's narrative—which occupies about a third of the *Vita*—in her own voice. What frames this autobiographic tale are carefully constructed devices. Again a certain amount of convincing on the part of Mary's male interlocutor takes place before she is able to speak.⁵ Then, Mary's story is encased within the voices of other *male* narrators, including Sophronios, the author, and St. Zosimas, Mary's co-protagonist in the *Vita*. We hear Mary only through a series of filters, a set of Chinese boxes.

If this treatment of female discourse possibly reveals a broader anxiety of the Byzantine writing culture, the value of the very few self-authored female texts that survive becomes self-evident. In the present paper written in honor of Alice-Mary Talbot, I would like to present one such Byzantine text authored by a woman in the hopes of exploring the ways in which a female writer negotiates or challenges the androcentric premises that drive the medium in which she expresses herself.

The author in question is Anna Komnene (2 December 1083–ca. 1150–55), the Byzantine princess, author, and patroness. Apart from her involvement in the imperial and cultural politics of Comnenian Constantinople, Anna is known mostly for her *Alexiad*, a sophisticated

³ See Kouli (1996) 65–68 with Rapp (1996) 324. For examples of readers from different social vantage points: see a marginal note by Arethas as edited in Westerink and Laourdas (1962) 124.32–33 with Symeon the New Theologian's references in his *Katecheseis*, ed. Krivochéine and Paramelle (1963) 5.562 and Krivochéine and Paramelle (1964) 12.180.

⁴ PG 87:3709C–20A. The first-person perspective is entirely lost in a later Byzantine rendition of the story, the encomiastic *Βίος τῆς ὁσίας καὶ ἁγίας Μαρίας τῆς Αἰγυπτίας* by Euthymios Protascretis in the 10th c.; ed. Halkin (1981).

⁵ PG 87:3705A–09C.

history of the career of Anna's father Alexius (ca. 1057–1118), a work she started in the mid-1130's and continued at least until 1148.⁶ From Anna's pen, however, survives also a less known and much shorter text, a rhetorical preface that she wrote in order to accompany her final will and testament.⁷ While the testament is now lost to us, the preface was included in texts (primarily letters) of a contemporary philosopher rhetor, Michael Italikos (12th c., first half).⁸ These texts, along with Anna's *Preface*, are contained in a single manuscript, the well-known *Baroccianus* 131 in Oxford's Bodleian library. The manuscript itself was the product of Nicaean and early Palaeologan scholarship in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁹

In what follows, I offer a translation of the entire *Preface*, along with a brief commentary. This writing of a Byzantine woman who presents herself in her own voice aims at honoring a scholar who has contributed so much to our knowledge and understanding both of the religious culture of Byzantium in general and of the lives and minds of Byzantine women in particular.

The Text

Πρόλογος εἰς τὴν διάταξιν τῆς καισαρίσσης κυρᾶς Ἀννης
ὥς παρ' ἐκείνης ἐκδοθεῖς¹⁰

Θανάτου μεμνησθαι καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν θεῖη τῶν ὠφελίμων, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴν πόρρω θανάτου δοκῶμεν ἐστάναι καὶ μήπω τι τῷ σώματι δεινὸν ἐνοχλῇ, μηδὲ πυρετός τις ἢ νόσημά τι κακότηες τοῦ τέλους τὴν ὑπόμνησιν [106.5] δίδωσιν, οἷς πολλάκις προσημαινόμεθα θάνατον;

⁶ See Reinsch and Kambylis (2001) with Sewter (2003) and Karpozilos (2009) 397–463; see also Buckler (1929) with Gouma-Peterson (2000) and Mullett (2006).

⁷ To the *Alexiad* and the *Preface* we should also add two epigrams “To Christ” attributed to Anna in a fourteenth century poetry collection (Florence, *Plut.* 5.10) as well as one more epigram inscribed on a no longer extant reliquary of the beginning of the 12th century and then taken to the West during or after the events of 1204; for the former see Sola (1911) 375–76, for the latter see Paul (2007) 250; I would like to thank Ivan Drpić for bringing these epigrams to my attention.

⁸ Edited in Gautier (1972) 106–9; see *ibid.*, pp. 14–56 on Italikos' career and network.

⁹ See Wilson (1978) with Prato (1994).

¹⁰ The text is given (with only a minor change) as edited by Gautier (1972). For an earlier edition and discussion see Kurtz (1907); see also Hinterberger (1999) 266–67.

Τὴν γὰρ ἑαυτῶν τηνικαῦτα ἐπιγινώσκομεν φύσιν ὅτι θνητὴ καὶ ἐπικηρος καὶ διαπαντὸς διαρρέουσα. Ἐνθεν τοι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοῦτον σοφίζεσθαι σοφὸν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν καὶ παντάπασι συμφορώτατον· σοφίζοίμεθα δ' ἄν, εἰ, πρὶν ἐπισταίῃ, τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς εὖ διαθείημεν, ἕως ὃ νοῦς ἐστὶν ἐρρωμένος καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα μήπω παράφορος, [106.10] ἕως μὴ καθάπερ κλέπτης ἐπείσπεσὼν θορυβοίῃ.

Ἐγώ γε τοι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀεὶ ἀποδεχομένη, Ἄννα πορφυρογέννητος, γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄμοιρος, οὐδὲ γραφῶν ἀμελέτητος, ἀλλὰ πλείστα τε τοῖς θείοις λόγοις ἐμμελετήσασα καὶ μηδὲ τῆς θύραθεν [106.15] παιδείας ἀπολειφθεῖσα, τόνδε τὸν πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ διατυπωτικοῦ μου λόγον ἐκτίθημι· καὶ χάρις τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐμοὶ καὶ γονεῦσι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν μηδὲ τῶν λόγων με ἀποκλείσασιν, ἀλλ' ἀρύσασθαι τῆς πηγῆς ἐφείσιν, ὅποσον βεβούλημαι.

Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ γονέων ἐμνήσθην,¹¹ τοσοῦτον διδάσκω τὰ περὶ τούτων τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τῇδε τῇ διατάξει μου—ἴνα [106.20] μηδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐξοδίοις ῥήμασιν ἀμνημονεύτους καταλίπομι τοὺς δεδοκῶτας τοῦ βίου τὴν πάροδον—ὅτι ὁ μὲν πατὴρ Ἀλέξιος ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Κομνηνός, ὁ τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ γένους περιφανέστατος βασιλεὺς, οὗ τὰ τρόπαια καὶ κατὰ τῶν κύκλῳ βαρβάρων ἀριστεύματά τε καὶ στρατηγήματα οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος σύμπας χωρήσειε, κατὰ τὴν θεῖαν φάναι φωνήν. Εἰρήνη δὲ μήτηρ, [107.1] τὸ μέγα τῆς βασιλείας ἀγλάϊσμα, Δουκῶν μὲν ἐκφύσα, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον γῆν ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καταστράψασα, πρὸς ἣν οὐδεὶς ἐν οὐδενὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐρίσειεν. Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν—φεῦ τῆς κοινῆς ζημίας καὶ τοῦ κατασχόντος πάθους τὴν οἰκουμένην—ἀπῆλθεν ἐνθένδε πρὸς οὐρανοὺς, τὴν οὐράνιον τῆς ἐπὶ [107.5] γῆς ἀλλαξάμενος ἀλουργίδα· ἡ δὲ περιλείφθη τῷ βίῳ, θαῦμα καὶ τύπος ἀρετῆς ἔμβιος. Τοιοῦτοι μὲν οἱ τεκόντες ὥς ἐν βραχεῖ.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ κατ' ἐμαυτὴν ἐκθέσθαι μέλλουσα, πρότερον ἐκεῖνο πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐξορρησαίμην <φύσιν>, ἐπιμαρτυραμένη τὸν ἀλάθητον ὀφθαλμόν, ὥς [107.10] λίαν ὑπερφιλουμένη τοῖς γονεῦσι καὶ αὐτοκράτορσι καί, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ Σολομῶντος, ἐν προσώπῳ πατρός καὶ μητρός ἀγαπωμένη, οὐκ οἶδά ποτε τὸν ἅπαντα τοῦ βίου μοι χρόνον ὃν τοῖς γονεῦσι συμβεβίωκα παρακούσασα τῶν γονέων καὶ ἄλλο τι διαπραξαμένη παρὰ τὸ τούτων θέλημά τε καὶ βούλημα, καθάπερ τινὲς παῖδες τοκέων ὑπὸ τοῦ σφόδρα φιλεῖσθαι κολακευόμενοι περὶ [107.15] τὰ τοῖς πατράσι δοκοῦντα ὡς τὰ πολλὰ διαπράττουσιν· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐμὸν

¹¹ Contra Gautier, I follow here the manuscript reading, which places the comma before, rather than after, “τοσοῦτον.”

τὸ παράπαν ἔσχηκε θέλημα ὃ <οὐ> κἀκείνοις ἐδόκει, οὐδ' οὐκ ἤθελον ὃ ἐδόκει, οὔτ' ἐν σπουδαῖς, οὔτ' ἐν παιδιαῖς, οὔτε παιδάριον οὔσα, οὔτε μεῖραξ, οὔτε γυνὴ γεγονυῖα καὶ παίδων μήτηρ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ὑπάρξασα· πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἐκ γενέσεως ἡλικίαις μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῖς τούτων ἐφηρμόκειν [107.20] θελήμασι καὶ—ὅπερ φησὶν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος—κελεύουσι τούτοις παρήμην καὶ πάλιν ἀπὴν ἐθελόντων, ὥσπερ σκιά συμπαρομαρτοῦσα τοῖς σώμασιν.

Ἐντεῦθεν δὴ μοι καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἐπικλινές, πάλαι ποθούση, τὸν καθαρώτατόν τε καὶ ἄζυγα· πρὸς [107.25] ἐκείνον γὰρ ἐπιρρεπῶς ἔχουσα, τοῦτον ἀντηλλαξάμην τοῦ κρείττονος καὶ σαρκὶ δεδούλευκα μὲν διὰ τὸ βούλημα τῶν τεκόντων, ὧν τὴν παρακοὴν Θεοῦ παρακοὴν ἄντικρυς ἐτιθέμην καὶ νόμου θείου παράβασιν· ὑπηγάγετο δέ με πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ ἡ ἐμαυτῆς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ γονέας ζύμφυτος αἰδῶς καὶ ἀρρητοτάτη στοργή, πλέον δ' ἔτι [107.30] καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπερρώννυε πρὸς τὴν ὑπακοὴν Ἰσαὰκ σφαττόμενος πειθοῇ τῇ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ Ἰακώβ εὐλογούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τὴν πρὸς [108.1] τὸν πατέρα εὐπίθειαν. Τί γὰρ εὐλογίας πατρὸς τιμιώτερον· τί δὲ μητρὸς εὐχῆς μακαριώτερον ἄλλο, καὶ ταῦτα τούτων τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων τὴν ἀρετὴν πεφυκότων, ὧν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος ἀντάξιος.

Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῷ γάμφῳ μεμφοίμην φίλην ἀζυγίαν [108.5] μερισμένῃ. Καὶ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν μοι τὰ κάλλιστα πάντα ξυμβέβηκεν· ἀνὴρ τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ κρείττων τε καὶ θειότερος, ὅσους ὁ πάλαι χρόνος ἠνέγκατο, καὶ γένος καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς εὐτετυχηκῶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καῖσαρ Νικηφόρος, καὶ τὴν σειρὰν τοῦ γένους ἀνάπτων ἐς Βρυεννίους· καὶ παῖδες κάλλιστοί [108.10] τε καὶ ἄριστοι ἐξ ἐκατέρας τῆς φύσεως, ὧν οἱ μὲν τὴν ζωὴν μετελλάχασιν τὴν ἐπίκτητον, τοῦτο δόξαν Θεῷ, οἱ δὲ περιείσιν ἔτι τῷ βίῳ καὶ περιείσχον γε, Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ, μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καίσαρος καὶ με πρότερον τῇ γῇ παραδοίην, μηδὲ θεασαίμην, ὦ ἥλιε, μήτε τοῦ δεσπότη μου καίσαρος—ἀλλὰ πῶς καὶ φθεγξαίμην τὸ ἄτοπον;—μήτε μηδενὸς τῶν υἱέων, ὧν ἀπάντων [108.15] ἐξήρτημαι τῆς ψυχῆς. Εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν μεμνημένη τὰ ἐμαυτῆς ἐπαινῶ οἶον ἐπιδρομάδην, θαυμάζειν οὐ χρή. Τῇ τε γὰρ φύσει τὸ εἰκὸς ἀποδίδωμι καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ τὸ προσήκον προσαποδίδωμι· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἄμφω συνδεδραμῆκατον· οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἰκεῖα τὰ ἐπαινεθέντα διὰ βραχέος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κάλλιστα· καὶ τούτων ἅπαντες μάρτυρες.

[109.1] Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ πάλιν ἀναδραμοῦμαι τῷ λόγῳ. Πάντα μὲν μοι ἐκεῖθεν ἐξήπται, καὶ πνοὴ καὶ ζωὴ καὶ οὐσίωσις καὶ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς· καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ πέπλοις χρυσοῦφέσι καὶ ἄλλως ἐκ σηρικῶν ὑφασμένους [109.5] καὶ μέντοι

καὶ οἰκήμασι καὶ γηπέδοις καί—ἵνα νομικώτερον περὶ τούτων διαλαβοίμην—ὅση κινητὴ περιουσία καὶ ὅση ἀκίνητος καὶ ὁπόση τίς ἐστὶν αὐτοκίνητος, πάντα ταῦτα τῆς τῶν γονέων χειρὸς ἐξαρτῶ καὶ λογιζομαι, περὶ ἧς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα καὶ διαλήψεται τῆς οἰκονομίας ὁ παρὼν τῆς διατυπώσεως χάρτης, οὗ καθάπερ τινὰ προαφήγησιν τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἡμεῖς [109.10] προετάξαμεν, ἐνδιαθήκως τὰ κατ' ἐμαυτὴν διοικοῦσα, μηδ' ἐν τούτῳ τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ μητρὸς παρακούσασα· ἐκείνης γὰρ βουλήσει καὶ αὖθις μὴ ἀντιτίπτουσα τὴν ἔννομον τήνδε διάταξιν ἔγνω μυστικώτερον ἐκτιθέσθαι κατὰ τόδε καιροῦ, ἐν ᾧ κἀκείνη προσέταττε. Δηλώσει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ὁ ξύμπας τῆς διατυπώσεως λόγος.

PREFACE TO THE WILL AND TESTAMENT OF THE KAISARISSA
LADY ANNA, AS PUBLISHED BY HER

The memory of death. Who would not place it among the beneficial things? Especially when it seems that we are standing far from death, when nothing yet terrible troubles the body, when nothing reminds us of the end, neither some fever nor some malady, conditions by which death is often foretold—for it is only then that we recognize that our nature is mortal, perishable, and entirely fleeting. Because of all this, devising something wise in preparation for death is indeed absolutely expedient. And we could devise something wise if we arrange our own matters well, while our mind is still virile and strong and our tongue is not yet liable to slip, and before death might stand against us, before he might fall upon us like a thief¹² and unsettle us.

I, therefore, always accepting this manner of managing one's own affairs, am setting forth this text before my full testament—I, Anna, born of the purple,¹³ not ignorant of letters¹⁴ nor untrained in the scriptures, but, rather, greatly immersed in the divine words and also not left ignorant of pagan education. Gratitude belongs to my emperor

¹² Cf. *I Thess.* 5:2.

¹³ Cf. *Alexiad*, *Proem* 1.2, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis (2001): “ἐγὼ Ἄννα, θυγάτηρ μὲν τῶν βασιλέων Ἀλεξίου καὶ Εἰρήνης, πορφύρας τιθήνημά τε καὶ γέννημα.”

¹⁴ Cf. *Alexiad*, *Proem* 1.2 with Gautier (1972) 106 n. 2: “οὐ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄμοιρος.”

parents who deprived me of nothing, including learning [*logoi*], allowing me to draw from its fountain to the extent that I had wanted.

But since I mentioned my parents, let me say some things about them to the readers of this my will, so that, even in my departing words, I might not leave unmentioned the ones that gave me entrance into this life. My father was Alexios Komnenos, that most illustrious emperor of the Roman people, whose trophies, deeds of prowess, and stratagems against the surrounding barbarians “the entire world itself could not contain” (to speak in the words of the divine voice).¹⁵ Eirene was my mother, the great joy and adornment of kingship; a scion of the Doukai family, she illumined the entire earth under the sun with her virtues. No one among men could rival her in any respect.¹⁶ My father—alas, what a loss for all! what suffering has taken over the inhabited world!¹⁷—departed from this world toward heaven, exchanging his earthly purple garment for a heavenly one, while my mother was left behind alive, a cause for wonder and a living model of virtue.¹⁸ In short, such were the ones that gave birth to me.¹⁹

As I am about to set forth what pertains to me, I should first reveal this in front of all mankind—as if in a public performance,²⁰ appealing to the unmistakable eye as my witness. Since I was extremely loved by my parent emperors and “beloved”—these are the words of Solomon—“in the sight of my father and mother,”²¹ during the entire time of my life that I spent together with my parents, I never disobeyed them nor did I do anything else against their wish and will—as some children, spoiled by the extreme love of their parents, most often do regarding the wishes of their parents. Never did I have any wish, which was not

¹⁵ *John* 21:25.

¹⁶ Cf. Psellos, *Encomium in matrem* 131–32, ed. Criscuolo (1989): “οὐδεμία τῶν ἀπασῶν γυναικῶν ἐκείνη ἐρίσειεν,” and 399: “οὐτίς ἐκείνη τῶν θνητῶν ἐρίσειε γυναικῶν” (both on his mother).

¹⁷ Cf. *Alexiad* 15.11.20 with Kurtz (1907) 96: “Ἀλλὰ γὰρ πῶς παραστήσω τὴν κατασχούσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν συμφορὰν;”

¹⁸ Cf. *Alexiad* 3.3.4 (on Eirene again): “ἔμπουν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄγαλμα καλλονῆς καὶ στήλην ἔμβιον εὐρυθμίας.”

¹⁹ Alexios died on 15 August 1118, while Eirene's death is dated on a February, anywhere between 1123 and 1138. For 1123 (which seems to me the most likely date) see Kurtz (1907) 94, Polemis (1968) 71–72, and Hörandner (1974) 188 and n. 23; for 1133 see Skoulatos (1980) 119–24; and for 1133/1138 see Gautier (1969) 245–47.

²⁰ Cf. *Alexiad*, *Proem* 1.2: “δεῖ γὰρ ἐξορχεῖσθαι ταῦτα, καὶ οὐ περιαντολογία τὸ πρῶμα, ὅσα ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας σπουδὴ δέδωκε καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἄνωθεν ἐπεβράβευσεν καὶ ὁ καιρὸς συνεισήνεγκε.”

²¹ *Prov.* 4:3.

also their wish, nor did I not want what they also wanted; neither in serious pursuits, nor in playful ones, neither as a little child, nor as an adolescent, nor when I became a woman and a mother of many good children.²² At every age, from my birth until now, I carried out their wishes and—as that centurion in the gospels says²³—when they ordered me, I was present, when they so wished, I went away; I was like a shadow that follows the bodies closely.

It is to them that I also owe my turn toward this <wedded> life, even though I always desired the most pure and unwedded one; while I was inclined toward the latter, I exchanged that superior one for the former and I served the flesh due to the will of my parents. I regarded my disobedience toward them to be equal to the disobedience toward God and a violation of divine law. What also led me to this life were my own innate modesty²⁴ and most ineffable affection²⁵ for my emperor parents. And what strengthened me further were the sacrifice of Isaac, who submitted to his father,²⁶ and the paternal blessing of Jacob, who readily obeyed his father.²⁷ Is there something more honorable than the father's blessing? Is there something more blessed than the mother's wish? Especially, when they have been so great and distinguished in virtue, such that not even the world itself was worthy of them.²⁸

But I would not blame even marriage for keeping me apart from my dear unweddedness. Because of marriage, all the best things happened to me: a man, better and more divine than all men under the sun brought forth since ancient time, a man extremely fortunate in both body and soul, in both family lineage and virtue, the Caesar

²² Cf. *Alexiad* 1.8.2 (on Alexios) with Kurtz (1907) 96: “ὁ εὖνους οὖτος υἱὸς ὑπέικε τῷ μητρικῷ θελήματι οὐ τὰ ἐν βρέφει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς μείρακας παραγγείλας καὶ μέχρις ἂν γυναικὶ συνηρμόσθη.”

²³ *Matt.* 8:9.

²⁴ Cf. *Alexiad* 12.3.2–4 with 12.3.6 (both on Eirene): “Ἐπειδὴν δὲ μέλλοι δημοσιεύειν ἑαυτὴν κατὰ τινα χρεῖαν ἀναγκαιοτάτην ὡς βασιλίδαν, αἰδοῦς τε ὑπερίμπλατο καὶ ἐρύθημα εὐθὺς ἐξηνθήκει ταῖς παρειαῖς. . . τοσοῦτον ἦν ἐκεῖνη χρήμα θαυμάσιον εἰς αἰδῶ. . . Κατεῖχε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἡ σύμφυτος αἰδῶς ἔνδον τῶν βασιλείων.” And: “Ταῦτα τοῖνον τὰ αἷτια τὴν σύμφυτον αἰδῶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκεῖνης παρηγκωνίζετο.”

²⁵ Cf. *Alexiad* 4.8.1 (on Anna's “natural affection” toward her father): “Ἀλλ’ ἔγωγε μεταξὺ τῶν λόγων ἐπελαθόμην τὸ μὲν διὰ τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἱστορίας, τὸ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπερβολήν, ὅτι πατὴρ καταρθώματα γράφοιμι. . . Ἐπληγάζει δέ μου τὸ πρόθυμον ἢ φυσικὴ στοργή.”

²⁶ Cf. *Gen.* 22:2.

²⁷ Cf. *Gen.* 27.

²⁸ Cf. *Hebr.* 11:38.

Nikephoros, fastening the link of his lineage to the Bryennios family;²⁹ then, most beautiful and perfect children of both sexes, of whom some have exchanged their perishable life (this was God's will) and some are still alive.³⁰ May, O Christ my king, they remain alive along with their father caesar and deliver me first into earth. May I not witness, O sun, the... —, oh, how shall I even utter that terrible and absurd word—...neither of my lord caesar nor of any of my sons, on whom my life depends. And one should not wonder if, upon mentioning my own affairs, I praise what is mine in passing. For I attribute what is appropriate to nature and, in addition, I credit what is suitable to virtue. In my case, both nature and virtue came together since those, whom I briefly praised, are not only my own, but also happen to be the best—everyone is a witness to this fact.³¹

I return my words to the emperors again. Everything that is mine, my breath, my life, my coming to being, in both body and soul, stem from them. I ascribe to my parents' hands and consider it to be from them all of my property in gold, silver, gold-embroidered or silk cloths as well as in houses and land or—to speak about these matters in a more legal fashion—all of my movable, all of my immovable, and all of my self-movable property. The management of this property will be treated in detail by the present document of my testament, to which I, administering my affairs in a will, have attached as a preface [*proaphêgêsis*] this text. In this too, I obeyed my queen mother; it was her wish and I, again, did not resist. I decided to present this lawful testament in a secret fashion at the precise moment she ordered it. The full text of my testament will declare all the rest.

²⁹ Cf. *Alexiad*, *Proem* 3.1 (on Bryennios again) with Kurtz (1907) 96: “ὁ Καῖσαρ Νικηφόρος, εἰς τὴν τῶν Βρυεννίων σειρὰν ἀναγόμενος.” On Nikephoros Bryennios (ca. 1080–1136/1138; married to Anna in 1097) see Gautier (1969) 251–52.

³⁰ For these children see Polemis (1968) 113–14 and 135; see also Reinsch and Kambylis (2001) 4*.

³¹ The end of this whole passage is reminiscent of *Alexiad*, *Proem* 1.2: “δεῖ γὰρ ἐξορχεῖσθαι ταῦτα, καὶ οὐ περιαντολογία τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὅσα ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας σπουδὴ δέδωκε καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἄνωθεν ἐπεβράβευσε καὶ ὁ καιρὸς συνεισήνεγκε.” Cf. also, *Alexiad* 12.3.4: “καὶ μοι μηδεὶς τῆς περιαντολογίας ἐπιμεμψέσθω.” For the very last phrase (“καὶ τούτων ἅπαντες μάρτυρες”) cf. *Alexiad* 6.8.2 (again on Anna herself) with Kurtz (1907) 96: “Καὶ μάρτυρες τοιούτου τοῦ ἥθους εἰσὶ μοι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἤδη δὲ καὶ πάντες ὅποσοι τὰμὰ γινώσκουσι.”

Commentary

The first issue one must clarify is Anna's authorship of this *Prologos*. The fact that the *Preface* survives among Italikos' texts along with the possibly confusing Greek title ("ὡς παρ' ἐκείνης ἐκδοθείς")—which some wrongly read as "as if published by her" rather than "as published by her"—, and, finally, the assumption that wills in Byzantium were produced mostly by professional scribes have led the majority of scholars to suspect Anna's direct authorship and to regard this text as written by some notary or, possibly, Michael Italikos.³² This suspicion as to whether a woman can be the singular, unique, and unmediated author of a text in its totality is nothing new in scholarship, neither modern nor premodern. Similar doubts were raised regarding the Roman Greek historian Pamphile (first century CE) in Photios' *Bibliothêkê* and in the *Suda* (most likely reflecting earlier sentiments) or regarding medieval western female writers such as Hrotsvitha or Hildegard of Bingen in nineteenth-century scholarship, or, recently regarding even Anna's *Alexiad* itself.³³

Angeliki Laiou unequivocally attributes the *Preface* to Anna.³⁴ And rightly so. There are clear indicators in the stylistic texture of the *Preface* that it was written by the same author who penned the *Alexiad*. Some similarities in phrasing have been noticed by previous editors and I was able to identify a few more, as indicated in my footnotes above. These similarities range from identical and similar diction to

³² See Kurtz (1907) 96: "Die Angabe des Titels: ὡς παρ' ἐκείνης ἐκδοθείς kann nur so verstanden werden, dass nicht Anna selbst den Prolog zum Testament abgefasst, sondern einen anderen damit betraut hat," though on p. 98 he concedes that, even if the author was a man (possibly Italikos or Prodromos), the text represents the views of Anna herself. Similar is the attitude of Gautier (1972) who (p. 30) notes that the *Preface* was "apparemment rédigé par Italikos" and translates the title as "Prologue au testament de la césarissa kyra Anne, censé publié par elle [my italics]" (p. 105). Reinsch and Kambylis (2001) 6* concur: "...dem Prolog zu ihrem Testament der wahrscheinlich auch nicht unmittelbar von ihr stammt," while Hinterberger does not take a position; cf. Hinterberger (1999) 280–81. The phrase "ὡς παρ' ἐκείνης ἐκδοθείς" should not be confused with the phrase "ὡς ἐκ [or: ἀπὸ] προσώπου"; rather, it should be read as a note by a later reader/editor of the text (Italikos himself? a later editor of Italikos' texts? the compiler of *Baroccianus* 131?) who wished to escape the suspicion of having falsified Anna's original text.

³³ See Photios, *Bibliothêkê* 175, ed. Henry (1960) 119b–120a with the *Suda* pi.139, ed. Adler (1935) on Pamphile. See Dronke (1984) ix on Hrotsvitha and Hildegard of Bingen, and Macrides (2000) and Sullivan (forthcoming) vs. Howard-Johnston (1996) on Anna's *Alexiad*.

³⁴ Laiou (1981) 61 n. 5. See also Buckler (1929) 9–10.

parallel sentence structures. In this respect, the beginning of our text is nearly identical to the beginning of Anna's proem to her *Alexiad*. There, just as in the *Prologos*, Anna starts with a general statement regarding time and how historiography might resist time's inevitable and overwhelming flow; this statement is then followed by a personal comment regarding Anna herself.³⁵

The discursive correlations between the two texts, far from being superficial (as Kurtz, the first editor of the text, saw them),³⁶ relate notions that, as I will explain below, express core features of what Anna seems to regard as her identity markers. Indeed, since this text was written definitely after the death of Alexios (in 1118) and before the death of Anna's mother Eirene (most likely in 1123) as well as of her husband Nikephoros (dated to 1136/37) and thus precedes in date the *Alexiad*, I would argue that the self-representational statements encountered in the *Preface* represent Anna's first take on themes that will become further elucidated in her more extensive work.³⁷ However this might be, the *Preface* was written by Anna.

Let us turn to a second, somewhat larger, issue that the *Preface* raises if treated not simply from a historical, but also from a literary-historical perspective and, more specifically, from the perspective of self-representational rhetoric. What kind of self-portrait does this text, by an author writing *about* herself, project? What is the image created by this, admittedly, brief autobiographical narrative, this '*proaphêgêsis*,' as Anna terms it? And, additionally, what is the purpose or, indeed, audience of this image?

As one might expect of any self-referential text such as this, Anna's self-portrait is multilayered. The first, most exterior, image (one might even be inclined to call it a 'mask') is a religious one. Anna presents herself as a Christian and, more precisely, as an aspiring monastic. By this image, Anna rehearses the most dominant self-representational idiom in Byzantium (where the Christianity of the writer is often

³⁵ See *Preface* 1–16 with *Alexiad*, *Proem* 1.1–2.

³⁶ Kurtz (1907) 97.

³⁷ Kurtz ([1907] 94–95) dates the *Preface* more precisely in 1122, before the death of Eirene Doukaina (which he places in February 1123) and after a notice in Eirene's *Typikon* of the Kecharitomene (which he dates in 1121; this latter argument is not absolutely secure); the same date is accepted in Hinterberger (1999) 266. By contrast, Gautier ([1972] 30) wrongly dates the *Preface* after the death of Eirene (which, in his view, occurred in 1133/1138) and before the death of Bryennios (ca. 1136/38). On the date of Eirene's death see n. 19 above.

proffered) and also yields to the expectations of a likely immediate audience of this preface—fellow nuns in the convent of Kecharitomene in Constantinople. Anna’s initial reference to the “memory of death”—a typical virtue of an ascetic in Byzantium and also a *topos* in private wills—, her allusions to biblical phrasing—the only allusions immediately recognizable as such in this text—, and her expressed, though unfulfilled, desire to lead an “unwedded...superior” life, all contribute to this Christian and monastic Anna.³⁸

This first image is typified, an almost impersonal—though not less genuine for that—sign of, what Laiou has called, the “ostensible piety” of such documents.³⁹ A second, equally typified, identity marker follows. This one expresses not religious, but social status. Next to a good Christian (“I...always accepting this manner of managing one’s own affairs”), Anna regards herself as a prominent member of the imperial family: “I, Anna, born of the purple.”⁴⁰ Lineage, imperial and aristocratic, is at the forefront of this text.⁴¹ Anna insists on her high and inherited social status, the *eugeneia* so characteristic of Comnenian Constantinople.⁴²

Nevertheless, is it social status in general or personal kinship in particular that matters most for Anna? At first glance, it seems as if Anna cannot decide: she first refers to her parents as “emperor parents,” then as “parent emperors,” and then again as “emperor parents” (lines 106.16, 107.10, and 107.29–30). At a closer reading, Anna’s attachment

³⁸ On the biblical allusions see ns. 12, 15, 21, 23, and 26–28 above; for “secular” allusions see n. 67 below. Of the many examples on the “memory of death” theme see Niketas Stethatos, *Life of Symeon the New Theologian*, ed. Hausherr (1928) 6.38–39 (on the early years of Symeon’s ascent to sainthood) with Symeon the New Theologian, *Katechesis* 21, ed. Krivochéine and Paramelle (1964) 350–62. References to human mortality are also a *topos* for Byzantine testaments; see Hinterberger (1999) 100. On the religious life of Byzantine women see Talbot (2006).

³⁹ Laiou (1981) 62. We read similar statements in the slightly earlier *Testament* of the nun Maria (Kale) Pakouriane (dated to 1098); see Kravari, Lefort, Métrévélī, Oikonomidēs, and Papachrysanthou (1990) 178–183, at 178: “Δίκαιόν ἐστι (καὶ) λίαν ἀρμόδιον πάντας θνητοὺς γεγονότας καὶ τὴν τοῦ θανάτου ἀπαραί[ιτη]τον) ἔ[λευσιν σκέψεως?] φροντίδ(α) ποιῆσθαι, πλέον δὲ τ(ῶν) ἄλλ(ων) τοὺς τ(ὸν) μονήρη βίον ἀσπασαμένους (καὶ) συνθήκας πρὸς(ς) Θε(ὸν) ἔχοντ(ας) ἀποτά[ξα]σθαι μ(ὲν) τ(οῖς) γήϊνους, ποθῆσαι δὲ τὰ οὐ(ρά)νια. Διά τοι τοῦτο κἀγὼ Μαρία (μον)αχ(ή)...”

⁴⁰ Cf. *Alexiad*, *Proem* 1.2 and n. 13 above.

⁴¹ Cf. how Anna does not fail to mention the family origin of her mother Eirene (line 107.1).

⁴² Similar emphasis on *genos* and social status is evident in Eirene’s preface to her *Typikon* for the convent of Kecharitomene; see *Proem* 39–47 and 53–55, ed. Gautier (1985).

to her family, her husband and children and, more forcefully, her parents takes clear precedence in her self-portrait. (It is no coincidence that in this respect too we find correlations with the *Alexiad*.)⁴³ More than a princess and an aristocrat, or even a fortunate wife and mother, Anna presents herself as a fervently loving and exceptionally beloved daughter. As this text repeatedly suggests, it is her parents' "will" that defines Anna.⁴⁴

This third image or persona of a woman loyal to her parents, husband, and children, is again a typified one in as much as an idealized Byzantine woman is, after all, expected to identify herself through her devotion to her immediate family—especially toward the triptych of father, husband, and son(s).⁴⁵ This is a persona imposed from the outside also to the extent that this image/mask of Anna might be regarded as a self-defense against the unnamed other—and, in that sense, the addressee—of this text: a close relative, Anna's estranged brother, John II Komnenos, the emperor at the time of the composition of this text.⁴⁶ In fact, the text was likely written in the context of Anna's somewhat forced withdrawal to the monastery of Kecharitomene, the result of her failed plot against her brother in order to obtain the imperial throne for her husband, Nikephoros.⁴⁷

Anna, we should note, specifies further and thus particularizes the prescribed self of a woman devoted to her family by briefly foregrounding her relationship to her mother. Indeed, Anna's mother, Eirene, is

⁴³ See, e.g., ns. 13 and 17–18 above.

⁴⁴ See *Preface* 107.12–17: "οὐκ οἶδά ποτε τὸν ἅπαντα τοῦ βίου μοι χρόνον ὃν τοῖς γονεῦσι συμβεβίωκα παρακούσασα τῶν γονέων καὶ ἄλλο τι διαπραξαμένη παρὰ τὸ τούτων θέλημά τε καὶ βούλημα, ... ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐμὸν τὸ παράπαν ἔσχηκε θέλημα ὃ <οὐ> κακείνοις ἐδόκει, οὐδ' οὐκ ἤθελον ὃ ἐδόκει, οὔτ' ἐν σπουδαῖς; 107.18–20: "πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἐκ γενέσεως ἡλικίαις μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῖς τούτων ἐφηρμόκειν θελήμασι." And 107.26: "σαρκὶ δεδούλευκα μὲν διὰ τὸ βούλημα τῶν τεκόντων."

⁴⁵ For a discussion see Smythe (2006).

⁴⁶ Is he the person implied in the phrase "some children, spoiled by the extreme love of their parents, most often do regarding the wishes of their parents"?

⁴⁷ I owe this reading to Charis Messis, who also rightly reminds me that testaments of this kind—of "managing" as Anna puts it (line 106.11) "one's own affairs"—were written at the moment of one's entrance into a monastic community. If this hypothesis is correct and the text was written in the years right after Alexios' death (cf. n. 37 above), then Anna (contra Thomas and Hero [2000] 649) apparently entered the monastery of Kecharitomene during that same period. A forced monastic withdrawal might also explain Anna's claim that the testament was written "in a secret fashion [μυστικώτερον]" (line 109.12)—though the phrase maybe typical testament discourse (cf. the will of Eustathios Boilas in Lemerle [1977] 21).

the only person whose “will” is singled out by Anna in the *Preface*.⁴⁸ Anna appears not simply, as one might expect her to be, as a family-devoted woman, but, more specifically, as a daughter unwaveringly attached to another woman, her mother, and her will. With respect to this, one cannot but notice the remarkable correspondence of Anna’s testament and Eirene’s own words, as recorded in her *typikon* for the monastery of *Kecharitomene*. Central to the many features that distinguish this *typikon* from other such (at least partially) female-authored Byzantine documents is the recurrence of the verb ‘I wish/want,’ *boulomai*, in the first-person singular.⁴⁹

The reference to the usage of the verb ‘*boulesthai*’ and related words is not without importance. We should remember that, in Byzantine discourse, ‘will’ (*boulêsis*, *boulêma*, *thelêma*, or, also, *gnômê*) indicates a seminal feature of one’s subjectivity. Combined or juxtaposed with

⁴⁸ Cf. again at the end of the *Preface* (lines 109.11–12): “ἐκείνης γὰρ βουλήσει καὶ αὐθις μὴ ἀντιπιπτουσα τὴν ἔννομον τήνδε διάταξιν ἔγνων μυστικώτερον ἐκτιθέναι.” We should read this as another indication (again contra Gautier) that the text was written while Eirene was actually alive and thus the most significant member of Anna’s intended audience.

⁴⁹ The form appears a remarkable twenty times; see especially Gautier (1985) 2.227 (“βούλομαι καὶ σφόδρα βούλομαι”) and 55.1538 (“ὁ γὰρ βούλομαι σφόδρα βούλομαι”), already noted in Laiou (1981) 79 and 86. By comparison, the term appears a total of twenty-nine times in the rest of the sixteen surviving *typika*, acts, and testaments pertaining directly, and, on few occasions, authored by women (for the list see below). This recurrence of the term in Eirene’s *Typikon* is comparable only to three other similar documents, one written by a woman and thus included in the above statistics and two written by men:

— the *Typikon* of Theodora Palaiologina, widow of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, for the Convent of Lips in Constantinople (dated to 1294–1301), where *boulomai* appears fifteen times (Delehay [1921] 106–36 and Talbot [2000a]);

— the brief *Will* of Gregory of Nazianzus, who also uses the form twenty times (Pitra [1868]);

— and the *Typikon* of the son of Eirene and younger brother of Anna, Isaakios Komnenos, who uses *boulomai* sixty times (!) (Papazoglou [1994]).

The rest of the *typika*, acts, and testaments relevant to Byzantine women used for this survey, here cited in their chronological order: Guillou, Lemerle, Papachryssanthou, and Svoronos (1970) 158–61: date, 1016; Kravari, Lefort, Métrévélis, Oikonomidès, and Papachryssanthou (1990) 169: date, 1093, and pp. 178–83: date, 1098; Miklosich and Müller (1871) 122–24: date, 1181, and pp. 195–96: date, 1240; Delehay (1921) 136–40 with Talbot (2000b): date, 1294–1301; Guillou, Lemerle, Papachryssanthou, and Svoronos (1977) 138–41: date, 1304; Bompaigne, Giros, Kravari, and Lefort (2001) 227–28: date, 1305; Meyer (1895) with Talbot (2000c): date, 1307; Delehay (1921) 18–105 with Talbot (2000d): date, 1327–35; Lemerle (1988) 85–87: date, 1338; Guillou (1955) 112–13: date, 1339; Bompaigne (1964) 193–96: date, 1349; Oikonomidès (1984) 266: date, 1389; Bompaigne (1964) 216–18: date, 1445.

'nature' (*physis*), 'will' points to the core of a subject in Byzantine parlance and, indeed, comes closest to modern notions of subjectivity (commonly understood as self-willed, namely free, individuality).⁵⁰ It is with respect to the self-referential usage of '*boulesthai*' that we might identify Anna's greatest deviation in the writing of her own self in this text. The only thing that Anna explicitly 'wills,' according to the *Preface*, is to pursue "learning, *logoi*" to the extent that she had wanted: "ὅποσον βεβούλημαι." This is a feature of Anna's self-projected personality that we also know again from the *Alexiad*.⁵¹ Anna's competence in knowledge and discursive performance (what the word *logoi* simultaneously evokes) is the aspect of Anna's own image, which she wishes to accentuate in both of her surviving texts.⁵²

Here, more than in any of her other discursive personae, Anna confronts the expectations and limitations that her society ascribed to her sex. *Logoi*, whether as knowledge or as rhetorical performance, are in Anna's world the unquestionable domain of men.⁵³ Regarding knowledge, one need only cite the words of George Tornikes, who benefited from Anna's patronage and was her eulogist after her death. "Constantinople," Tornikes argues, "is filled with *men*, lovers of discourse: πλήρης . . . ἡ Κωνσταντίνου φιλολογοῦντων ἀνδρῶν."⁵⁴ Therefore, while in reality this is a period of increased literacy among women of higher social status—Anna's mother Eirene is a characteristic example of this⁵⁵—ideologically, Anna can only be seen by her contemporaries

⁵⁰ Telling is in this respect a self-referential utterance by Gregory of Nazianzus, which I cite here, in the stead of numerous examples, as representative of an entire tradition of thought: "Παρρησιάζομαι τι πρὸς σέ· καὶ γὰρ πέφυκα οὕτω, καὶ βούλομαι"; Gregory, *Letters* 192.1, Gallay (1967). For a recent review of the notion of "will" in the Byzantine philosophical tradition see, e.g., Bathrellos (2004) 117–28; see also Frede (2002).

⁵¹ See *Alexiad*, *Proem* 1.2.

⁵² We should note that, in the *Preface*, Anna presents her pursuit of learning (both religious and secular) as being allowed by her parents. George Tornikes in his *Funeral Oration* for Anna, however, suggests that her parents were suspicious of her interests in secular knowledge and that Anna had to proceed with her studies secretly; Darrouzès (1970) 243:10–247:2.

⁵³ Largely speaking, competence in *logoi* is not among the female virtues promoted by contemporary texts, except, of course, when the literary patronage by a woman for a male author is anticipated; see Jeffreys (2004) with Hill (1996) and Mavroudi in this volume.

⁵⁴ Darrouzès (1970) 235:13–22.

⁵⁵ See Laiou (1981) with Anderson (2000); see also Polemis (1968) 70–74 on Eirene.

as a very exceptional female. “Two or, maybe, three or only marginally a few more wise women have existed,” Tornikes again declares—a possible reference to what are Anna’s heroines, Sappho and Theano, as well as possibly to Aspasia, Diotima, or Hypatia.⁵⁶ Alternatively, Anna must be regarded as ‘male,’ a woman who displays “a manly virtue” and reaches “the highest peak of wisdom.”⁵⁷ A woman’s “soft” mind, Tornikes suggests, cannot, after all, produce high wisdom—Photios levels the same remark against Pamphile, the single female author discussed in his *Bibliothêkê*.⁵⁸

Even stricter is the constraint imposed upon female self-expression. As Hysmine, Anna’s near contemporary fictional character, knows well, women are supposed to espouse silence. The sentiment is, of course, a ubiquitous *topos*, that permeates Greek discourse from its beginnings—one only has to think of a well-known scene in the *Odyssey*, when Penelope is silenced by her son when attempting to escape the boundaries of her gender by wishing to speak in public.⁵⁹ But we do

⁵⁶ Darrouzès (1970) 231:7–8: “Δύο μὲν γὰρ καὶ τρεῖς που καὶ βραχύ τι πλείους σοφαὶ γυναῖκες γεγόνασιν.” Sappho and Theano are the most commonly referenced female authors in Byzantine writing (for Anna see ns. 61 and 63 below), while Aspasia, Diotima and Hypatia are also occasionally cited; see, e.g., Michael Psellos, *Or. for. 1.1114* (Sappho, Diotima, Aspasia, and Theano), ed. Dennis (1994), and *idem*, *Encomium in matrem 1872–74* (Sappho, Theano, and Hypatia), ed. Criscuolo (1989); cf. Mavroudi in this volume.

⁵⁷ Darrouzès (1970) 231:5–6: “γυναῖκα...ἀνδρικήν ἐπιδείξασθαι ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν ἐλάσαι πρὸς τὸ ἀκρότατον.” Tornikes similarly remarks that Anna’s daughter Eirene had like her mother the same “zeal for virtue, the same love for discourse, manly in mind, manly in spirit,...rich in the best of men’s qualities: wisdom and a mind neither female nor soft, but strong and masculine: “τὸν ὅμοιον ἔχουσιν ζῆλον τῆς ἀρετῆς, τοῦ λόγου τὸν αὐτὸν ἔρωτα, ἀνδρικήν τὰς φρένας, ἀνδρικήν τὴν φρόνησιν,...τῶν ἀνδρῶν δὲ πλουτοῦσαν τὰ κάλλιστα, σοφίαν καὶ νοῦν οὐ θῆλυν οὐδ’ ἀπαλόν, ἀλλὰ στερρόν τε καὶ ἄρρενα” (317:3–7). On Tornikes’ presentation of Anna see further Messis (2006) 576–578.

⁵⁸ See previous note with Photios, *Bibliothêkê* 175, ed. Henry (1960) 119b–120a: “Her style [*phrasis*], as one might gather from her preface and from those other places where she might say something of her own is—since it is the offspring of a woman—of the simple form [*aphelês idea*], especially in what pertains to intended meaning [*dianoia*]: Ἡ δὲ φράσις, ὡς ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν προοιμίων συλλαβεῖν, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἄλλοθι που ἰδιὸν τι λέγει, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν, οἷα δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς ἔκγονον οὔσα, τῆς ἀφελοῦς ἔστιν ἰδέας.” On simple style (*apheleia*) as characteristic of female discourse see also Eustathios of Thessalonike’s remarks in his *Commentaries* of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; see van der Valk (1976) 348:19–22 and 354:11–14 (both passages on Andromache’s speech), van der Valk (1987) 132:2–4 and 646:16 (on Thetis), 976:10–19 (on Hecuba), and Stallbaum (1826/1970) 217:44–45 (on Penelope).

⁵⁹ Homer, *Odyssey* 1.328–61, especially Telemachus’ dictum in verse 358: “μῦθος δ’ ἀνδρῶσι μελήσει”; cf. Ford (2002) 5–7. It has gone unnoticed in modern scholarship (though it did not escape the attentive eye of Eustathios of Thessalonike) that the

not have to search that far. The same sentiment is present in texts close in time to Anna's *Preface*. Tornikes has this to say about Anna's mother, Eirene: "Who else placed reason as a rein upon the tongue as much as she... who in most cases remained silent, having learned, not by Euripides, but by herself, that reserved decorum is what fits women, and who uttered only what was necessary and, even then, spoke briefly and modestly."⁶⁰ Anna herself concurs in her *Alexiad*. Eirene, Anna tells us, "did not wish to be in the public eye [δημοσιεύεσθαι, and later: δημοσιεύειν ἑαυτήν]." And after comparing her mother to the pagan philosopher Theano ("ἡ φιλόσοφος Θεανώ," Anna writes), Anna stresses her mother's "innate modesty [αἰδώς]," a phrase that she repeats twice in the *Alexiad*.⁶¹

Notably, Anna recognizes the same quality in herself. In the *Preface*, she mentions once her "innate modesty" (line 107.29: ἡ ἑμαυτῆς μὲν... ξύμφυτος αἰδώς). In the *Alexiad*, she describes herself in similar terms twice, reflecting on the appropriateness of herself, a woman, to speak. In the first passage, Anna refrains from relating a curse since her "female and royal...modesty: γυναικεία καὶ βασιλική...αἰδώς" restrains her.⁶² In the second instance, Anna claims to avoid describing in detail the heresy of the Bogomils, again restrained by her *aidôs*. "Modesty prevents me," Anna writes, "as somewhere that good Sappho says, since I am a woman writer and the most honorable and first offspring of Alexios: ἀλλά με κωλύει καὶ αἰδώς, ὥς πού φησιν ἡ καλὴ

line is a slightly altered phrase from the *Iliad*, from Hector's address to Andromache (6.492: "πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει"), with the notable substitution of *polemos* with *mythos*; cf. Eustathios' commentary in Stallbaum (1825/1970) 1.63.37–44. For female speech in the Greek tradition see Fögen (2010).

⁶⁰ Darrouzès (1970) 237:14–20: "Τίς οὕτω γλώσση λόγον ἔθετο χαλινόν...ὥς τὰ πολλὰ μὲν σιωπῶσα, γυναιξὶν ἐντεῦθεν ἐμπρέπειν οὐ παρ' Εὐριπίδου ἀλλὰ παρ' ἑαυτῆς μαθοῦσα τὸ κόσμιον, μόνα δὲ τὰ πρὸς χρεῖαν λαλοῦσα καὶ ταῦτα σεμνῶς λακωνίζουσα, [and Tornikes continues] ῥῆμα δὲ ἀστεῖον ἢ περιττὸν ἢ εὐτράπελον οὐ μόνον οὐκ αὐτὴ διὰ χειλέων προάγουσα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν τοῦτο ποιεῖσθαι ἀνεχομένης;" The Euripidean phrase from *Heraclidae* 476–477: "γυναικὶ γὰρ σιγὴ τε καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν / κάλλιστον εἶσω θ' ἥσυχον μένειν δόμων"; cf. also Sophocles, *Ajax* 293: "γύναι, γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἢ σιγὴ φέρει." Both phrases were repeated in later gnomologia and in a variety of texts; cf. Psellos, *Chronographia* 7C.9, ed. Impellizzeri 1984, and Makrembolites, *The Story of Hysmine and Hysminias*, ed. Marcovich (2001) 5.10 for two citations close to Anna's time—see also the passage from Eustathios' *Commentary on the Odyssey* cited in the previous footnote.

⁶¹ *Alexiad* 12.3.2–4 with 12.3.6 and n. 24 above.

⁶² *Alexiad* 1.13.3.

Σαπφώ, ὅτι συγγραφεὺς ἔγωγε γυνή καὶ τῆς πορφύρας τὸ τιμιώτατον καὶ τῶν Ἀλεξίου πρώτιστον βλάστημα.”⁶³

Thus, what is at work in Anna’s self-presentation as learned and skilled in discourse is a conscious claim to a masculine role, that of a person competent in *logoi* and, therefore, authorized to “publicize” his/her speech; the role—to put it simply—of the proficient author.⁶⁴ This is Anna’s fourth and perhaps most intimate persona: a “woman writer.” For though Anna has interiorized the gender expectations imposed on her (as is evident from the emphasis on *aidōs*), she nevertheless claims equal access to discourse, that formidable form of masculine power in Byzantium (and beyond). At that, Anna may be said to display what has been termed the “double consciousness” of a woman writing in an androcentric world: speaking both what is regarded as masculine and what is regarded as feminine discourse.⁶⁵

Apart from her explicit claim, Anna has inscribed this persona in the very text of the *Preface*. It is not a coincidence, for instance, that the biblical characters with whom she compares herself are male (Isaac and Jacob: lines 107.30–108.1) and, more importantly, that they echo the self-representational speech of male writers (most notably Gregory of Nazianzus and, possibly, Michael Psellos).⁶⁶ An echo of Psellos and his “speaking about himself” is also heard in Anna’s excuse for

⁶³ *Alexiad* 15.9.1 with Sappho, fr. 137.1–2: “θέλω τί τ’ εἶπην, ἀλλὰ με κωλύει / αἴδως.” Sappho’s phrase is cited elsewhere only in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* (1367a8–10; the phrase is attributed, however, to Alcaeus) and, remarkably, in the anonymous commentary on *Rhetoric*, possibly contemporary to and, even, instigated by Anna; see Rabe (1896) 51.22–31 (again, however, with the phrase attributed to Alcaeus).

⁶⁴ Who, we might ask, is the audience addressed by this persona? Perhaps it is the intellectuals, rhetors and philosophers, of Anna’s time, intellectuals with whom Anna was in close contact; cf. Frankopan (2009). This audience would include Michael Italikos or, in any case, that person among Anna’s contemporary readers who deemed the *Preface* worthy of being preserved in a manuscript as a rhetorical and literary piece independently of the actual document of Anna’s *Testament*.

⁶⁵ See Winkler (1990), esp. 174–75 on Sappho: “Women in a male-prominent society are thus like a linguistic minority in a culture whose public actions are conducted in the majority language. To participate even passively in the public arena the minority must be bilingual; the majority feels no such need to learn the minority’s language. Sappho’s consciousness therefore is necessarily a double consciousness.” Anna’s ambiguous stance is further evident in her vacillation between promoting *êthos* or expressing and evoking *pathos* in the *Alexiad*; see Papaioannou (2010) with *Alexiad*, *Proem* 4.1 where Anna contrasts her history that evokes sorrow with a type of historiography that incites military action. On the interiorization of male expectations in Byzantine female writing see Galatariotou (1984–85) 67–68.

⁶⁶ See Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epigram* 52, ed. Beckby (1965) book 8, where Gregory identifies with Isaac, and *Or.* 12.3 (*Ad patrem*), ed. Calvet-Sebasti (1995), where he

her self-referentiality: “if, upon mentioning my own affairs, I praise what is mine: εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν μεμνημένη τὰ ἐμαυτῆς ἐπαινῶ...” (line 108.15).⁶⁷

Therefore, Anna, the fervent lover of learning, the mistress of discourse, the “woman,” but also ‘male’ writer, is at the core of her own self-representation.⁶⁸ Defying expectations, Anna displays herself as devoted to *logoi*, “to the extent that she had wanted.” Or, as Tornikes, when describing Anna’s desirous pursuit of secular learning, eloquently put it (though still evoking Anna’s gender): “like some virgin, gazing at her lover husband-to-be, with stealthy eyes, through openings, so Anna too came together secretly with her beloved grammar: καθάπερ παρθένος διὰ τινῶν ὁπῶν τὸν νυμφίον λαθραίοις ὄμμασι βλέπουσα, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη λάθρα τῇ ποθομένη γραμματικῇ συνεγίνετο.”⁶⁹

Have we reached here Anna’s own intentions? Is this how Anna wanted herself to be remembered in her own words? The question must be left open, for it is somewhere among her various personae—the Christian Monastic, the Aristocrat, the Daughter and Wife, the Woman, Intellectual, Author—enacted in this *Preface* to her final testament, that we are bound to discover and, simultaneously, fail to recover Anna’s own will.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Adler, A. 1935. *Suidae lexicon*. Vol. 2. Lexicographi graeci 1. Leipzig.
 Beckby, H. 1965. *Anthologia graeca*. Munich.
 Bompiaire, J. 1964. *Actes de Xéropotamou*. Archives de l’Athos 3. Paris.
 Bompiaire, J., C. Giros, V. Kravari, and J. Lefort, eds. 2001. *Actes de Vatopédi 1. Des origines à 1329*. Archives de l’Athos 21. Paris.

identifies with Jacob. See also Psellos, *Encomium in matrem* 454–65, ed. Criscuolo (1989) with Hinterberger (1999) 286–87.

⁶⁷ See Psellos, *Encomium in matrem* 261, ed. Criscuolo (1989), and *Chronographia* 6.46, ed. Impellizzeri (1984) (both passages on defending Psellos’ own *periautologia*) with Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, *Proem* 1.2 and 12.3.4, ns. 16 and 31 above, and Hinterberger (1999) 132–49, esp. 142 n. 307; see also Anna’s “Τῇ τε γὰρ φύσει” [Preface 108.16–18] which stems directly from Psellos’ *Encomium in matrem* 1–16. Anna may be displaying her knowledge of another masculine discipline, i.e. medicine, by using the expression “[illnesses]...οἷς πολλάκις προσημαίνόμεθα θάνατον,” from medical terminology; see Hippocrates, *Prognostikon* 6.

⁶⁸ Cf. also the discussion in Macrides (1996) 218–220.

⁶⁹ Darrouzès (1970) 245:25–27.

- Calvet-Sebasti, M.-A. 1995. *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 6–12: Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*. Sources chrétiennes 405. Paris.
- Criscuolo, U. 1989. *Michele Psello. Autobiografia: encomio per la madre*. Naples.
- Darrouzès, J. 1970. *Georges et Démétrios Tornikès, Lettres et Discours*. Le Monde Byzantin. Paris.
- Delehay, H. 1921. *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues*. Brussels.
- Dennis, G. T., ed. 1994. *Michael Psellus. Orationes forenses et acta*. Stuttgart and Leipzig.
- Gallay, P. 1967. *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres*. Vol. 2. Paris.
- Gautier, P. 1969. "L'obituaire du typikon du Pantocrator." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 27: 235–62.
- , ed. 1972. *Michel Italikos. Lettres et Discours*. Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 14. Paris.
- , 1985. "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitôménè." *Revue des études byzantines* 43: 19–155.
- Guillou, A. 1955. *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménécée*. Bibliothèque Byzantine Documents 3. Paris.
- Guillou, A., P. Lemerle, D. Papachryssanthou, and N. Svoronos, eds. 1970. *Actes de Lavra 1. Des origines à 1204*. Paris.
- , eds. 1977. *Actes de Lavra 2. De 1204 à 1328*. Paris.
- Halkin, F. 1981. "Panégyrique de Marie l'Égyptienne." *Analecta Bollandiana* 99: 19–44.
- Hausherr, I. 1928. *Un grand mystique byzantin. Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien par Nicéas Stéthatos*. Orientalia Christiana 12. Rome.
- Hörandner, W. 1974. *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte*. Wiener byzantinistische Studien 11. Vienna.
- Impellizzeri, S., ed. et al. 1984. *Michele Psello, Imperatori di Bisanzio (Cronografia)*. 2 vols. Milan.
- Kouli, M. 1996. "Life of st. Mary of Egypt." In *Holy women of Byzantium: 10 saints' lives in english translation*. Ed. A.-M. Talbot, 65–93. Byzantine saints' lives in English translation 1. Washington, DC.
- Kravari, V., J. Lefort, H. Métrevéli, N. Oikonomides, and D. Papachryssanthou, eds. 1990. *Actes d'Iviron II. Du milieu du XI^e siècle à 1204*. Archives de l'Athos 16. Paris.
- Krivochéine B. and J. Paramelle, eds. 1963. *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Catéchèses*. Sources chrétiennes 96. Paris.
- , eds. 1964. *Syméon le Nouveau Théologien, Catéchèses*. Sources chrétiennes 104. Paris.
- Kurtz, E. 1907. «Unedierte Texte aus der Zeit des Kaisers Johannes Komnenos.» *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 16: 69–119.
- Lemerle, P. 1977. *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin*. Paris.
- , 1988. *Actes de Kutlunus*. Archives de l'Athos 2. Paris.
- Marcovich, M., ed. 2001. *Eustathius Macrembolites De Hysmines et Hysminiae amoribus libri XI*. Munich and Leipzig.
- Meyer, P. 1895. "Bruchstücke zweier Τυπικά κητορικά." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 4: 48–49.
- Miklosich F. and J. Müller. 1871. *Acta et diplomata monasteriorum et ecclesiarum orientis, tomus primus*. Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi, Sacra et profana 4. Vienna.
- Oikonomides, N. 1984. *Actes de Docheiariou*. Archives de l'Athos 13. Paris.
- Papazoglou, G. 1994. *Τυπικὸν Ἰσαακίου Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ τῆς μονῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Κοσμοσωτείρας*. Θρακικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 3. Komotini.
- Pitra, J. B., ed. 1868. *Iuris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia et monumenta*. Vol. 2. Rome.

- Rabe, H., ed. 1896. *Anonymi et Stephani in artem rhetoricam commentaria. Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca* 21.2. Berlin.
- Reinsch, D. R. and A. Kambylis, eds. 2001. *Annae Comnenae Alexias. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* 40. Berlin and New York.
- Sewter, E. R. A., transl. 2003. *Comnena, Anna. The Alexiad*. London and New York.
- Sola, J. N. 1911. "De codice Laurentiano X plutei V," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 20: 373–83.
- Stallbaum, G., ed. 1825/1970. *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*. Vol. 1. Repr. Hildesheim.
- , ed. 1826/1970. *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam*. Vol. 2. Repr. Hildesheim.
- Talbot, A.-M. 2000a. "Lips: typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the convent of Lips in Constantinople." In *Byzantine monastic foundation documents: a complete translation of the surviving founders' typika and testaments*. Vol. 3. Dumbarton Oaks studies 35. Ed. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, 1254–86. Washington, DC.
- . 2000b. "Anargyroi: typikon of Theodora Palaiologina for the convent of sts. Kosmas and Damian in Constantinople." In *Byzantine monastic foundation documents: a complete translation of the surviving founders' typika and testaments*. Vol. 3. Dumbarton Oaks studies 35. Ed. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, 1287–94. Washington, DC.
- . 2000c. "Philanthropos: typikon of Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina for the convent of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople." In *Byzantine monastic foundation documents: a complete translation of the surviving founders' typika and testaments*. Vol. 4. Dumbarton Oaks studies 35. Ed. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, 1383–88. Washington, DC.
- . 2000d. "Bebaia Elpis: typikon of Theodora Synadene for the convent of the Mother of God Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople." In *Byzantine monastic foundation documents: a complete translation of the surviving founders' typika and testaments*. Vol. 4. Dumbarton Oaks studies 35. Ed. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, 1512–78. Washington, DC.
- Thomas J., and A. Constantinides Hero 2000. *Byzantine monastic foundation documents: a complete translation of the surviving founders' typika and testaments*. Vol. 2. Dumbarton Oaks studies 35. Washington, DC.
- van der Valk, M., ed. 1976. *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*. Vol. 2. Leiden.
- , ed. 1987. *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*. Vol. 4. Leiden.
- Westerink, L. G. and B. Laourdas. 1962. "Scholia by Arethas in vindob. phil. gr. 314." *Hellenika* 17: 105–31.

Secondary Literature

- Anderson, J. C. 2000. "Anna Komnene, learned women, and the book in Byzantine art," In *Anna Komnene and her times*. Ed. T. Gouma-Peterson, 125–56. New York and London.
- Bathrellos, D. 2004. *The Byzantine Christ: person, nature and will in the Christology of St. Maximus the Confessor*. Oxford.
- Buckler, G. 1929. *Anna Comnena: a study*. London.
- Dronke, P. 1984. *Women writers of the middle ages: a critical study of texts from Perpetua († 203) to Margarete Porete († 1310)*. Cambridge.
- Fögen, T. 2010. "Female speech." In *A companion to the ancient Greek language*. Ed. E. J. Bakker, 311–326. Chichester and Malden, MA.
- Ford, A. 2002. *The origins of criticism: literary culture and poetic theory in classical Greece*. Princeton and Oxford.

- Frankopan, P. 2009. "The literary, cultural and political context for the twelfth-century commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics." In *Medieval Greek commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics*. Series Studien und Texte zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 101. Ed. C. Barber and D. Jenkins, 45–62. Leiden and Boston.
- Frede, M. 2002. "John of Damascus on human action, the will, and human freedom." In *Byzantine philosophy and its ancient sources*. Ed. K. Ierodiakonou, 63–95. Oxford.
- Galatariotou, C. 1984–85. "Holy women and witches: aspects of Byzantine conceptions of gender." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 9: 55–94.
- Gouma-Peterson, T., ed. 2000. *Anna Komnene and her times*. New York and London.
- Harvey, S. A. 2001. "Spoken words, voiced silence: biblical women in Syriac tradition." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9: 105–31.
- Henry, R., ed. 1960. *Photius. Bibliothèque*, vol. 2. Paris.
- Hill, B. 1996. "The ideal imperial Komnenian woman." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 23: 7–18.
- Hinterberger, M. 1999. *Autobiographische Traditionen in Byzanz*. Wiener Byzantinische Studien 22. Vienna.
- Howard-Johnson, J. 1996. "Anna Komnene and the *Alexiad*." In *Alexios I Komnenos*. Ed. M. Mullett and D. Smythe, 260–301. Belfast Byzantine texts and translations 1. Belfast.
- Jeffreys, E. 2004. "The depiction of female sensibilities in the twelfth century." In *Byzantium matures: Choices, sensitivities, and modes of expression (Eleventh to fifteenth centuries)*. Ed. C. G. Angelidi, 73–85. Athens.
- Karpozilos, M. 2009. *Βυζαντινοὶ ἱστορικοὶ καὶ χρονολόγοι. Τόμος Γ' (11ος–12ος αἰ.)*. Athens.
- Laiou, A. E. 1981. "The role of women in Byzantine society." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*: 233–60.
- . 1985. "Observations on the life and ideology of Byzantine women." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9: 59–102.
- Macrides, R. 1996. "The historian in the history." In *Philellên: Studies in Honour of Robert Browning*. Ed. C. N. Constantinides et al., 205–224. Venice.
- . 2000. "The pen and the sword: who wrote the *Alexiad*?" In Gouma-Peterson, 63–82.
- Messis, Ch. 2006. *La construction sociale, les 'réalités' rhétoriques et les representation de l'identité masculine à Byzance*. Diss. at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. Paris.
- Miller, E. 1993. "Changing the subject: authorship, writing and the reader." In *What is an author?* Ed. M. Biriotti and N. Miller, 19–41. Manchester and New York.
- Mullett, M. 2006. "Novelisation in Byzantium: narrative after the revival of fiction." In *Byzantine narrative: Papers in honour of Roger Scott*. Ed. J. Burke, U. Betka, P. Buckley, K. Hay, R. Scott, and A. Stephenson, 1–28. Melbourne.
- Nilsson, I. 2001. *Erotic pathos, rhetorical pleasure: narrative technique and mimesis in Eumathios Makrembolites' Hysmine & Hysminias*. Uppsala.
- Papaioannou, S. 2010. "The aesthetics of history: From Theophanes to Eustathios." In *Byzantine history as literature: Papers from the fortieth spring symposium of Byzantine studies, the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies of the University of Birmingham April 2007*. Ed. R. Macrides, 3–21. Aldershot.
- Paul, A. 2007. "Dichtung auf Objekten. Inschriftlich erhaltene griechische Epigramme vom 9. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert: Suche nach bekannten Autornamen." In *Byzantinische Sprachkunst: Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag*. Byzantinisches Archiv 20. Ed. M. Hinterberger and E. Schiffer, 234–265. Berlin.
- Polemis, D. I. 1968. *The Doukai: a contribution to Byzantine prosopography*. University of London historical studies 22. London.

- Prato, G. 1994. "La produzione libraria in area greco-orientale nel periodo del regno latino di Costantinopoli (1204–1261)." In *Studi di paleografia greca*, 31–72. Spoleto.
- Rapp, C. 1996. "Figures of female sanctity: Byzantine edifying manuscripts and their audience." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50: 313–44.
- Skoulatos, B. 1980. *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade: Analyse prosopographique et synthèse*. Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Smythe, D. C. 2006. "Middle Byzantine family values and Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*." In *Byzantine women: varieties of experience 800–1200*. Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College, London, University of London 8. Ed. L. Garland, 125–139. Aldershot.
- Sullivan, D. Forthcoming. "The authorship of Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*: the siege descriptions compared with the military instructional manuals and other historians." In *Proceedings of the First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium held at the Istanbul Archaeological Museums on 25–28 June 2007*.
- Talbot, A.-M. 2006. "The devotional life of laywomen." In *Byzantine Christianity*. Ed. D. Krueger, 201–220. Minneapolis.
- Wilson, N. G. 1978. "A Byzantine miscellany: MS. Barocci 131 described." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 27: 157–79.
- Winkler, J. J. 1990. "Double consciousness in Sappho's Lyrics." In *The constraints of desire: the anthropology of sex and gender in ancient Greece*. 162–87. New York and London.

ICONS AND IMAGES

THE MATTER OF THE WORD IN AN ICON IN HOUSTON

Annemarie Weyl Carr

The ensuing article responds to Alice-Mary Talbot's pioneering role in studying Byzantine epigrams devoted to works of visual art.¹ It honors her own rich responsiveness to the art historian's medium of images, and acknowledges the debt that we historians of the image owe to those who have gathered, interpreted, and translated the wealth of surviving Byzantine epigrams. The article studies a small icon that belongs to the Menil Collection in Houston, Texas (*Fig. 1*).² Briefly published by Gary Vikan,³ it will shortly receive more extensive attention from Andreas Rhoby, who has generously allowed me to draw upon his work.⁴

The icon shows the Mother of God in the half-length pose known as the Hodegetria, gesturing with her right hand toward her Child, who sits upright on her left arm holding a rolled scroll. It is modest in both its bronze medium and its scale; at 3.1×3.1 cm, or barely over an inch on each side, it is just the size of an American quarter coin, smaller even than the refrigerator magnets of the Mother of God that the Royal Academy sold during the recent Byzantine exhibition. Tiny as it is, it draws attention for three reasons. The most immediately striking is its expressive quality. It offers in essence a close-up of the Hodegetria, cropping the Child at the waist and framing his mother's head so tightly that only the "ΘΥ" survives of her *sigla*. Focusing in on the figures themselves, it conveys a sense of intimate access that is enhanced by the attentive turn of Mary's head to face her Child. He, by contrast, turns to the spectator, his scroll held not casually at a slant, but bolt upright beneath his attentive stare. The depth implied by their directed gazes is reinforced by the medium, for the figures are fully and sensitively modeled with a particularly perceptible depth of relief. The object invites touch, an invitation concretized in the delicate

¹ Talbot (1999) 75–90; Talbot (1994).

² It is inv. X490.031; it is supposed to have been found in Constantinople.

³ Vikan (1989) 49–51.

⁴ Rhoby, forthcoming. I owe Dr. Rhoby sincere thanks.

touch of the Child's right hand on his mother's wrist. Tiny as it is, the icon conveys a palpable sense of both physical and psychological presence.

The second feature that stands out about the icon is the presence of a twelve-syllable epigram on its raised frame. The top frame bears only ornament; the inscription begins with a cross in the upper left corner, continues unbroken to the lower right corner, and then resumes on the right frame, running downward from the top. It says: *σαρκὴ κρα-
τουσα τον προεον λογον = σαρκὶ κρατοῦσα τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων Λόγον*. One might read it: "bearing in flesh the word (born) before time." Significantly, however, the word "flesh" comes first on the icon, occupying almost the whole of the left-hand frame. This emphasis upon "flesh" resonates immediately with the tactile quality of the icon's relief, relating the inscription not only to the subject of the image but to its aesthetic realization. "*Πρὸ αἰώνων*" parallels "*σαρκὶ*" from the opposite frame, pointing the paradox upon which the epigram plays. The term "*πρὸ αἰώνων*," and with it the paradox of the pre-eternal new-born, was recurrent in the hymnography especially of Christmas because of its role in the refrain of Romanos' great Christmas kontakion.⁵ Thus it evokes the Nativity, underscoring the theme of enfleshment seen in the figures' deep relief and the priority of "*σαρκὶ*." In its inscription as in its physical execution, then, the icon reflects a degree of aesthetic discernment, uniting word and image in a shared meditation on the mystery of the Incarnation.

The third feature that stands out—a remarkable discovery by Andreas Rhoby—is that the Menil icon is not alone; two other, somewhat larger bronze icons repeat both its subject and its epigram.⁶ One, in the Benaki Museum, animates the Hodegetria's pose, showing Mary gently touching her Child's foot with her gesturing hand as he lifts his blessing right toward her face and gazes into her eyes (*Fig. 2*). The other, in a private collection, displays the Hodegetria's standard posture but this time in a round-topped frame. Vikan, when he published the Menil icon in 1989, had enthusiastically presented it as a mass produced replica of a larger original.⁷ The molds used to produce the three icons assembled by Rhoby were obviously different: the images that

⁵ Maas (1963) 1–9. The refrain is "*Παιδίον νέον, πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός*."

⁶ See Rhoby, forthcoming.

⁷ Vikan (1989) 49.

they produced are of different sizes and shapes with rather differently composed variants of the Hodegetria, and in any case the lost-wax technique that they presume would have entailed breaking each mold after casting.⁸ Nonetheless, Rhoby's discovery shows clearly that modest icons like the one in Houston, bearing the same inscription, were produced in multiples. This is striking, and perhaps striking above all in relation to the epigram. While we know that epigrams were copied and recopied in manuscripts, and reused in monuments, raising the possibility that florilegia of epigrams were available to workshops and/or patrons, the epigrams that survive on portable objects characteristically adorn works in precious materials.⁹ The costliness of the materials coupled with the first-person terminology of the poems has given them the aura of precious and quite personal commissions.¹⁰ It is striking to see an epigram reproduced, with much the same image, on modest multiples.

Just what these replicas represent poses a most interesting question. Did they reproduce a given icon, carrying over both its Hodegetria-like image and a poem distinctive to its cult?¹¹ If so, the latitude for variation in the image itself is notable. Might they, instead, emanate from a particular site of pilgrimage, like the similarly small images in earth and glass that we customarily class as pilgrim tokens?¹² Or do they signal a specific workshop, which included in its repertoire a few standard poems that customers could select if they so desired? Or do they represent rather a community—a confraternity, guild, profession,

⁸ On the technique of producing such cast metal icons, see Chris Entwistle in Buckton (1994) 146–47, cat. 159. I am indebted to Dr. Entwistle for the opportunity to study the small bronze icons in the collection of the British Museum.

⁹ See Lauxtermann, (1994) 30: "Verse inscriptions are found on icons, ivories, reliquaries, textiles and other objects. Most of these objects are extremely expensive and the costs involved in manufacturing them must certainly have motivated the desire of their donors or owners to have their names engraved. The dedicatory verses that accompany these objects of art usually hint obliquely at this material aspect."

¹⁰ See Talbot (1999) 90: "The majority of the epigrams examined here seem then to have been specifically commissioned, and thus involved an interaction among patron, artisan/architect, and poet."

¹¹ The role of such small images as replicas of specific cult icons is emphasized both by Vikan (1989) 49–51 and by Bank (1978).

¹² See Vikan (1995) 576, who discusses both the comparatively few Middle Byzantine Symeon tokens, and the far larger class of some 170 surviving glass pendants, largely of Venetian manufacture, that are identified as pilgrim tokens. On the latter, see Buckton (1981) 187–88, and excellently reproduced examples in Borkopp (1999) 242 Cat. 80, 81.

or burial association—whose members either themselves owned or gave out as gifts little images of the Virgin complete with a shared motto?¹³ The Menil icon and its fellows offer a striking insight into the use of epigrams on multiples in Byzantium, and one awaits Andreas Rhoby's publication with eagerness to see how unique a case this is.

As it appears on the Menil icon, the epigram in question is abbreviated; it is given in fuller, two-line form on the two other, somewhat larger plaques:

Σαρκὶ κρατοῦσα τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων Λόγον
Σὲ τὴν ἄχραντον ἐγγεγραμμένην βλέπω

Bearing in flesh the word (born) before time,
You, the Immaculate, I see inscribed.

The reverie-like, participial phrase of the first line assumes concreteness in the second: the icon's subject is identified clearly as the Immaculate—that is, Mary; the inscribed image is distinguished from her person; and an active verb, in the first-person progressive present, signals the act of response that connects the two and so animates the icon. This act elicits the first- and second-person pronouns: “I,” the viewer, “you,” the subject—and presumably “it,” the material form. We characteristically say that the epigrams make the images speak; in fact, as Robert Nelson brought out recently, speaking images are rare in Byzantine art.¹⁴ Studying precisely the shifters “I,” “you,” and “he,” Nelson laid out what he termed “a new visual grammar appropriate to the spoken and sung discourses of the church” in Byzantium.¹⁵ The grammar that he identified resides in the inscriptions that are embedded within holy images; in these, he suggests, “I” is always Christ, “you” is always the viewer, and “he” is the donor whose petitions hover in the space between viewer and holy image.¹⁶ Epigrams, by contrast, are not inscriptions within the image. Theirs is a grammar of the one who stands outside the image, where “I” is the donor/viewer, and “you” is the saint portrayed. Alice-Mary Talbot suggested that a majority

¹³ As a comparison one might look to the seals of the *Ekklesiekdikoi* of Hagia Sophia: Cotsonis (2002) 41–55.

¹⁴ Nelson (2007) 107. Nelson focuses on figures in images. Epigrams do exist that seem to speak in the voice not of the figures within the image but of the artifact itself, as in the case of an epigram composed by Manuel Philes for a *panagiarion*, translated by Talbot (1994) 145.

¹⁵ Nelson (1994) 116.

¹⁶ Nelson (1994) 109.

of the ecphrastic epigrams that survive to us in manuscript compilations were designed to be placed on icon frames or covers.¹⁷ Grammar underscores her perception. The epigram speaks with a distinctive grammar, from within the icon's aura, but not within its space.

The grammar of the epigram under examination here is not entirely clear, as Rhoby brings out; like many of our students, it uses a dangling participle. The one who "is bearing" should by rights be the accusative "you" of the second line. But it is given in the nominative. Reading it as "κρατοῦσαν," in the accusative, subordinates it to the second line, though, and in the Menil icon especially, the first line is clearly primary. This suggests that it is intended to carry a more flexible content. The one who bears the pre-existent Logos in the flesh is of course Mary. But in a sense, it could equally well be the icon, which bears the Word in material form. "Icon," too, is a feminine noun. So, indeed, would be a female owner of the icon, who—holding the little plaque in the flesh of her hand—could see herself as bearing the Word in flesh. It is only in the second line that the economy of the situation emerges clearly: the artifact offers the one "inscribed," but "I"—the one who sees that inscription—am able through it to see "you," who is the Immaculate: the Mother of God. The epigram would emerge in these terms as a perceptual path, moving from musing reverie over the thematic subject of the icon—the mystery of the Word born(e) in matter—to clear vision of its holy subject, Mary.

Late Byzantine epigrams were often fascinatingly deft at laying out the layered economy of the icon, differentiating in successive terms the material, the object, the image, and finally the holy one who is represented. An example is offered by an epigram on an icon of St. John the Evangelist found by Michael Grünbart in a manuscript of the second half of the thirteenth century:¹⁸

¹⁷ Talbot (1999) 91.

¹⁸ Grünbart (2007) 104–5. The epigram, from Bucharest, Académie Roumaine, cod. Gr. 508, reads:

Τῶν πρωτοτύπων οἶδα καὶ τῶν εἰκόνων
λέγειν ἀληθῶς τὴν ὑπόστασιν μίαν.

Ὁ βροντόφωνος οὗτος ἐν ζωῇ μένων
ἕως Χριστὸς ἄνωθεν ἔρχεται πάλιν,
ἐνίσταται μὲν ἀφαντῶς τούτῳ τύπῳ,
ὡς ζῆν ἀληθῶς καὶ πνέειν τὴν εἰκόνα
τῆς εὐστοχίας τῆς γραφῆς τῆς εἰκόνης.
Μὴ νῦν δι' αὐτὸν καὶ γράφῃς ἐν εἰκόνι,

I know well to say that prototypes and icons
Are just one person.

That thunder-voiced one who remains among the living
Until Christ returns from above
Is invisibly one with this image,
So that the image truly lives and breathes
On the basis of its effective execution.

Now for this reason don't just write in the icon,
But in place of this material world, blessed one,
Which I myself gave to you, be alive in truth for me,
Your servant, Theodore Maneles,
And give me immaterial bliss in the midst of Eden.

Here the donor, pointing out that image and prototype share one essence, says that the image is alive. Certainly he speaks to it, and even sees that it writes in its book. Yet that very living image with its represented book lives only in a material realm: that of the painting. The painting is a simple artifact—a gift of the donor himself. It is not here that the donor expects the living John to function. Rather, it is in the realm of the immaterial that he will truly act, producing not depicted words, but salvation for the donor in the incorporeal bliss of heaven. The object, the image, and the saint occupy successively layered realities in the epigram, as the material object enables Theodore Maneles to respond to the painted image, and through the image in turn to petition the saint who is represented in it.

Manuel Philes is especially effective in conjuring such layered explanations of the viewing experience. His well-known poem devoted to an acheiropoiētos icon of the Virgin, translated by Sarolta Takács, includes just the kind of layering suggested here for the poetic inscription on the Menil icon.¹⁹

ἀλλ' ἀντιδοίης ὑλικοῦ κόσμου, μάκαρ,
ὅν σοι κατεσκεύασα πίστεως ζέσει
Θεόδωρος σὸς οἰκέτης ὁ Μανέλης,
ἄυλον ἀπόλαυσιν εἰς Ἑδὲμ μέσσην.

¹⁹ Takács (1990) 278–79:

Τί τοῦτο; καὶ πῶς καὶ παρὰ τέχνης τίνος
εἰκὼν ἀμυδρὰ καὶ σκιώδης εὐρέθης
εἰς εὐτελοῦς ὕφασμα ληφθεῖσα κρόκης;
Καὶ πῶς ὁ κηρὸς ἐγχεθεὶς ὑπὸ φλόγα,
κἂν εἰς ὕλην εὐπρηστον οὐκ εἶχε φλέγειν,
ἔγραψε τὸν σὸν πλαστικῶς τοῦτον τύπον;
Βαβαί, Μαριάμ, ἐξαμείβεις τὰς φύσεις·
καὶ γὰρ σεαυτὴν ἐκ πυρὸς ξένου γράφεις

What is this? And how and through what technique
 Did you, a faint and shadowy picture, find yourself
 enmeshed in the web of a cheap woof?
 And how did the wax, having been melted by a flame,
 Not burn the flammable material
 But painted true to life this form of yours?
 O Mary you change the natures!
 For you paint yourself by means of an alien fire;
 Already once you appeared as a bush more powerful
 Than fire, where Christ himself, from above, dispenses
 A mystic dew on the fire of the light;
 So that the believer seeing this picture
 Might escape the spectral flame of the passions.

The shadowiness of the icon described by Philes is grounded in its nature as an *acheiropoietos*; nonetheless, the path of viewing that he unfolds is similar to that in the epigram on St. John the Evangelist: a concentration first on the physical object leads the poet to discern the image, the image focuses his attention upon the image's subject, and this elicits a petition offered not to the image, but to its original. In this case the sheer impact of recognition in the face of the faint image, placed in the very middle of the poem with "O Mary," exercises a transformative force, changing vision into perception and perception into prayer. Less dramatically, but in a comparable sequence, the epigram on the Menil icon moves from a suspended reverie before the thematic subject of the icon to a resolute statement of seeing—by way of its image—the holy subject whom that image represents.

The Menil icon is considerably earlier than the Palaiologan epigrams cited here; both Vikan and Rhoby assign it persuasively to the Komnenian period. The sense of psychological energy in its composition is the clearest index to its likely twelfth-century date. Animating the Hodegetria pose by showing Mary turned to her Son was a long-standing artistic strategy, adopted already in tenth-century ivories.²⁰ But the expressive cogency of the Virgin's posture in the Menil icon,

αὐθις φανείσα τοῦ πυρὸς κρείσσων βάτος,
 οὐ Χριστὸς αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τῆς λαμπάδος
 τὴν μυστικὴν ἄνωθεν ἐκβλύζει δρόσον,
 ὥς ἂν ὁ πιστὸς τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην βλέπων
 τὴν φασματώδη τῶν παθῶν φεύγῃ φλόγα.

²⁰ See the cluster of examples in Cutler (1994) 183, including ivories from the Villa Favorita, Castagnola (fig. 202), the Historisches Museum, Bamberg (fig. 203), the Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig (fig. 204), and the Domschatz, Aachen (fig. 205).

the delicate intimacy of the Child's gesture on her wrist, and the close-up cropping of the composition all point to a date in the Komnenian era, reinforced by the long, slender contour of Mary's face and the longish hair of the Child.²¹

Thanks to both Valerie Nunn and Bissera Pentcheva, we know a number of epigrams composed in the Komnenian period for icons of the Mother of God.²² They play powerfully upon the theme of material substance. But in contrast to the epigrams cited above—and also to the Menil poem's distinction between theme, inscribed image, and portrayed original—the Komnenian compositions mobilize the material in a metaphorical sense, paralleling the sumptuous luminosity of precious materials—gold, pearls, and purple cloth—with the preciousness, the ardent desirability, of Mary herself. Conspicuously absent are the self-conscious, layered analyses of the perceptual process that have been emphasized in the Palaiologan epigrams. This may throw into question the reading offered for the Menil epigram as a perceptual path from an abstract to an iconic engagement with the holy figure's relation to its material form. To date, little attention has been paid to the possibility that the Byzantine epigrams on art might register a slow shift from one period to another in the means by which the response to icons was expressed and codified. Once again, we await with great interest the insights of Andreas Rhoby's book, to see how styles of art and styles of response might correlate over the centuries in Byzantium. There is, however, no reason to doubt the twelfth-century date assigned to the work by Vikan and Rhoby.

If the icon's date is clear, its likely function is more difficult to diagnose. The plaque's reverse is smooth and very slightly concave, and there are no traces of either a loop for hanging or abrasions caused by attachment to a frame or other object. Certainly many tiny images of about 3 cm on a side were made for larger complexes—boxes, icon frames, or book covers—and pasted or pegged into place.²³ That the Menil icon was intended for use in this way is challenged by its epigram. Not only theoretically but quite explicitly visually, the epigram sets the image apart for independent contemplation. Bissera Pentcheva discussed the placement of epigrams as a form of spatial expression,

²¹ The longish hair of the Child is seen well on the icon of the Virgin and Prophets at St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai: Evans (1997) 372–73, cat. 244.

²² Nunn (1986) 73–102; Pentcheva (2007) 120–38.

²³ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (1985) 127–28, cat. 35; 171–73, cat. 84–87; 180–84, cat. 102.

the words surrounding the image as if enclosing a sacred space, a *temenos*.²⁴ The way in which epigrams were arranged around their images is a well-exercised point of debate, and notoriously variable. But the “Nu” in the lower right corner of the Menil icon responds strikingly to Pentcheva’s conception: one “Nu” serves both the “ton” of the lower frame and the “logon” of the right one, thus locking the chain of letters together in a circuit around the image. The words literally enclose the image, separating it from its surrounding.

Along with coins and seals, whose role as holy images elided with their practical use,²⁵ Byzantium offers many kinds of independent, small holy images that share the two- to three-centimeter size of the Menil icon. Apotropaia were characteristically of this scale;²⁶ so, too, were clay or metal eulogia tokens and the molded glass pendants known as pilgrim badges that are associated with the veneration of cult sites,²⁷ and icons in precious materials like enamel, gold, gemstones, or steatite.²⁸ Varied as the powers were that they invoked, these small, charismatic objects formed a convergent category, as emerges in their invocations. Thus the petition invoking the Lord on the reverse of a twelfth-century silver Medusa-head phylactery of 6.6 cm in diameter in

²⁴ Pentcheva (2006) 75–80.

²⁵ See in this regard the presence of metrical inscriptions on seals, often petitioning the represented saint for protection: McGeer (1995) 65–66, with earlier bibliography.

²⁶ Papanikola-Bakirtze (2002) 486–88: cat. 662, lead apotropaion of 2.5 cm in diameter and cat. 663, lead apotropaion of 1.9 cm in diameter, both from the Archaeological Museum, Corinth; cat. 664, silver phylactery of 6.6 cm in diameter in the Benaki Museum.

²⁷ See note 12 above.

²⁸ Thus Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (1985) lists at least two steatite images of the eleventh century and ten from the twelfth that measure less than 6 cm on their larger dimension, and that were worn as pendants; images of warrior saints (4) and of Mary (3) predominate. For precious metal examples see Evans (1997) 162, cat. 109, quatrefoil enamel enkolpion in the Virginia Museum, Richmond (4 × 3.1 cm); 162–63, cat. 110, enamel staurothek in the Cathedral Museum, Monopoli (6.4 × 4.4 cm closed); 164, cat. 111, enamel enkolpion with military saints in the Cleveland Museum of Art (5.1 × 4.1 cm); 165, cat. 112, double-faced enamel enkolpion with Christ and Mary in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (3.3 × 2.4 cm); and 167–68, cat. 116 and 117, the reliquary encolpia of St. Demetrios in the British Museum and Dumbarton Oaks. For gemstones see especially the fine examples in Dumbarton Oaks, in Kirin (2005) 59, cat.3, sapphire cameo of Christ (3.27 × 2.37 cm); 60, cat.5, green quartz cameo of the Hagiosoritissa (3.1 × 2.4 cm); 61, cat. 6, bloodstone cameo of the Hagiosoritissa (3.5 cm × 3 cm); as well as Evans (1997) 180, cat. 135, bloodstone cameo with Virgin Hagiosoritissa and cross in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (4.9 × 2.8 cm); and Borkopp (1999) cat. 78, cameo gem of St. Michael (2.7 × 2.3 cm); cat. 79, Rider Saint (4.75 × 3.37 cm).

the Benaki Museum—"Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τὴν φοροῦσα τὸν φοιλακτήριον τοῦτο (Lord help the bearer of this phylacterion)"²⁹—is readily paralleled with the invocation of the Lord's help on the reverse of a three-centimeter wide bloodstone cameo of Christ in the State Hermitage Museum—"Χ(ριστ)ὲ ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς, ὁ εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἀποτυγχάνει (Christ our God, the one placing his hope in you will not fail)"³⁰—or in turn with the invocation on the obverse of a gilded bronze enkolpion of 6.8 × 5 cm with the Hodegetria in the same museum.³¹ The latter, immediately reminiscent of the Menil icon in both scale and subject, bears not one but two inscriptions. Framing the image itself is the invocation: Κ(ύρι)ε βοηθ(εἰ) (τ)ον δούλον σ(οῦ) Βασι(λειον)...κ(αὶ) οἰκονομ(ο)ν της... (Lord help your servant Basil...and oikonomos of the...). Like the apotropaion and the cameo, it invokes the Lord, even though it adorns an icon of his mother. A poetic epigram, in turn, is on the back.³² An interesting hierarchy of proximity emerges. Though he addresses the Lord, not Mary, the donor nonetheless takes his place on the front, within the aura of the icon; the epigram is on the other side. More than as a focus for the meditation suggested by the epigram, the image functions—in the first order—as a protective charm.

Characteristically these small, protective images were created or adapted to be worn as pendants on the body. In an object designed to hang freely as a pendant, the reverse was clearly a usable surface, inviting inscription, and epigrams were not infrequently placed there.³³ The Menil icon's reverse, by contrast, is left blank. Presumably, this would have allowed its application, if the owner wished it, to some pendant device, like the 6.8-cm bronze medallion of Mary in a private collection that is affixed to a larger circular plaque with holes for suspension.³⁴ A famous example of an icon thus mounted in a frame

²⁹ Papanicola-Bakirtze (2002) cat. 664.

³⁰ Evans (1997) 175–76, cat. 128. It is 3 cm in diameter. Andreas Rhoby pointed out in a message of 15 April 2009 that the same epigram appears on a Palaiologan sword in the Museum of Applied Arts, Belgrade. See Cormack (2008) 155, 406, cat. 103.

³¹ Piatnitsky (2000) 91, cat. B67.

³² Piatnitsky (2000). The legible portions of the epigram are given as: ...ἀνω προφητ(η)ς τη(ς) σκ(ι)ας καὶ...κάτω μαθητ(ῆ)ς τ(οῦς) τυπ(οῦς)... (above, the prophet with the shadows, and...below the follower with the types).

³³ See the breathtaking gold enkolpion with the enthroned Mother of God in the State Hermitage Museum in Piatnitsky (2000) 98–99, cat. B80, or the enamel enkolpion with the Anastasis in the Moscow Kremlin, in Evans (1997) 166–67, cat. 115. Both are attributed to the twelfth century.

³⁴ Wamser (1998) 30–31, cat. 20.

for suspension to be worn on the body—the steatite “Lukasmadonna” in Cleveland—proved when removed for conservation to retain the traces not of one but of several quite different such attachments to a separate base.³⁵ Both the absence of a loop for suspension on the Menil icon and the varied uses to which the “Lukasmadonna” was put suggest that a tiny object like the Menil icon was produced in a deliberately non-specific way, to be adapted for use as future owners saw fit.

The surfaces of Menil icon bear little trace of wear, and it is not obvious that any of its many owners ever saw fit over the centuries to apply it to a frame or backing. Both the meditative character of its epigram and the epigram’s placement on the obverse enframing the icon suggest that the image itself was designed to play a focal role in the little object’s performance. As much as it was designed to be, functioning charismatically by its very presence, it was designed to be seen, functioning through the acts of the responsive eye. A particular pleasure that it offers to the privileged viewer today is its feel in the hand: compact, smooth and appealing to the touch. It is, in the truest sense of the term, handsome. It is attractive to imagine it thus held in the hand of a Byzantine owner as she pondered the wonder of holding in flesh the pre-eternal Word.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

Maas, P. and C. A. Trypanis. 1963. *Sancti Romani Melodi cantica. Cantica genuina*. Oxford.

Secondary Literature

- Bank, A. 1978. *Прикладное Искусство Византии*. Moscow.
 Borkopp, B., R. Kahsnitz, M. Restle, et al., eds. 1999. *Rom und Byzanz. Schatzkammerstücke aus bayerischen Sammlungen*. An exhibition catalogue. Munich.
 Buckton, D. 1981. “The mass-produced Byzantine saint.” In *The Byzantine saint*. Ed. S. Hackell, 187–89. London.
 Buckton, D. ed. 1994. *Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine art and culture*. An exhibition catalogue. London.
 Cormack, R. and M. Vassilaki, eds. 2008. *Byzantium, 330–1453*. An exhibition catalogue. London.

³⁵ It is beautifully reproduced in its setting in Eikermann (2007) 72–73, cat. 20; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (1985) 124–25, cat. 32, reproduces the steatite without the setting, showing holes for other attachments.

- Cotsonis, J. 2002. "The Virgin and Justinian on seals of the *Ekklesiēdikoi* of Hagia Sophia." *DOP* 56: 41–55.
- Cutler, A. 1994. *The hand of the master. Craftsmanship, ivory, and society in Byzantium (9th–11th centuries)*. Princeton.
- Eikelmann, R., ed. 2007. *The Cleveland Museum of Art. Meisterwerke von 300 bis 1550*. An exhibition catalogue. Munich.
- Evans, H. and W. Wixom, eds. 1997. *The glory of Byzantium. Art and culture of the middle Byzantine era, A.D. 843–1261*. An exhibition catalogue. New York.
- Grünbart, M. 2007. "Text zum Bild—Ein Epigramm auf Ioannes den Evangelisten." In *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag (Byzantinsches Archiv, Band 20)*. Ed. M. Hinterberger and E. Schiffer, 104–5. Berlin.
- Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, I. 1985. *Byzantine icons in steatite*, 2 vols. Vienna.
- Kirin, A., ed. 2005. *Sacred art, secular context. Objects of art from the Byzantine collection of Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.* An exhibition catalogue. Athens, GA.
- Lauxtermann, M. 1994. *The Byzantine epigram in the ninth and tenth centuries. A generic study of epigrams and some other forms of poetry*. 2 vols. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Amsterdam.
- McGeer, E. 1995. "Discordant verses on Byzantine metrical seals." *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 4: 63–69.
- Nelson, R. 2007. "Image and inscription: Pleas for salvation in spaces of devotion." In *Art and text in Byzantine culture*. Ed. Liz James, 100–19. Cambridge.
- Nunn, V. 1986. "The encheirion as adjunct to the icon in the middle Byzantine period." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 10: 73–102.
- Papanikola-Bakirtze, D., ed. 2002. *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*. An exhibition catalogue. Athens.
- Pentcheva, B. 2006. "Räumliche und akustische Präsenz in byzantinischen Epigrammen." In *Die Kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme*. Ed. W. Hörandner and A. Rhoby, 75–84. Vienna.
- Pentcheva, B. 2007. "Epigrams on icons." In *Art and text in Byzantine culture*. Ed. Liz James, 120–38. Cambridge.
- Piatnitsky, Y., O. Baddeley, E. Brunner and M. Mango, eds. 2000. *Sinai, Byzantium, Russia. Orthodox art from the sixth to the twentieth century*. An exhibition catalogue. St. Petersburg.
- Rhoby, A. Forthcoming. *Byzantinische Epigramme in inschriftlicher Überlieferung*, Vol. 2: *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst*. Ed. W. Hörandner, A. Rhoby and A. Paul. Vienna.
- Takacs, S. 1990. "Manuel Philes' meditation on an icon of the Virgin Mary." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15: 277–85.
- Talbot, A.-M. 1994. "Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and its art." *DOP* 48: 135–65.
- Talbot, A.-M. 1999. "Epigrams in context: Metrical inscriptions on art and architecture of the Palaiologan era." *DOP* 52: 75–90.
- Vikan, G. 1989. "Ruminations on edible icons: Originals and copies in the art of Byzantium." *Studies in the History of Art* 20: 47–59.
- Vikan, G. 1995. "Icons and icon piety in Early Byzantium." In *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art historical studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann*. Ed. C. Moss and K. Kiefer, 569–78. Princeton.
- Wamser, L. and G. Zahlhaas, eds. 1998. *Rom und Byzanz. Archäologische Kostbarkeiten aus Bayern*. An exhibition catalogue. Munich.



Fig. 1. Icon of the Mother of God. The Menil Collection, Houston, inv. X490.031. Bronze. Source: Taylor and Dull, by permission of The Menil Collection, Houston.



Fig. 2. Icon of the Mother of God with angels. The Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. 11419. Bronze. Source: by permission of The Benaki Museum, Athens.

THE OTHER IMAGE AT THE PALACE GATE AND THE VISUAL PROPAGANDA OF LEO III

Paul Magdalino

Much has been written about the icon of Christ that adorned the outside of the Chalke Gate, the main entrance to the Great Palace of Constantinople, and especially about the vexed question of its early history.¹ Was there or was there not an icon in place before Iconoclasm?² If so, who put it there, and was its removal by the emperor Leo III in 726 the *cause célèbre* described by Iconophile writers of the early ninth century, in which the 'Isaurian folly' of Iconoclasm went public and claimed the first martyrs to the Orthodox defence of holy images? Whatever the truth of this matter, the search for it has diverted attention from one piece of evidence that may provide a reliable clue, and which certainly documents Leo III's use of visual propaganda in the years when his attitude to religious images was taking shape. This is a passage in the letter of Patriarch Germanos I to Metropolitan Thomas of Claudiopolis defending the depiction and veneration of icons. The letter is preserved in the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea, and the passage in question briefly describes a composite religious image set up by Leo III and Constantine V at an entrance to the imperial Palace. Its omission from Cyril Mango's sourcebook on the art of the Byzantine Empire,³ and from nearly all mainline literature on Byzantine art and Iconoclasm,⁴ has deprived generations of art-historians of a small but vital piece in a highly fragmentary puzzle. My main aim in presenting it here is simply to make it available, yet in attempting to explain what it describes, I hope to demonstrate that it helps to make sense of the confusion that still informs not only the debate on the Chalke icon, but also our understanding of the motives of the first Iconoclast emperor.

¹ Mango (1959) 108–48; Auzépy (1990).

² Further arguments for and against this idea in Haldon and Ward-Perkins (1999) and Brubaker (1999).

³ Mango (1972/2004).

⁴ Exceptions are Stein (1980) 70–77; Herrin (1987) 335.

The text in which the passage occurs is the last and by far the longest of three letters attributed to Germanos in the Acts of Nicaea II.⁵ All three letters express the patriarch's concern with unauthorized initiatives by two bishops in Asia Minor, Constantine the bishop of Nakoleia and Thomas the metropolitan of Claudiopolis, who had challenged the presence of icons in the churches under their jurisdiction. In the first letter, Germanos reports to Constantine's superior, John metropolitan of Synada, on their discussions in which he had corrected Constantine's objection that the veneration of icons transgresses the Second Commandment and dishonours the intercession of the martyrs: portraying Christ, his mother and the saints in their human form simply records the physical reality of their life and devotion to the God whom all Christians worship, and in no way involves the adoration of human beings or material objects.⁶ In the second letter, Germanos reminds Constantine that he must become reconciled with his superior and end the "scandal" he has caused.⁷ The letter to Thomas of Claudiopolis registers the patriarch's distress at the news that Thomas, on his return to his diocese from Constantinople, has set about removing icons, despite having given no indication of any worries on this point during their discussions together on problems of Scripture. To upset the traditional Christian use of icons is to cause scandalous innovation, and it is to play along with the insulting and defiling arguments of the Jews, "the real servants of idolatry," who are no better than the pagans or the Muslims, who also criticise us. The Old Testament prescriptions against idolatry were formulated precisely because of the incorrigible Jewish propensity to apostasise. They do not apply to Christians, who honour the true God by depicting Christ and the saints in images that teach and edify.⁸

After developing this point at length, the letter returns to the argument that it is important to avoid scandal, and above all to avoid playing into the hands of non-Christians by appearing to admit that traditional Christian practice is wrong. This is the context in which the author describes the icon at the Palace gate. Since the context is

⁵ Mansi (1767) 100–28, reproduced by Stein (1980), appendix; more accessibly reprinted by Thümmel (1992) 374–87. Detailed commentary by Stein (1980).

⁶ Mansi (1767) 100–105; Thümmel (1992) 374–77 (but Mansi's punctuation is to be preferred).

⁷ Mansi (1767) 105; Thümmel (1992) 377–78.

⁸ Mansi (1767) 108–28; Thümmel (1992) 378–87.

relevant to understanding the description, it is worth translating the whole section in full:⁹

Now whole cities and populations are in no small turmoil over this matter [of icon veneration]. Let us make every effort not to appear responsible. Above all we should take care—and this really shocks my mind—lest the enemies of the Cross of Christ hereby find any occasion for boasting at the expense of our faith, so as to be able to say, “Until now the Christians have been in error. For if they had not realised that they were guilty of idolatry, they would not have rejected images made by hand.” What shame and destruction this brings to the Christian faith, anyone will agree. Our enemies will certainly be able to say quite plausibly, “There is no way you can believe in these people who got it so wrong, because with them there is no truth.”

So isn't this why our altogether most pious and Christ-loving emperors have raised a true monument to their own godliness? I mean the picture in front of the Palace, in which, placing the figures of the apostles and prophets and inscribing their statements concerning the Lord, they have proclaimed the pride of their conviction in the Saving Cross?¹⁰

It is not hard to see why Byzantinists have been cautious of using this evidence. Any source mentioning icons before Iconoclasm has become automatically suspect, especially in the light of the late Paul Speck's systematic effort to expose forgery and interpolation in any text cited by Iconophile Orthodoxy that triumphed in 843. The dossier of letters attributed to Germanos did not escape his forensic eye. Although he accepted the authorship as genuine, he saw interpolation in the letter to Thomas of Claudiopolis, and also saw it as a 'semi-private' letter that Germanos wrote long after he had resigned from the patriarchate, in response to the hard-core Iconoclasm of Constantine V.¹¹ Even before Speck's intervention, it was hard to deal with the idea of the Orthodox patriarch Germanos praising the Iconoclast emperor, who later sacked him, for the erection of a public icon complete with portraits of apostles and prophets. In any case, the very elliptic description

⁹ Mansi (1767) 124–25; Thümmel (1992) 386.

¹⁰ Τί δέ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ τὰ πάντα εὐσεβέστατοι καὶ φιλόχριστοι ἡμῶν βασιλεῖς στήλην ἀληθῶς τῆς οἰκείας φιλοθείας, τὴν πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων λέγω εἰκόνα ἐγείραντες, ἐν ἧ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν ἀναθέμενοι τὰς ιδέας καὶ τὰς τούτων περὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἐγγράψαντες φωνὰς τῆς ἑαυτῶν πεποιθήσεως καύχημα τὸν σωτήριον σταυρὸν ἀνεκήρυξαν.

¹¹ Speck (1981) 267–81.

makes it hard to visualise exactly what the tableau depicted, in what medium, exactly where, and why.

Speck apart, however, most scholars have assumed the text to be a genuine product of Germanos' patriarchate, and I propose to work with this assumption, pending authentication by the long-awaited critical edition of this section of the Acts of Nicaea II. It is not impossible to work with the proposition that a picture such as the text describes was put up in the name of Leo III and Constantine V between 720 (the date of the infant Constantine V's coronation¹²) and 730 (the date of Germanos' resignation¹³). The very implausibility of the idea gives it the ring of truth, especially in view of the fact that Iconophile propaganda did not apparently seize on it to demonstrate Leo III's inconsistency or lack of conviction in his Iconoclasm. If anything, the silence of later Orthodox apologists on this point might rather suggest that they were embarrassed by what it revealed of the patriarch's gullibility and willingness to collaborate with the regime. For what Germanos says about the object is not incompatible with what is known about Leo III, once we appreciate that what the patriarch chose to read into it was not necessarily what the emperor intended by it. The patriarch wanted to see an icon, or set of icons, and seized on it to claim imperial support against an episcopal critic of icons who may well have had the emperor's ear. The emperor had meant to illustrate a point made by a collection of biblical texts.

Despite the lack of information about the pictorial medium, the dimensions, and the location of the tableau, it is clear that this must have shown figures of apostles and prophets holding unfurled scrolls inscribed with texts from their respective books. The texts referred generally to Christ, but they specifically confirmed the emperors' belief in the saving power of the Cross. One may also speculate that the emperors expressed "the pride of their conviction" in an epigram inscribed at the base or in the centre of the composition. But the focal point of the composition, either between symmetrical ranks of apostles and prophets, or above their unbroken rows, was likely to have been a Cross or an image of Christ; the Cross is more probable, given its well-documented importance to Leo III and all subsequent Iconoclast

¹² Theophanes 401, ed. De Boor (1883/1980); Mango and Scott (1997) 553–54.

¹³ Theophanes 409, ed. De Boor (1883/1980); Mango and Scott (1997) 565.

emperors.¹⁴ The apostles and prophets would then, we may suppose, have been shown pointing towards the Cross with their hands that were not holding the scrolls.

The image belonged to a tradition of propaganda pictures posted in and around the Palace. The tradition had begun with Constantine the Great, who, according to Eusebius in the *Vita Constantini* 3. 3, had set up a “very high panel” in encaustic before the Palace entrance, showing himself and his sons underneath the “Saviour’s sign” (the Cross?), with a dragon transfixed by a spear at their feet, representing the Devil and Constantine’s recently vanquished rival Licinius.¹⁵ If Leo and his advisers knew the VC, this might have been one source of inspiration; it was always good publicity to imitate Constantine. They would certainly have known and seen the image of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680–81) that had stood just inside the Palace, within the military barracks of the Scholae, before its removal by Philippikos Bardanes in 711.¹⁶ Images commemorating the Six Ecumenical Councils were still to be seen in the vault of the Milion, the domed Tetrastylon along the avenue to the west of the Chalke gate.¹⁷ Like these images, the one set up by Leo III proclaimed the piety and Orthodoxy of the emperor responsible for placing or maintaining the image on display. But unlike the earlier images, Leo’s does not seem to have symbolised an event; rather, the description suggests that it presented a collection of biblical texts within a pictorial framework, which dramatised the textual message but did not actually state it in pictorial language. In other words, the image was an illustrated florilegium of excerpts, no doubt in highly abbreviated form, from books of the Old and New Testaments, proving the divinity of Christ and more particularly the holiness of the Cross on which he had been crucified.

Florilegia of biblical and patristic texts were common practice in the theological debates of the seventh and eighth centuries, and their compilation and reproduction presupposes an adversary and a dispute. Who were the disputants who needed to be convinced of the divinity of Christ and the sanctity of the Cross in the 720s? Most obviously,

¹⁴ See Moorhead (1985); van Esbroeck (1999); Brubaker and Haldon (2001) 19–21.

¹⁵ Mango (1972/2004) 15–16; Cameron and Hall (1999) 122, 255–56.

¹⁶ Agathon the Deacon, in Riedinger (1990) 899; Mango (1972/2004) 141.

¹⁷ Mango (1972/2004) 141, 153; Riedinger (1990) 899; Auzépy (1997) 166, 264–65.

they were the “enemies of the Cross of Christ” identified by the patriarch Germanos in his letter: the Muslims and the Jews.

Leo III had come to power during the great Arab invasion of 717–18 and had led the successful defence of Constantinople, which ended in the attacking forces retreating with great loss. According to the Armenian chronicle of Ghewond, ritual use of the Cross played an important part in this victory.¹⁸ This was certainly a reason for Leo to advertise his faith in the sign in which the first Christian emperor had conquered, especially if it is true that, as the Oriental chronicles state, he refuted a challenge by the Caliph ‘Umar II to convert to Islam.¹⁹ Stephen Gero concluded that “Leo did commission the writing of an anti-Muslim apology, and probably took care that his new role as literary *defensor fidei* should become known among his own subjects, as well as among Christians under Arab rule.”²⁰ The alleged text of Leo’s letter is transmitted in Armenian by the chronicle of Ghewond.²¹ Its message has striking points of similarity with that of the image at the Palace gate. At the outset it proclaims “the predictions of the Prophets and the testimony of the Apostles,” and emphasises the authority of both the New and the Old Testaments for the Messianic divinity of Christ.²² Among other things, it supports the veneration of the Cross with Biblical references, yet, “as for pictures, we do not give them a like respect,” because this has no basis in Scripture; however, just as Moses was authorised to represent the Cherubim, Christians conserve the images of the apostles, “which have come down to us from their times as their living representation.” This is exactly the combination of Scriptural authority for Christ, reverence for the Cross, and representation of the apostles without veneration of their icons that we find in the tableau evoked by Germanos.

However, the visual message of this advertisement would have been lost on the vast majority of Muslims who could not see it or read

¹⁸ Gero (1973) 32–43.

¹⁹ Ibid. 44–47; Hoyland (1994).

²⁰ Gero (1973), 47; Theophanes, following his eastern source, mentions the Caliph’s letter, but not Leo’s reply: Theophanes 399, ed. De Boor (1883/1980); Mango and Scott (1997) 550.

²¹ Translated by Jeffery (1944). Gero (1973) 153–71, argued that the letter is a much later Armenian invention, but Mahé (1996) 124–25, has restated the case for a Greek original, and the text is now regarded as a valuable early source for the Byzantine understanding of Islam: see Greenwood (2009).

²² Jeffery (1944) 282, 283ff.

the texts, and were not disposed to change their minds. It was otherwise with the empire's Jews, whom Leo III did attempt to convert.²³ According to Theophanes, in 721/2,

the emperor forced the Jews and the Montanists to accept baptism. The Jews, for their part, were baptised against their will and then washed off their baptism, and they partook of holy communion on a full stomach and so defiled the faith. As for the Montanists, they made divination among themselves and, after determining a certain day, entered the houses appointed for their false worship and burnt themselves.²⁴

According to a group of Syriac chronicles, most fully represented by Michael the Syrian,

Leo, emperor of the Romans, whipped up a persecution against those who were of a different faith and lived in his empire. Many fled to the land of the Arabs... Some Jews received baptism and became Christians. People called them νεαπολίτας, that is 'new citizens.'²⁵

Leo III was thus the first emperor since Heraclius to impose conversion on the empire's Jews, and there are some echoes of that previous situation ninety years earlier. Leo had recently repelled the worst threat to the empire's existence by an infidel enemy since the Persian and Avar invasions; Heraclius had liberated the East and restored the True Cross to Jerusalem, while Leo had saved the New Jerusalem, Constantinople, where the Cross was now kept. Just as the Persian conquests had aroused the Messianic expectations of the Jews in the early seventh century, these were rekindled a hundred years later by the climax of the life and death struggle between Christendom and Islam.²⁶ Only the year before Leo's decree, a false messiah called Severus had appeared in Syria "and deceived the Jews by calling himself Christ, the son of God."²⁷ The emperor's measure can therefore be seen, in general terms, as an attempt to consolidate his repulsion of the external enemy by eliminating the spiritual separatists, and potential political enemies, who were within. It paralleled, and perhaps responded to, the repression of religious deviance in the Caliphate, where 'Umar II "banned

²³ Sharf (1971) 61ff; Dagron in Dagron and Déroche (1991) 43–45.

²⁴ Theophanes 401, ed. De Boor (1883/1980); trans. Mango and Scott (1997) 554–55. 'Montanists' is probably a general name for judaizing heretics: Dagron, (1991) 43–45.

²⁵ My rendering of the French translation by Chabot (1904/1963) 2.3, 489–90.

²⁶ See Starr (1937); Sharf (1971) 62ff.

²⁷ Theophanes 401, ed. De Boor (1883/1980); trans. Mango and Scott (1997) 554.

the use of wine and set about forcing the Christians to become converted,"²⁸ and his successor Yazid decreed the execution of the false messiah Severus.

The laconic evidence of the sources does not indicate whether Leo drove the Jews into the baptistery by armed force, or whether he applied gentler means of persuasion, such as those later employed in the better documented conversion policy that Basil I instituted in 874.²⁹ Basil is said to have invited the Jews to justify their beliefs in debate and to have offered them material incentives to accept baptism. That Leo III took a similar approach is suggested by the designation of "new citizens" that he applied to the newly baptised: the acquisition of full, free imperial citizenship definitely improved the legal status, and thus by extension the social and economic condition of Jewish converts. At the very least, they acquired the right to marry Christians and to receive military appointments and court dignities.³⁰ By rewarding their choice, he made it appear voluntary and informed by a conscious recognition of Christian truth. Even if they were not convinced in debate, they would have had to make a public show of conviction after undergoing instruction and catechism; they would have had to abjure their rites, laws and rabbinic interpretations of Scripture, and publicly confess those Christian beliefs that Judaism found most offensive. Basic to these was the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus Christ, and emblematic of them was the Christian devotion to the Cross as a sign of divine power and salvation. For the Jews, the Cross symbolised the degrading death to which Jesus of Nazareth had been justly condemned as a false messiah, and which no divine being could possibly have suffered. They also condemned Christian veneration of the True Cross as idolizing a piece of wood.

The issue became particularly sensitive with the vicissitudes of the Cross relic in the seventh century: its deportation from Jerusalem by the Persians after their occupation in which the Jews had collaborated, its triumphant restoration by Heraclius, and its final removal to Constantinople after the Arab conquest.³¹ The Cross and the

²⁸ Theophanes 399, ed. De Boor (1883/1980); Mango and Scott (1997) 550.

²⁹ Theophanes Continuatus 95, ed. Bekker (1838); Dagron and Déroche (1991) 347ff.

³⁰ The legislation of Theodosius II, repeated by Justinian, had debarred the Jews from holding public office: *CTh* 16., 24; *CJ* I.5, 12/4.

³¹ Thomson and Howard-Johnston (1999) 90–91; Cameron (2002) 69–73; Klein (2004), especially 41ff.

Crucifixion appear as important points of contention in four seventh-century polemics: the *Doctrina Iacobi nuper baptizati*,³² the *Trophies of Damascus*,³³ and the *Adversus Iudaeos* of Leontios of Neapolis³⁴ and Anastasios of Sinai.³⁵ These texts suggest that the main precedents, inspiration and materials for Leo III's pictorial apologia lay ready to hand in recent *Contra Iudaeos* literature. The first two pieces contain florilegia of Old Testament proof-texts concerning the Cross; Anastasios specifically links the sign of the Cross with the ascendancy of the Christian Empire, which he says confounds the vain Jewish hope in the coming of a Messiah other than Christ. With a swipe at Jewish avarice, he points out that the imperial gold *nomisma* stamped with the Cross is the only currency the Jews will recognise:

For the sign of our empire's gold coin is the sign of Christ himself. Tell me, if it were not a sign that the faith and kingship of the Christians is eternal, invincible and ineradicable, how is it that you, who hate and blaspheme the Cross of Christ, have come to nothing? How is it that you cannot erase the Cross from the coin, but gladly accept it, and if you see a gold coin without a Cross, you abominate and reject it. Well did David say of you, "They have eyes but do not see (Ps 113 [LXX], 5); they have hearts, but have not understood (?)." How do you desire that which you fight, and willingly accept that which you despise, paradoxically overcome by it? If you had intelligence and sense, this sign would suffice, for you and all others, to show and persuade you that the faith and Cross of Christ reign forever?³⁶

Anastasios' words, written in the late seventh century, may have circulated in early eighth-century Constantinople, and the sentiments they express almost certainly informed imperial ideology. They reflect exactly the intention behind both the forced baptism of the Jews and the didactic tableau in front of the imperial Palace: to instil proper "intelligence and sense" into the enemies of Christ's Cross. The point about the Cross on the coin has a particular relevance to Leo's Jewish policy if, as seems likely, the converts benefited financially. This would have laid them, and him, open to the criticism, which is indeed voiced

³² Dagron and Déroche (1991) 120–21.

³³ Bardy (1927) 212, 231–33, 248–50.

³⁴ Relevant excerpts with translation in Thümmel (1992) 127ff, 140ff; for recent bibliography, see Brubaker and Haldon (2001) 252–53.

³⁵ PG 89.1204–73; for the authenticity of the attribution to Anastasios, see Thümmel (1992) 253–68.

³⁶ PG 89. 1224–25.

by Theophanes, that their conversion was not genuine. The Church was opposed in principle to forced or induced baptism, especially of Jews. Their baptismal sponsor, who was in all probability the emperor himself, bore a large spiritual responsibility. The picture posted in front of the Palace can thus be seen as a manifesto both reminding the new citizens of the truth they had accepted and the emperor's commitment to their salvation and reassuring the old citizens who might have questioned his controversial action.

To sum up, the "enemies of the Cross of Christ" envisaged in the pictorial apologia described by the patriarch Germanos I could have been both the Muslims and the Jews, but it is more likely that Leo III specifically targeted the Jews and ex-Jews of Constantinople. Not only were they a closer, more receptive and indeed captive audience, but their forced conversion was controversial. Moreover, the mention of two emperors means that the picture could not have been put up at the time of Leo's epistolary debate with the Caliph 'Umar II, who died in 719, a year before Constantine V was crowned co-emperor. However, it could very well have been put up in 721–22, the year to which Theophanes dates the forced baptism of the Jews. At this date, it would also have served as a profession of faith by the young heir apparent. In any case, the content points to a context of debate with non-Christians, which as yet had nothing to do with the Christian debate over the propriety of religious images.

As for the place where the image was erected, the very lack of specification points to the main, most obvious, and most public of the Palace's entrances, namely the Chalke Gate. The other entrances, from the Hippodrome to the southwest and the Tzykanisterion (Polo-ground) to the northeast, would have been less appropriate, the former because the Hippodrome was profane space, and the latter because this was the 'garden gate' in a less frequented area.³⁷ The icon of Christ at the Chalke does not provide grounds for objection. If the icon did exist in the early eighth century, the picture described by Germanos could have co-existed with it. But the fact that Germanos himself mentions no such icon adds to the strong case made by Marie-France Auzépy for doubting that any image of Christ was in place at

³⁷ On the entrances to the Palace in the tenth century, see Bolognesi Riechi-Franceschini and Featherstone (2002), although this reflects the situation in the tenth century, when the Chalke was no longer the main gate, and the Tzykanisterion was the new one laid out to the east of its predecessor by Basil I (867–86).

the Chalke before the one put up by the empress Irene after 787.³⁸ The epigram that accompanied this icon and referred to it as a restoration is no more to be trusted than the distich inscribed in Hagia Sophia that celebrated the new post-Iconoclastic apse mosaic in similar terms (AP 1,1).³⁹ The stories of the alleged removal of the icon of Christ by Leo III are so blatantly melodramatic and hagiographical that it is impossible to determine what kernel of truth they contain, if any. In fact, the only image that we know for sure was removed from the Palace gate in the eighth century was the one described by Germanos—or at least that part of it showing the prophets and apostles. Was it then Leo III's own removal of this "icon," at a later date when he came to repent of its "idolatry," which gave rise to the later legends of the Chalke image?

It is clear at least that as Iconoclasm set in, the pictures of the prophets and apostles were judged unacceptable, and were taken down by order of some Iconoclast emperor. If we speculate, with Speck, that this emperor was Constantine V, we avoid taxing Leo III with gross inconsistency, but we salvage more of the existing evidence if we assume that Leo destroyed his own visual propaganda after undergoing a progressive conversion to Iconoclasm some time between 722 and 730, when he convoked an Iconoclast assembly that forced the resignation of the patriarch Germanos. The evidence comes not only from the Byzantine historians, Nikephoros and Theophanes,⁴⁰ but also from non-Greek sources, and also, probably, from John of Damascus.⁴¹ Particularly interesting in the present context are the *Liber Pontificalis* and the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian, which state that Leo specifically targeted icons of the *saints*, before he extended the ban to images of Christ and the Virgin.⁴² In this connection, we should note that it was the use of icons in the cult of the saints that most worried Constantine bishop of Nakoleia, whom Theophanes characterises as the leader of the Iconoclast party in the church. It is the Byzantine historians, however, who pinpoint the events that brought about Leo's conversion. Both report that he was decisively affected by the volcanic

³⁸ Auzépy (1990).

³⁹ Mango and Hawkins (1964); Lauxtermann (2003) 95–96; Oikonomides (1985).

⁴⁰ Theophanes 401–9, ed. De Boor (1883/1980); Mango and Scott (1997) 555–66; Mango (1990) 428–31.

⁴¹ Flusin (2006).

⁴² Duchesne (1886) 404, 409; Chabot (1904/1963) 491.

eruption of Thera in 726, seeing this as a manifestation of God's wrath against the idolatry of icons. Theophanes adds that Leo found further vindication of his religious policy the next year in the retreat of a large invading Arab army from Nicaea, thanks to the miraculous intervention of the Holy Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council.⁴³ He took a harder line against icons, which set him on the collision course with the patriarch Germanos that culminated in the latter's deposition.

Taken together with the narrative sources and with Leo III's letter to 'Umar II, Germanos' letter to Thomas of Claudiopolis thus appears to demonstrate that the emperor's Iconoclastic policy marked a sharper turn-around than has hitherto been suspected. In his first few years, Leo had been prepared to include the portrayal of holy figures among the Christian practices that he defended against Islamic criticism, and even to use them in his visual propaganda against Muslim and Jewish enemies of the Cross of Christ. Yet by 730, and already from 726, he was condemning the images of the saints as idolatrous. Does this mean that he came round to the Jewish and Muslim point of view, as his Iconophile critics later maintained? Did he imitate the Iconoclast decree of the Caliph Yazid, 'Umar's successor, who was put up to it by a Jewish magician called Tessarakontepchys ('Forty Cubits')? Did he catch the disease, as Theophanes and others imply, from a renegade Christian called Beser, who returned to Byzantium 'imbued with Arab doctrines'? Was Leo himself persuaded by a Jewish magician, as another polemical tradition, possibly the earliest, maintained?⁴⁴

Modern scholarship has been sceptical of these and all later attempts to brand Iconoclasm as an alien and Jewish heresy. In the case of Leo III, it is particularly hard to see how an active apologist for Christianity against Islam who forced the conversion of the Jews could have been open to Jewish and Muslim arguments. Yet, particularly in his role as an apologist, he had to know these arguments and be able to deal with them convincingly. It could not escape him that some Christian practices were more easily defensible than others. The Cross, as a sacred symbol and relic, was arguably less offensive to the other monotheisms than pictures of human beings, and it certainly had a more distinguished track record of veneration in Christian imperial tradition.

⁴³ See Mango (2005) 28ff.

⁴⁴ *PG* 95, 336; Mansi (1767) 197; Gero (1973) 189ff; Mango and Scott (1997) 555–56.

As we have seen, although Leo referred to and used portraits of the prophets and apostles, he did so in ways that did not imply veneration; in the image at the Palace gate, the prophets and apostles are portrayed as bearers of texts who share with the emperors in the veneration of the Cross that is the focus of the composition. If I am right in my interpretation of the image, the texts were chosen and displayed to mark the conversion of the Jews, and the non-iconic portrayal of the biblical authors thus took account of Jewish sensibilities.

Someone, or something, subsequently came along to persuade Leo that even such non-iconic representation was idolatrous. This could well have been a bishop, or several bishops, from the parts of central Anatolia that were affected by the devastating Arab raids or were home to communities of judaizing heretics—bishops such as Constantine of Nakoleia and Thomas of Claudiopolis, whom the patriarch Germanos admonished for their excessive zeal in removing icons from their dioceses. The fact that Germanos cited Leo III in admonishing Thomas of Claudiopolis suggests precisely that he was apprehensive about the influence of bishops from the Asiatic war zone, which Leo knew well from his own campaigns, both before and after he became emperor. Theophanes indeed states that Constantine of Nakoleia was one of his principal collaborators along with the apostate Beser.

But there is clearly one thing missing from Theophanes' account of Leo III's slide into impiety: he does not attempt to explain the emperor's Iconoclasm in the light of his earlier zeal in defending the Christian empire and the Christian faith against Islam, and in forcing conversion on the Jews. Did no connection exist, or did Theophanes see no connection, between the events he records in separate annual entries, perhaps taken from different sources? Or did he not want to make the connection, because it spoiled the case against the impious, judaizing emperor? His statement that the Jews "washed off their baptism" certainly shows an unwillingness to give Leo any credit for his policy. It may, additionally, if true, provide a clue to the reason for Leo's subsequent moves against religious images: that a church which allowed imagery had failed to retain the loyalty of converts from Judaism. At all events, the conclusion seems inescapable that it was his role as *defensor fidei* against Muslims and Jews, and his debates with them, that had first set Leo thinking about the propriety of religious imagery. It also seems highly likely that the reluctant converts of 721–22 would still have been around in 726, when Thera erupted, and these "new citizens" would have been the first to point out that

if the Christian empire was, as the emperor claimed, the new, true Israel, it was incurring God's wrath by allowing the worship of idols, just as God had punished the Israelites of old for their disobedience of the law.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Auzépy, M.-F., ed. 1997. *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre. Introduction, édition et traduction*. Aldershot.
- Bardy, G., ed. 1927. "Les Trophées de Damas", *Patrologia Orientalis* 15: 173–292.
- Bekker, I., ed. 1838. *Theophanes Continuatus*. Bonn.
- Cameron, A. and S. G. Hall, translators. 1999. *Eusebius, Life of Constantine*. Oxford.
- Chabot, J.-B., translator. 1904. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1169)*, III, 2. Paris.
- Dagron, G. and Déroche, V. 1991. "Juifs et chrétiens dans l'orient du VII^e siècle", *Travaux et mémoires* 11: 17–273.
- De Boor, C. 1883/1980, ed. *Theophanis Chronographia*, 2 vols. Leipzig, repr. Hildesheim.
- Duchesne, L., ed. 1886. *Le Liber Pontificalis*, I. Paris.
- Jeffery, A. 1944. 'Ghevond's text of the correspondence between 'Umar II and Leo III', *Harvard Theological Review* 37: 269–332.
- Mango, C. 1972/2004. *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., repr. Toronto.
- , ed. 1990. *Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople, Short History*, CFHB 13. Washington, D.C.
- Mango, C. and Scott, Roger, translators. 1997. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near-eastern History AD 284–813*. Oxford.
- Mansi, J. D. ed. 1767. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XIII. Florence.
- Riedinger, R., ed. 1990. *Acta Conciliorum oecumenicorum*. II. Berlin.

Secondary Literature

- Auzépy, M.-F. 1990. "La destruction de l'icône du Christ de la Chalce par Léon III: propagande ou réalité?", *Byzantion* 60: 445–92.
- Bolognesi Recchi-Franceschini, E., and Featherstone, M. 2002. "The boundaries of the Palace: *De cerimoniis* II, 13", *Travaux et mémoires* 14: 37–46.
- Brubaker, L. 1999. "The Chalke Gate, the construction of the past, and the Trier ivory", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 23: 258–85.
- Brubaker, L. and Haldon, J. 2001. *Byzantium in the Iconoclast era (ca 680–850): The Sources*. Birmingham.
- Cameron, A. 2002. "Blaming the Jews: the Seventh-Century Invasions of Palestine in Context", *Travaux et mémoires* 14: 47–78.
- Flusin, B. 2006. "I 'Discorsi contro i detrattori delle immagini' di Giovanni di Damasco e l'esordio del primo iconoclasmo". In *Giovanni di Damasco: un padre al sorgere dell'Islam*. Ed. S. Chialà and L. Crevaschi, 53–86. Magnano.
- Gero, Stephen. 1973. *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III, with particular attention to the Oriental sources*, CSCO Subsidia 41. Louvain.
- Haldon, J. and Ward-Perkins, B. "Evidence from Rome for the image of Christ on the Chalke Gate in Constantinople", *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 23: 286–96.

- Herrin, J. 1987. *The Formation of Christendom*. Oxford.
- Hoyland, R. 1994. "The Correspondence of Leo III (717–41) and 'Umar II (717–20)", *Aram* 6: 165–77.
- Klein, Holger. 2004. "Constantine, Helena and the Cult of the True Cross in Constantinople", in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*. Ed. J. Durand and B. Flusin, 31–59. Centre de recherches d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 17. Paris.
- Mahé, J.-P. 'Le problème de l'authenticité et de la valeur de la Chronique de Lewond', in Centre de recherche d'histoire et de civilisation Byzantines, *L'Arménie et Byzance: Histoire et culture*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 12 (Paris 1996) 119–126.
- Mango, C. 2005. "The Meeting-Place of the First Ecumenical Council and the Church of the Holy Fathers at Nicaea", *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 26: 27–34.
- . 1959. *The Brazen House: a study of the vestibule of the imperial palace of Constantinople*. Kongelige Danske videnskabernes selskab. Arkæologisk-kunsthistoriske meddelelser, Bd. 4, Nr. 4. Copenhagen.
- Mango, C. and Hawkins, E. J. W. 1964. "The Apse Mosaics of St Sophia at Istanbul. Report on Work Carried Out in 1964", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19: 113–51.
- Moorhead, J. 1985. "Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image", *Byzantion* 55: 165–79.
- Oikonomides, N. 1985. "Some Remarks on the Apse Mosaic of St Sophia", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39: 111–5.
- Sharf, A. *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London 1971).
- Speck, Paul. 1981. *Artabasdos, der rechthgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren: Untersuchungen zur Revolte des Artabasdos und ihrer Darstellung in der byzantinischen Historiographie*. Bonn.
- Starr, J. 'Le mouvement messianique au début du VIII^e siècle', *Revue des Études Juives* 102 (1937), 81–92.
- Stein, D. *Der Beginn des byzantinischen Bilderstreits und seine Entwicklung bis in die 40e Jahre des 8. Jahrhunderts*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 25 (Munich 1980).
- Thomas, D. and B. Roggema, ed. 2009 *Christian-Muslim Relations. A bibliographical history Volume 1 Seventh to Tenth Century*. Leiden.
- Thomson, R. W., translator, and J. Howard-Johnston, commentator. 1999. *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos*, 2 vols. Translated Texts for Historians 31. Liverpool.
- Thümmel, H. G. 1992. *Die Frühgeschichte der ostkirchlichen Bilderlehre. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit*, Texte und Untersuchungen 139. Berlin.
- van Esbroeck, M. 1999. "Un discours inédit de saint Germain de Constantinople sur la Croix et les Icônes", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 65: 19–51.

SACRED OBJECTS WITH HOLY LIGHT: BYZANTINE ICONS WITH CHRYSOGRAPHY

Jaroslav Folda

It is a pleasure to offer this brief study to a volume in honor of Alice-Mary Talbot. It has been my good fortune to know her as a colleague since we were junior fellows together at Dumbarton Oaks in 1967–68. Following in the footsteps of Ernst Kitzinger and Giles Constable, among others, as Directors of Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, Alice-Mary has given stellar leadership and rendered distinguished service to Byzantine Studies while continuing her own productive scholarship. I hope that she will find this discussion of certain basic aspects of Byzantine chrysography as fascinating as I have found the study of this intriguing topic.

Around the year 800, St. Theodore, abbot of the Studios monastery in Constantinople wrote the following words:

The gospels were 'writing in words,'
But icons are 'writing in gold.'¹

This comment, written shortly after the Council of Nicaea in 787, was a harbinger of a new era in the production of Byzantine icons that would come after the second phase of Iconoclasm, 814–43, was ended. And one of the creative features of the new icons done after the triumph of Orthodoxy in 843 was the emergence of a new type of chrysography. Whereas heretofore the golden highlighting found in early Byzantine icons was in effect a manifestation of the elegant naturalistic tradition found in late Roman painting, the new chrysography was part of the important new concept of the icon created as the result of the iconodule victory in the iconoclastic controversy.

Consider the fact that the golden highlighting found on pre-iconoclastic icons currently in the important collection found in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai is based on the idea of light falling over a figure in a naturalistic manner. One example is the Sinai icon of the figure of Christ enthroned, dating from the

¹ Quoted by Cormack (1985) 1.

7th century.² (*fig. 1*) Another excellent example is the standing figure of the prophet Elijah, the wing from a triptych that may or may not have originally been associated with the Christ enthroned panel mentioned above.³ In these two cases the chrysography is designed to flow mostly in more or less parallel lines along the surface of drapery folds or across sleeves in a manner linked to late Roman painting. We see golden highlighting designed in a similar way in the illustrations found in manuscripts such as the Vatican Virgil (Rome, Vatican, BAV, Cod. Vat. lat. 3225), done in the years around A.D. 400,⁴ or in the Quedlinburg Itala (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Cod. theol. lat. fol. 485, fol. 2r), fragments of an old Latin version of the Bible, also dating from the 5th century.⁵

During the period of Iconoclasm (726 to 843) when the production and use of holy images was banned in Byzantium, the direct linkage of early Byzantine art to late Roman art, especially in painting, was broken and the developments seen earlier were interrupted. Following the restoration of Orthodoxy in 843 and the return of holy images to the Byzantine church and society, new developments were begun. In the realm of icon production, this included among other important changes, changes in the understanding of likeness and definition, and certain formal distinctions between classes of saints with regard to corporality and immateriality, which resulted in a standardization of the iconography of the saints along with new individual portrait types created for especially important holy figures.⁶ Another development was a new idea about chrysography in what was indeed a new medium, that of cloisonné enamels. A handsome example of this new type of icon with its integrated chrysography is the pair of cloisonné

² Icon B.16, dating to the seventh century. See Weitzmann (1976) 41–42, and plate 18.

³ Icon B.17, dating to the seventh century. See Weitzmann (1976) 42–43, plate 19.

⁴ In MS Vat. Lat. 3225, see, e.g., fol. 13, Aeneas and Achates observing Carthage: Vatican Virgil (Codex Vatican lat. 3225) (1980), discussed in the Commentary, Wright (1984) 56–57, or de Wit (1959) 39–43, pl. 6, 1 *pictura* 10.

⁵ In the Quedlinburg Itala, see, e.g., fol. 2r (see esp. the fig. of Saul in the upper left quadrant): Levin (1985), colorplate 2r, picture 5. Levin comments on p. 81: "...the fine gold lines, which were generously spun over nearly all solid forms in the original illustrations, could not be reproduced." For accessible color plates, see also: for the Vatican Virgil, Nordenfalk (1957) 94, and for the Quedlinburg Itala, Weitzmann (1977) 41, pl. 5.

⁶ On the important changes found in Byzantine icons after iconoclasm, see, e.g., Maguire (1996) *passim*.

enameled bookcovers, originally done in Constantinople in the 10th century, but now preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (Cod. lat. Cl. 1, no. 100).⁷

The main images on these book covers include the standing frontal figure of Christ holding a book of the gospels and blessing in the Greek manner on the front, and on the back the standing frontal figure of the Virgin in the *orans* position.⁸ In keeping with the new concept of icons, both figures have received identifying inscriptions, albeit abbreviated. One of the features of each figure is its chrysography, which is here created by the use of the golden cloisons, which are inherent in the technique of 'cell enamels' used in the production of these covers. The integration of the technique with the imagery of the golden highlighting produces the image of a holy figure with certain characteristic features that become standard in Byzantine chrysography. In the first place, the linear elements (or cloisons) are uniform in thickness and flow all over the figure. The result is that the idea of the holy light signified by these golden linear elements is uniform in its radiance along any one element. This means the holy light is equal in intensity over the entirety of the figure. The light does not function as a reflection from an external source, but rather as a radiance which in effect suffuses over the figure, in this case over both the figure of Christ and the figure of the Virgin. The golden lines of light encircle the heads of these figures and also define the haloes that indicate their holy radiance, but their bodies are not outlined in gold cloisons. Instead, the golden highlighting flows along the folds of the draperies in long more or less parallel passages, with changes of direction or even a few special, if simple forms that also serve to articulate the drapery as it falls over the body of the figure underneath. But it is clear that the main function of the chrysography is to present these holy figures as radiant in their holiness set against the infinity of the divine light, that is, the golden ground that surrounds them.

These late 10th-century examples of cloisonné enamels exemplify the basic pattern for what standard Byzantine chrysography would

⁷ Wessel (1967) 84–89, figs. 27a and b, and Kalavrezou (1997) 88, cat. No. 41, and also on the dust jacket covers.

⁸ It should be mentioned that some scholars, such as Kurt Weitzmann, have regarded these two images as originally made as icons for a diptych, and later incorporated into this book-cover configuration. See, e.g., Frazier (1984) 152–55, catalogue no. 14.

look like for the next several hundred years. By shifting from what was essentially a formal conception based on a naturalistic phenomenon of light falling over a figure in the pre-iconoclastic period to a spiritual radiance emanating from a holy figure in the post-iconoclastic years, new possibilities of development were opened up that Byzantine artists seized upon in their creation of icons during the Middle Byzantine period. These opportunities could be realized in a variety of media, including cloisonné enamels, where the first examples were created, and also in manuscript illumination and mosaics as well as painted icons that eventually become quite numerous and important.

The appearance of chrysography in works of Byzantine art was of course sporadic, no doubt depending not only on the patron's wishes but also on his or her financial resources. Chrysography was clearly a powerful means to place emphasis on the spirituality and the significance of the holy figures so endowed. And the use of chrysography must have been a sign of importance not only for the holy figure depicted but also for the significance of the sponsor and perhaps on their aristocratic or ecclesiastical standing. Chrysography seems to be found less frequently in manuscript illumination than perhaps in other media, but when it does appear in book painting it focuses attention on the significance of the holy figure(s) or the holy event(s). One important codex with an extraordinarily rich selection of chrysography is the *Menologion* of Basil II (976–1025) (Vatican, BAV, MS graec. 1613), an imperial work done in Constantinople around the year 1000,⁹ and therefore more or less contemporary with the cloisonné enamels discussed above. Of the 430 headpieces with figural images, the vast majority contain chrysography in some form; for our purposes here I have selected one example, an image of the archangel Michael. (*color plate 1*)

As Henry Maguire pointed out, “one Byzantine epigram queries the artist of an icon of the archangel Michael as follows:

If you wish to display the movement of an angel,
Why, painter, do you paint this winged man,
And not intelligence, spirit, light, and flame?
Only one could not paint the immaterial with what is material.”¹⁰

⁹ El “*Menologio de Basilio II, Emperador de Bizancio*” (Vatican gr. 1613) (2005) *passim*.

¹⁰ Maguire (1996) 70.

Clearly angels presented special problems for the iconophile theory of images, because they were entirely spiritual beings. But theologically speaking, they were finite: in the words of John of Damascus,

They are circumscribable. For when they are in heaven they are not on earth; and when they are sent to earth by God, they do not remain in heaven. They are not bound by walls or doors or keys or seals. For they are unbounded. I say that they are invisible; for not as they are do they appear to the worthy to whom God desires that they appear, but they see [the angels] altered, just as they are able to perceive. For only [God] is truly unbounded, only he is uncreated. For all creation is made finite by being created by God.¹¹

It is notable therefore that angels were of especial importance as spiritual beings in the iconic imagery of the Middle Byzantine period. In this codex, this headpiece containing Michael is a particularly elegant example.¹² Here, along with the icon of archangel Michael,¹³ we also find golden highlighting used to assert the importance of his image, and we can discern certain important developments in the configuration of the chrysography. The basic concept of the holy radiance as we found it in the cloisonné enamels is maintained, but now the golden highlighting is somewhat more variegated formally. There is chrysography on his wings mostly in the form of short linear components. But along with the mostly long linear elements flowing along the contours of the drapery as we have seen in the earlier cloisonné examples, here we find thickening of the gold into what we might call 'splashes.' These splashes can take the form of curved, oval, or elongated triangular forms from which 'rays' emanate. These rays are usually short and spiky in appearance. We also find a single rhomboidal shaped connector splash linking two long linear elements, and a few terminal connector splashes in a triangular shape. These are the basic configurations that this more developed chrysographic repertoire

¹¹ Quoted in the study by Peers (2001) 103–25.

¹² El "Menologio de Basilio II, Emperador de Bizancio" (Vatican gr. 1613) (2005) 168. I have chosen this example because of the importance of representing angels in the Middle Byzantine period, and this example is one of the best. Besides our color plate 1, there is also ready access to a color reproduction in Grabar (1953) 174. Be aware that in the 1953 reproduction the chrysography appears as gold only on the blue cloak, but there clearly is golden highlighting also on the dark tan tunic underneath as well!

¹³ Peers (2001) 157–93, discusses the representation of the archangel Michael in the broadest sense.

contains in painting.¹⁴ It is this expanded repertoire, or the strictly linear repertoire seen in the cloisonné enamels, that form the basis for Byzantine chrysography afterwards. And we note again that the golden highlighting constitutes a radiance but not an outline of the figure, which as before is shaded here to define it as represented against the landscape below and the infinity of the gold ground above.

Besides cloisonné enamels and manuscript illumination, Middle Byzantine chrysography is also found in mosaics and icons on panels. One important and interesting slightly later example of basic Middle Byzantine chrysography related to what we have already seen is found in the mosaics of the Nea Moni, a monastic church done with imperial patronage in the mid-eleventh century on Chios.¹⁵ The most important example here is the dynamic image of Christ carrying the triumphant cross of victory in the image of the Anastasis.¹⁶ (*fig. 2* and *color plate 2*)

In contrast to the immobile, frontal figure of St. Michael the Archangel in the Menologion we just considered, Christ here is in dynamic motion, moving left to right as he carries his Cross of Victory and liberates the worthies of the Old Testament while trampling on the gates of hell. (*color plate 2*) It is interesting that along with Christ, the only other figure in this apsidal composition that is given golden highlighting is the figure of Eve, who stands behind her kneeling husband, Adam.¹⁷

The chrysography of both Christ and Eve is a combination of the purely linear type found in the cloisonné enamels and the more variegated form type of the archangel Michael, with elongated, mostly triangular-shaped splashes from which short, spiky rays emanate. It is these splashes that dramatize the chrysography of Christ because they emphasize important parts of his body or drapery in motion. Most of the linear components are long flowing elements that articulate his

¹⁴ The artist of this miniature is named "Nestor." The chrysography employed by the other seven artists in this manuscript varies slightly according to their individual styles, but the basic characteristics are the same.

¹⁵ Mouriki (1985) 1:133–39, 2: fig. 50.

¹⁶ Mouriki (1985) 2: fig. 50. The figure of Christ in the Anastasis is the most important, but not the only figure in this ensemble of mosaics to receive chrysography. Although the figures in other scenes of the Dodekaorten have received naturalistic modeling of their draperies in terms of color and light and shade, the figures of the Seraphim have also been given chrysographic imagery, once again privileging angels as spiritual beings in middle Byzantine art. See Mouriki (1985) 1: 115–116, and 2: figs. 6–9.

¹⁷ Mouriki (1985) 2: figs. 50, 54, 57.

drapery along the hems and folds. The less focal linear elements are much shorter and include some interesting shapes, such as curved or squared off 'J' forms, or 'V' shapes. By contrast, Eve's chrysography is more simplified and unified, consisting either of the uniformly long flowing linear elements on hems and folds, or elongated bar splashes from which short spiky rays emanate.

We note that the figure of Christ in the Anastasis—and also in the scene of the Dormition—is frequently enriched with chrysography in Middle Byzantine art. This special radiance of holy light expressed in golden highlighting is also often accorded the representation of angels and especially the image of St. Michael the Archangel, as mentioned above. The fact that Jesus is radiant with chrysography in this Anastasis at the Nea Moni scene indicates he is the light of the world.¹⁸ This same idea is also found in relation to the images of the Anastasis at both Daphni and Hosios Lukas, but in these two churches, Jesus is clothed in golden robes. This must form some kind of variant for placing special emphasis on the figure of Christ with this significance, one which we also find in the representation of the infant Jesus held by the Virgin, starting with the great mosaic in the apse of Hagia Sophia dating to 867. It is not clear however why the use of chrysography—and such boldly designed chrysography—was chosen for the Anastasis mosaic at the Nea Moni. But clearly it is an effective visual means to express the holiness of Jesus inside the candle-lit church.

The relative simplicity of the chrysography we have seen so far in middle Byzantine art changes dramatically when the Byzantine artists of the Comnenian era appropriate golden highlighting and develop it for their use. Not only do we see some remarkable examples in the medium of cloisonné enamels, but also we begin to find some painted icons with chrysography that is both sophisticated and complex in design, and intense and saturated in the density of its radiance.

The Pala d'Oro in Venice contains some of the best examples of 12th-century Comnenian cloisonné work. The images of the Pantokrator and the Virgin *orans* in the lower central panel associated with the patronage of Doge Ordelafo Falier (1102–18) are especially impressive,¹⁹ as are the six large images from the second half of the Dodekaorten along

¹⁸ See the discussion by Kartsonis (1986) 214–21.

¹⁹ Wessel (1967) 131–53, figs. 46a, c, r.

the top, which date from later in the 12th century.²⁰ For our purposes here the Virgin *orans* below and the Anastasis above can serve to illustrate the elaborate chrysography utilized by Comnenian artists in the 12th century.

The image of the Anastasis found along the top of the Pala d'Oro,²¹ (color plate 3) although clearly done by an artist in Constantinople during the mid-12th century, is clearly different in design and complexity when compared to the Anastasis in the Nea Moni. The Pala d'Oro expresses Comnenian courtly elegance in a scene with dynamically posed figures the equal of those in the Nea Moni, but without the dramatic splashes on the figure of Christ. Meanwhile some of the same special features found in the chrysography of the Virgin *orans* are found here, namely the golden outlines around the outer contours of the figures and the use of the golden cloisons to define features of the faces and hands. And the basic Byzantine concept of fully covered figures totally suffused with equal-intensity light is carefully executed here. But the Anastasis has its own special characteristics as well. For one thing, the patterns of the golden cloisons are exquisitely decorative, arranged in mostly abstract zones with curving, mostly parallel linear elements. The clarity of the zones and the parallelism of the linear elements are striking, as are the geometric enhancements. There are, e.g., spirals on the knees of Christ and Adam, a teardrop shape on the shoulder of Eve, 'V' folds on the chest of Christ and the robes of Solomon and David, and there is a profusion of 'U'-shaped trough folds with the parallel sides extended. The extensive use of these 'U'-shaped folds is unique to this series of six cloisonné images across the top of the Pala d'Oro.²²

By comparison, the Virgin *orans* is truly remarkable in the density and intricacy of her chrysography.²³ In certain ways she is unusual among most Byzantine examples because of, e.g., the golden outlines around the outer contour of the figure, including the face, the use of golden cloisons to define the features of the face and hands, and the suggestion of splashes, as distinct from garment hems, even here in the cloisonné technique with its myriad thin linear cloisons. The majority

²⁰ Wessel (1967) figs. 46p–u.

²¹ Besides our color plate 3, an excellent color plate can be found in Hahnloser and Polacco (1994) tav. 45.

²² Hahnloser and Polacco (1994) tavv. 43, 44, 46, 47, and 48.

²³ An excellent color plate can be found in Hahnloser and Polacco (1994) tav. 4.

of these splashes are achieved by means of thickening of certain linear elements, seen especially in the chrysography of her light blue undergarment. Otherwise, the chrysography is robustly intricate, ornamental, dense, filled with geometric configurations and quite elegant in its splendor. Note especially the geometric forms of 'V'- and '^'- shaped folds with a few looped folds in their midst, and of spirals on the elbows and knees. Note also the remarkably abstract coverage of the human figure with these golden highlights. But the basic concept of Byzantine chrysography is retained with the entire figure suffused by the radiance of this holy light which is uniformly spread over the holy figure.

The same sophisticated Comnenian-style chrysography found here in the cloisonné enamels of the Pala d'Oro can also be seen in certain 12th-century painted icons done in Constantinople. One of the most beautiful of all icons done in the elegant style of the Comnenian period is the Sinai Annunciation icon (61 × 42 cm) from the late 12th century.²⁴ (*fig. 3*)

In this Annunciation icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, we find that whereas the Virgin wears garments with selected golden decoration on her maphorion and the hem of her undergarment, only the angel Gabriel has received chrysographic highlighting; indeed intensive chrysography covers the entire garments of the angel and his stately wings, but now, because this is a painted icon instead of a cloisonné enamel, not his head, face, hands or feet. This once again demonstrates one of the notable characteristics of Middle Byzantine icons, namely the privileging of angels as spiritual beings expressed in terms of their frequent appearance illuminated by divine light in this manner.

In fact the angel is radiant in the golden light which falls over his garments in complex and richly varied forms. In this medium however, as we have already seen to some extent in the mosaic technique at the Nea Moni, note the special forms and characteristics joined with the basically linear chrysography seen here; there are geometric tear-drop-like splash shapes on both thighs and knees, and there are quasi-triangular or rhomboidal shaped splashes on his hip, arm, back and lower leg, all with linear rays emanating from them in one or more direction in parallel. There are also two quasi-rectangular bar-shaped

²⁴ Weitzmann (1978) 92–93, pl. 27.

elements that link certain linear components, one on the rope-like fold along the back of his leg. This feature in particular is not found in the Byzantine cloisonné enamel icons.

It is clear that the shift in technique from cloisonné enamel to painted icon as seen here produces certain new characteristics. The chrysography in fact still comprehensively covers the drapery internally, but the entire outer contours of the angel are shaded, not done in golden outline as we saw with the figures of the Pala d'Oro. And, as noted above, the chrysography does not touch the head, face, hands, or feet of the angel.

The golden highlights draw attention in this case to the sinuous form of the advancing angel, emphasizing his dynamism by articulating his drapery in motion as it flows over his body. They simultaneously provide an exquisitely varied ornamental pattern to his garment, distinguished by the long curving filaments and the short spiky bursts of golden light. The motion of his body is accented also with seemingly independent passages of drapery flowing over his right arm and up along the back of his right leg.

This golden spiritualized angel gesturing and carrying the message to Mary that she is to be the Mother of God contrasts with the strong humanity of the Virgin who sits regally, quietly, holding her skein of wool. Even though she is surrounded by magnificent golden architecture and her golden and bejeweled throne, which provide this setting for the Annunciation of the Incarnation of Jesus, she remains humanized as a participant in the divine significance of this unique event in the history of salvation as she is approached by the holy angel.

What is ultimately impressive here is that the artistic handling of the golden 'space'—the setting—and the chrysography represents this familiar holy event in all of its spiritual symbolism and significance with new clarity made possible by the special handling of the gilding and burnishing technique which articulates the holy *dramatis personae*. The manipulation and representation of the golden light is notably enriched by special circular burnishing as seen in the haloes, nimbi, and radiances surrounding holy beings, including the Divine presence unspecified above, the Dove of the Holy Spirit en route to Mary, the head of the Virgin, and the head of the Angel. These circular burnishings focus our attention on the manifestations of the holy, making sure they are not lost in the infinity of the golden light.

What we also see is that this holy golden light suffuses everything; it has no direction or locatable finite source as we find in the natural

light of the sun or the moon. The highlighting of the beautiful angel appears to be a manifestation of his own radiance in contrast to a reflection of a source of light from outside his form. It seems to be the same idea as the radiance that surrounds the Dove and the heads of both the angel and Mary. It is their holiness which illuminates them. Even though the Annunciation is a historical event that took place in finite time and physical conditions of space and light, we are being shown the spiritual significance of this event in this icon. This meaning is beautifully shown by the sophisticated handling of the golden light. It is a holy event that we can witness in this icon in all of its magnificence through the lavish use of gold.

One other important example brings this brief survey of developments in Byzantine chrysography into the early 13th century. It is a small icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels icon (34.5 × 26 cm) from the first half of the 13th century.²⁵ (*fig. 4*) What is notable about the chrysography in this Byzantine image is that it is so rich. We notice how the divine light suffuses over the entire group. And yet the principles of design for this chrysography also exemplify standard Byzantine characteristics. The golden highlights are spread more or less equally over the figures; there is no one single point of view. The linear elements of the chrysography are more or less uniform in thickness according to their size and importance, and the intensity of the light is equal along the entirety of their length. Among the most notable formal design configurations, we find especially long, quasi-triangular 'splashes' which emit spiky, mostly parallel rays, 'V'-shaped folds defined by golden lines, long more or less parallel linear highlights along the ridges of the folds of drapery—one with a terminal connector—and some golden hems. It is also remarkable that so much chrysography is found over all the figures, that is, the Virgin and Child and the two angels, as well as over the throne, the cushion on the throne, and over the footstool as distinct from the gold ground.

In this example then, we clearly see that the Middle Byzantine tradition of chrysography was continued into the 13th century. It is apparently at that time, and particularly in the second half of the 13th century, that Crusader painters appropriate and develop this technique of golden highlighting for their own icons. One Crusader example, the

²⁵ Weitzmann (1982) 20 and, for the plate, 66, top right.

famous Mellon Madonna in Washington, DC at the National Gallery of Art (84 × 53 cm) dating from the last third of the 13th century (*fig. 5*), can help us understand how closely the Crusader painters seem to have studied their Byzantine examples, yet how distinctly different their use of chrysography appears to be.²⁶

The Mellon Madonna is an example of the full length Virgin and Child enthroned with angels, a Byzantine type discussed above. But the Crusader painter has not only transformed the throne and the angels into special new imagery, but he has also rendered the Virgin and Child in a newly humanized manner in a strikingly three-dimensional, even sculptural style, which reflects his western temperament. As an image of the Virgin *Hodegetria*, Mary holds Jesus upright and not only gestures to him but appears to touch his knee, making direct physical contact. She is also dressed in Gothic colors of red and blue, and her red maphorion is open down her front in an un-Byzantine manner.

The chrysography over her drapery is rich and reflects the basic Byzantine repertoire discussed above, but several aspects are handled in an un-Byzantine way. First, the figure of the Virgin is outlined in gold. Second, the chrysography follows the shading of the drapery in such a way as to suggest characteristics of supernatural light but does it in effect in a complex abstract manner that differs from the more unified Byzantine approach which suggests the idea of a radiance of the holy figure. Third, this abstract approach to the chrysography is evident because the divine light seems to emanate from different sources of light: from below and in front for the footstool, from the left and above for her knees and lower body, and from the right and slightly above for her upper body. For Christ his body is also partly outlined in gold and the divine light otherwise appears to come from above and to the right on his thigh, or from the left and slightly below on his lower legs. This fractionalization of the chrysography into these separate sources, along with other non-Byzantine features, fundamentally change the Byzantine concept of chrysography seen on earlier icon paintings and reinforce the idea that this panel was originally painted by a Crusader artist. I have argued elsewhere that this artist worked on Cyprus in the second half of the 13th century, comparing this work to a well-known St. Nicholas icon done for a member of the

²⁶ Folda (2008) 128–30, and Folda (2002) 123–45.

Ravendel family, now in Nicosia, dating from the late 13th century (shortly before 1291).²⁷

Several points are worth making here at the conclusion of our discussion.

1. The Byzantines reinvented chrysography in the Middle Byzantine period, and it is an important factor in Byzantine icon painting thereafter.
2. Byzantine artists developed their concept of chrysography during the middle Byzantine period, which nonetheless consistently featured certain standard characteristics that focused on the divine radiance of holy figures.
3. Chrysography is an important feature of Byzantine painting to which very little attention has been paid. Part of the reason for this scholarly neglect is first, the fact that the study of chrysography requires intensive first-hand examination of the original works of art. Second, until recent advances in printing techniques, it has proved very difficult to reproduce chrysography effectively. This means that chrysography has remained relatively invisible as a characteristic of Byzantine painting, hardly visible in many black and white reproductions, and the same is true in the study of Crusader art and medieval painting more widely.
4. Chrysography in Byzantine painting was apparently most commonly accomplished with a particular technique of applying gold leaf on a moistened ground. The issue of the technique of chrysography in Byzantine painting remains to be investigated in detail.
5. When Byzantine chrysography was appropriated by Crusader painters, both the basic concept and the technique were closely followed. This technique and the basic Byzantine concept of chrysography changed however, when the idea of golden highlighting was transmitted to the West in the 13th century.²⁸

²⁷ Folda (2001) 361–71.

²⁸ The important issue of technique remains to be investigated in detail, not only in Byzantine icon painting, but also in Crusader icon painting and in Italian panel painting of the *maniera greca* in the 13th century. For the technique of chrysography in Italian painting, see the important discussion in Bomford, et al. (1989) 43–47.

REFERENCES

- Bomford, D., J. Dunkerton, D. Gordon, and Ashok Roy, eds. 1989. *Art in the making: Italian painting before 1400*. London.
- Cormack, R. 1985. *Writing in gold: Byzantine society and its icons*. New York.
- Folda, J. 2001. "Reflections on the Mellon Madonna as a work of crusader art: Links with crusader art on Cyprus." In *Dei Gesta per Francos: Études sur les Croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*. Ed. M. Balard, B.Z. Kedar, and J. Riley-Smith, 361–71. Aldershot.
- . 2002. "Icon to altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child enthroned." In *Italian panel paintings of the Duecento and Trecento*. Ed. V. Schmidt, 122–45. *Studies in the History of Art* 61. Washington, DC.
- . 2008. *Crusader art: The art of the crusaders in the Holy Land, 1099–1291*. Aldershot and Burlington.
- Frazier, M. 1984. "Bookcover with Christ and the Virgin orans." In *The treasury of San Marco*. Ed. D. Buckton, et al., 152–55, no. 14. Venice.
- Grabar, A. 1953. *Byzantine painting*. Geneva.
- Hahnloser, H. and R. Polacco, eds. 1994. *La Pala d'Oro*. Venice.
- Kalavrezou, I. 1997. "Book cover with Christ Pantokrator (front) and the Virgin orans (back)." In *The glory of Byzantium: Art and culture of the middle byzantine era, A.D. 843–1261*. Ed. H.C. Evans and W.D. Wixom, 88, cat. No. 41. New York.
- Kartsonis, A. 1986. *Anastasis: The making of an image*. Princeton.
- Levin, I. 1985. *The Quedlinburg Itala: The oldest illustrated biblical manuscript*. Leiden.
- Maguire, H. 1996. *The icons of their bodies*. Princeton.
- Mouriki, D. 1985. *The mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*. 2 vols. Athens.
- Nordenfalk, C. 1957. *Early medieval painting*. Lausanne.
- Peers, G. 2001. *Subtle bodies: Representing angels in Byzantium*. Berkeley.
- Weitzmann, K. 1976. *The monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The icons*. Vol. 1, *From the sixth to the tenth century*. Princeton.
- . 1977. *Late antique and early christian book illumination*. New York.
- . 1978. *The icon*. New York.
- . et al., eds. 1982. *The icon*. New York.
- Wessel, K. 1967. *Byzantine enamels from the 5th to the 13th century*. Greenwich, CT.
- de Wit, J. 1959. *Die Miniaturen des Vergilius Vaticanus*. Amsterdam.
- Wright, David (1984). *Vatican Virgil (Codex Vatican lat. 3225) Commentary*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, vol. 71, *Codices Selecti*.

FACSIMILES

- El "Menologio de Basilio II, Emperador de Bizancio" (Vatican gr. 1613) (2005) Madrid: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Testimonio Compania Editorial, facsimile volume.
- Vatican Virgil (Codex Vatican lat. 3225) (1980) Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, vol. 71, *Codices Selecti*.



Fig. 1. Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai: Figure of Christ enthroned, dating from the 7th century.

Source: photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.



Fig. 2. Mosaic in the Monastery of the Nea Moni, Chios. Anastasis image in the main eastern apse. Dating from the mid-11th century.

Source: photo reproduced by permission of the Dumbarton Oaks Photograph Archive.



Fig. 3. Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, Image of the Annunciation. Dating from the late 12th century.

Source: photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.



Fig. 4. Icon from the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, Image of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels. Dating from the first half of the 13th century.

Source: photo reproduced by permission of Archbishop Damianos and the Fathers of the Monastery of St. Catherine, and courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai.



Fig. 5. Painted panel from the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.
The Mellon Madonna: Image of the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels.
Dating from the later 13th century, between 1260 and 1291.
Source: photo reproduced courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington,
D.C.

'TILES OF NICOMEDIA' AND THE CULT OF SAINT PANTELEIMON*

Sharon E. J. Gerstel

*Εἶχε μὲν τὴν Νικομήδους ὁ καλὸς ἐν μάρτυσι Παντελεήμων πατρίδα...*¹

Thousands of fragments of polychrome tiles survive from medieval Byzantium. Richly glazed in deep green and amber with occasional touches of cobalt blue, gold leaf, and manganese, the tiles are primarily decorated with ornamental patterns. Set within Byzantium's most luxurious churches, such tiles were used to cover plaster cornices and columns, serve as wall revetments, and form ornamental frames. In their decoration and coloring, they imitate large-scale works of carved or inlaid stone, mosaic, and *opus sectile*, and smaller works of enamel, metalwork, and painting.² Of the thousands of tile fragments that are known, only a small number have figural decoration. In 2004, the number of Byzantine ceramic icons stood at forty.³ Of these, twenty-nine are in the collections of the Walters Art Museum and the Musée du Louvre. Additional figural tiles are found in the Benaki Museum in Athens, the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, the State Historical Museum in Moscow, and a private collection in England.⁴ An additional twenty tiles with figural representations have recently come to light; they are held in a private collection in London.⁵ The fifty-nine known figural tiles include representations of Christ, the archangels, apostles, and saints (see appendix). For the most part, the saints are

* This short article is offered with love and admiration to Alice-Mary Talbot, a mentor, co-author, and friend.

¹ Symeon Metaphrastes, *Passio*, in Latyshev (1911/1970) 216.

² Anderson (2001).

³ Gerstel (2001). This number would increase if artists' sketches of figures were included. See cat. nos. A.44, A.46, A.53, A.71 in Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001). This number includes tiles found in Constantinople and its hinterlands. It does not include ceramic icons excavated in Bulgaria.

⁴ Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) cat. nos. D.1, D.2, F.1, F.2, F.3, F.4, I.1, J.1, XII.1, XII.2, XX.1.

⁵ With warmest appreciation I thank the owner of this collection for his invitation to study the materials in his possession. Study of this collection was made possible by a UCLA Faculty Research Grant, which also supported the cost of NAA testing.

represented half-length and in frontal pose. They are generally surrounded by a circular, painted frame and are set against an amber (i.e., gold) background. Four of the figural tiles are the focus of this paper. All of them bear the image of St. Panteleimon, the great martyr of Nicomedia.

The frequent representation of Panteleimon on the preserved tiles is significant to establishing Nicomedia as a major center of tile production in the Middle Byzantine period. For although the use of the term “testis de Nicomedia”⁶ in a medieval inventory has long suggested to scholars that the Bithynian city was an important production site for tiles that served as architectural revetment, there has been insufficient material evidence to test the reliability of the written source.⁷ The recent disclosure of unpublished collections of tiles closely associated with the city of Nicomedia urges the reconsideration of the Bithynian capital as a major artistic center.⁸

Four collections are linked stylistically and all are associated with the province of Bithynia: the more than two thousand tile fragments currently divided between the Walters Art Museum and the Musée du Louvre; a single tile in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum; three tiles in the State Historical Museum in Moscow; and more than three thousand tile fragments in a private collection in London. Notes in the museum files suggest that the Baltimore and Paris tiles derive from the city of Üskübü (Konuralp), located 5 km north of Düzce in Bithynia.⁹ Museum records indicate that the Istanbul tile was found in Düzce. Curators in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, however, have stated that it derives from neighboring Üskübü.¹⁰ The Moscow

⁶ The Latin inventory is dated May 1192. For the text, see Miklosich and Müller (1865) X; Imperiale (1942) 68.14–17. For a translation of the text into English, see Angold (1984) 255, 263 n. 1 (with bibliography). A Greek translation of the inventory is dated October 13, 1202. For the text, see Miklosich and Müller (1865) 55. For a translation of the text into English, see Angold (1984) 259, 263 n. 4 (with bibliography); Mango (1972) 239–40. On the use of the term “testis de Nicomedia” and its Greek translation, see also Mason and Mundell Mango (1995) 313–31; Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) 230.

⁷ On Nicomedia as a production site, see Verdier (1983) 635; Mason and Mundell Mango (1995) 313–31.

⁸ Gerstel (2009); and Gerstel (2011).

⁹ Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) 243, 279.

¹⁰ Inventory no. 6545, *İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* 10 (1962), 13. Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) 238.

tiles are said to be from Nicomedia (modern-day İzmit).¹¹ The London tiles were uncovered at a site 10 km to the northeast of İzmit. Stylistic similarities, identical methods of manufacture, and the closely related composition of the clay, established through Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA), confirm that the London tiles were produced by the same Bithynian workshop of ca. 1000 that created the tiles today in Paris and Baltimore. A final thread that runs through three of the collections is a subject of representation. The portrait of Panteleimon is found on works in Moscow, Baltimore and London, i.e., tiles painted by "the Nicomedia workshop."

The tiles are as follows:

SAINT PANTELEIMON (PRIVATE COLLECTION, LONDON) (Fig. 1)¹²

[ὁ Ἅγιος | Παντελεή]ΜΩΝ

M. P. H. 16.7, H. and W. of plaque as reconstructed 31.0; Th. 0.6 cm

Three joining fragments from a large square plaque. Seven non-joining fragments have been added to reconstruct the original appearance of the composition. The saint, at the center of the plaque, is placed against an amber background. His hair, face, neck and shoulder are preserved. The saint's curly hair is highlighted with quick brushstrokes. Cropped short, the tendrils fall behind the left ear lobe. His right brow arches over a carefully painted eye. The iris is attached to the thicker, upper lid, leaving some white space below. The line of the upper lid extends outward, elongating the eye. A curved line below the eye articulates the crease under the lower lid. The nose, drawn in black line, is modeled by the use of pink slip along the tip. Touches of pink slip also provide color on the cheeks and shade the bridge and tip of the nose and the sides of the neck.

SAINT PANTELEIMON (BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART MUSEUM, 48.2086.15) (Fig. 2)¹³

[ὁ Ἅγιος | Παντελ]ΕΕΙΜΩΝ

M.P.H. 7.7, M.P.W. 7.6, Th. 0.9 cm

Single fragment from a large square plaque. The saint, at the center of the plaque, is placed against an amber background. Only the left side of the saint's face, ear, and neck are preserved. Panteleimon's dark, wavy hair, done in quick brush strokes, was painted with dark, purplish-brown glaze.

¹¹ Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) 301. On the tile of Panteleimon, see also Poutsko (1974) 186–87, fig. 2.

¹² Gerstel (2011) cat. no. 10.

¹³ Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) 244.

SAINT PANTELEIMON (BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART MUSEUM, 48.2086.4)
(FIG. 3)¹⁴

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ | ΠΑΝΤΕΛΙΕΗΜΩΝ

H. 17.0, W. 17.0–17.2, Th. 0.7 cm

This complete, small square tile is reconstructed from twelve fragments. The frontal, half-figure is set against an amber background framed in white and green bands. The beardless, youthful saint holds a medical box in his left hand and a scalpel in his right. He wears a white tunic with gold cuffs and an outer robe ornamented with a gold collar and segmentae. These patches are decorated with a foliate pattern painted in dark purple on a gold ground. Above the two layers of clothing, he wears a brown mantle (*paenula*); the sides are thrown over his shoulders, leaving the central part draped over the front of the body.

SAINT PANTELEIMON (MOSCOW, STATE HISTORICAL MUSEUM, 53066)
(FIG. 4)¹⁵

[ὁ Ἅγιος Παντ] | ΕΛΕΗΜΟΝ

H. 14.5, W. 14.0 cm

Two fragments join to form the upper right corner of a small square tile. The saint, placed against an amber ground, is framed by a green circular border that opens into leaves in the corners of the plaque. The saint is half-length. Dark, curly, close-cropped hair forms a halo around the saint's head. His piercing eyes, surmounted by elongated brows, stare at the viewer directly. The dark irises are attached to the upper lid of each eye; the eyelids are extended laterally and a curved line emphasizes the crease below the lower lid. Two curved lines delineate the chin and a faint curved line indicates a crease in the neck. The saint wears a white tunic below a dark mantle. A narrow stole frames his neck and is tucked into the neckline of the mantle.

According to the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, Panteleimon, one of the most popular of the Byzantine *anargyroi*, was born in Nicomedia and died there in 305.¹⁶ Church dedications in Constantinople and in other regions of the empire, as well as in the West, witness the popularity of the saint as a personal protector and provide evidence that his cult—and relics—circulated across a wide geographic area.¹⁷ Numerous

¹⁴ Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) 254–55.

¹⁵ Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) 301.

¹⁶ *SynaxCP* 847–48; Delehay (1933) 150.

¹⁷ At least four churches and monasteries in the region of Constantinople were dedicated to the saint. Of these, the most important in the Macedonian period was St. Panteleimon τὰ Ναρσσοῦ, which possessed the head of the saint and was the site of imperial visitation. See Janin (1953) 401–2; Janin (1937); Majeska (1984) 383–84. Theodore Macridy proposed that the ruins of a church at Yuşa tepesi should be identified as Justinian's St. Panteleimon, an identification that S. Eyice questioned. For this church, which most likely should be dated to a later period, see Eyice (1955). It

vitae, *passiones* and *laudationes* attest to his popularity throughout Byzantium.¹⁸ Such texts, in turn, informed the creation of the painted *Lives* that are found in churches and on icons.¹⁹ Panteleimon's portrait was regularly included in churches, usually together with those of other physician saints.²⁰

is from the church at Yuşa tepesi that several of the tiles now in the Benaki Museum derive. See Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) D.1, D.2. The earliest church with a secure dedication to the Bithynian saint is the 5th-century basilica of St. Panteleimon at Aphrodisias in Cilicia. An inscription naming the saint is found in the south aisle of the church. See Budde (1987) 32–33, pls. 134, 135. On the date of the church, see Hild and Hellenkemper (1990) 195.

¹⁸ For the *Life* of Panteleimon by Symeon Metaphrastes (second half of the 10th century), see PG 115: 448–77; see also Latyshev (1911/1970). For other texts concerned with the saint, see Halkin (1957) 1412z–1418b. Authors include Andrew of Crete (7th–8th century), Theodore Graptos (9th century), Niketas Paphlagonia (early 10th century), John Geometres (second half of the 10th century), Theophanes Kerameus (first half of the 12th century), and Constantine Akropolites (beginning of the 14th century). On the Geometres text, see Demoen (2004) 165–84. On the textual tradition, see also Makris (2009) 103–36. For an 8th-century account of the saint, see Quispel and Zandee (1962). Scenes from his martyrdom are included in two early illustrated menologia: Moscow, National Historical Museum, cod. 9/382, fol. 101r (11th century) (Ševčenko [1990] 68, fiche 2A10); Mount Athos, Pantokrator Monastery cod. 61, fol. 182r. (9th century) (Dufrenne [1966] pl. 58).

¹⁹ One of the saint's healing miracles appears on a molded terracotta plaque attributed to workshops in the area of El Djem or Kairouan, Tunisia. Inscribed with the name of the saint and impressed with one of his healing miracles, the tile may date to the 5th or 6th century. See Courtois (1951). I thank Nancy Ševčenko for this reference. Scenes from his miracles and his painted *vita* appear in the tenth-century paintings in S. Crisogono, Rome (Mesnard [1935] 118–19, fig. 52); Sant'Angelo in Formis, 1079–87 (Tomeković [1988]); St. Panteleimon, Nerezi, 1164 (Bardžieva-Trajkovska [2002–3], 42, fig. 8); St. Panteleimon, Prodromi, Selino province, Crete (15th century) (Gerola [1961] no. 100); Sts. Panteleimon and Demetrios, Peribolia, Chania, Crete (15th century—5 scenes from his *life*) (unpublished); St. Panteleimon, Boutas, Kisamou, Crete (15th century—6 scenes from his *life*) (unpublished); St. Paraskeve, Galypha, Pedidos, Herakleion, Crete (14th century—*life* on west wall of church—unpublished). For the Cretan churches, see Koukiales (2006). A portrait of the saint and scenes from his *life* are also the subject of a late- twelfth- or early- thirteenth-century icon in the collection of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai. See Koukiales (2006) 233–43 (with collected bibliography). A portrait of the saint and a healing scene also appear on a 12th-century steatite icon in the Vatican. See Kalavrezou (1985) 127–20, pls. 20, 21.

²⁰ The saint appears twice in the church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome—once on the south face of the southwest pillar of the nave (dated to the mid seventh century) and once in the early 8th-century paintings in the diakonikon or “Chapel of the Physicians” (Knipp [2002] with earlier bibliography). The saint appears from the 9th century in monumental art: Hagios Stephanos, Kastoria, mid 9th century, Pelekanides and Chatzidakis (1985) 10, 15, fig. 5; Temple of Fortuna Virilis in Rome (late ninth or early tenth century) (Lafontaine [1959] 41–43, pl. XIII), Tokalı kilise Cappadocia (910–20) (Wharton [1986] fig. 42); Hosios Loukas, Phokis (ca. 1020) (Chatzidakis [1997] fig. 33); Sakli kilise (Chapel 2a), Göreme (ca. 1070) (Restle [1968] fig. 41),

The center of the Saint's cult, though, was Nicomedia. The church of St. Panteleimon was located in the suburb of Adamantios, the burial grounds to the west of the city. This site functioned as a center of devotion to the local martyr throughout the Middle Ages and even into modern times.²¹ The *Guide Bleu* of 1914 includes the church among noteworthy sites in the city: "30 minutes env. le couvent grec de Hagios Pantéléimon, avec une église bien conservée. Le tombeau de Saint-Pantaléon y est le but d'un pèlerinage très fréquenté."²² The history of the church is not easy to reconstruct. The building was restored in 1700, rebuilt in stone in 1858, and remodeled in 1861.²³ Firatlı, writing in 1959, notes that

while, in fact, this monastery was an ancient visiting place, an Orthodox church was built above it during the last century. After World War I this church was destroyed and disappeared. The retaining walls belonging to the monastery, which are almost 5 m high, can be seen on the hill.²⁴

Published descriptions of the saint's tomb—and even its relationship to the church—are murky. In 1867 Kleonymos and Papadopoulos

Saint Barbara, Soğanlı (Restle [1968] fig. 436), Karabas kilise (11th c.) (Restle [1968] fig. 456). His portrait also appears on a Sinai icon attributed to the early 10th century. See Weitzmann (1976) 87–88, col. pl. XXXIII and pl. CIX. Representations following the 11th century are too numerous to catalogue and are not relevant to this discussion. Contemporary with the tiles is the portrait of the saint on a carved epistyle from Afyon Karahisar. Originally decorated with glass paste in contrast to the white marble, the carved portrait would have displayed the same polychrome effect as the tiles. See Buckler (1933) no. 40, pl. 17.

²¹ The location of the shrine of the martyr is recorded in Symeon Metaphrastes: *PG* 115: 477; V. Latyshev (1911/1970) 222. See also Kleonymos and Papadopoulos (1867) 68–70; Dallegio-d'Alessio (1951); Janin (1975) 99; Foss (1996) 14–15, 23. A note of 1665 referring to the church of St. Panteleimon, Nicomedia, is found in a 12th- or 13th-century gospel book. See Pallas (1955) 1–2 (no. 139): + τὸ παρ(ὸν) ἀφηρερόθη εἰς τ(ὸν) θῆ(ον) κ(αὶ) σεβ(άσ)μιον να(ὸν) τοῦ ἁγίου κ(αὶ) ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος κ(αὶ) ἡμαρτηκοῦ παντελεήμονος ἐν τι ἁγιωτάτῃ μ(ητ)ροπόλῃ τ(ῆς) νικομηδίας, παρὰ τοῦ χατζῆ σταυράκη τοῦ κηρήτζί ακενδίνου (:) εἰς μνημόσιν(ον) τ(ῆς) μ(ητ)ρὸς αὐτοῦ σμαραγδίτζας.

²² *De Paris à Constantinople*. Éd. *Les Guides Bleus* (Paris, 1914), 363.

²³ Kleonymos and Papadopoulos (1867) 68–69; Foss (1996) 15.

²⁴ Firatlı (1959) 22. I thank Brigitte Pitarakis for assisting with the translation of the text from Turkish. Writing in 1872, Georges Perrot noted "C'était un ancien lieu de pèlerinage, le monastère d'Haghios Pandéléïmon, à quart d'heure environ de la ville, où les Grecs reconstruisaient une église." Perrot (1872/1983) 4. The text describes a number of spolia inscriptions that were used in the construction of the church. A painting of the church dated 1886 shows a large cruciform structure surrounded by monastic cells. The church is represented on a hillside with the water in the near distance. See Öztüre (1969) 176 (color plate opposite).

wrote: "below the church there is another smaller church in the middle of which is the tomb of the saint and a font."²⁵ Pogadin and Wulff, writing in 1897, noted that the sarcophagus that once housed the body of the saint had been altered, since the relief scenes that decorated its sides were not fitting for a Christian martyr.²⁶ Dalleggio D'Alessio, who visited the tomb in August 1912, recalls a stone stairway descending into a vaulted chamber that contained a tomb and a font. Citing a description of the tomb written by Reinhold Lubenau in 1587 (which makes reference to a plaque carved with the figure of a soldier),²⁷ he concludes that the tomb was not the burial site of Panteleimon but, rather, that of a Crusader knight.²⁸ On one point all of the authors are in agreement: the tomb was empty.²⁹ Even if the saint's relics had been removed at an early period, medieval sources—both Latin and Greek—regularly associate Panteleimon with the city of Nicomedia.

Panteleimon's martyrdom in Nicomedia in AD 304 and the popularity of his cult in the city and the surrounding region undoubtedly account for the frequent representation of the saint on works that were locally produced. The four ceramic tiles are related in style and linked by provenance. They are, most likely, the products of a single workshop that furnished figural plaques for churches and for church patrons in the immediate region.³⁰ Representations of healing saints on votive plaques intended for a church recall works of comparable

²⁵ Kleonymos and Papadopoulos (1867) 68–69.

²⁶ Pogodin and Wulff (1897) 118, fn. 2. Many thanks to my colleague, Eugene Volokh, for his assistance in reading this passage.

²⁷ "Nicht weidt von dem Ohrt, da das Stift gestanden, ist ein altes Gebeude zu sehen, einer grosen Capellen gleich. Magk auch wol zum Stift gehöret haben, welches noch gahr fein gezieret und die Grichen einhaben. In derselben Capellen unter dem Altar ist ein schönes Gewelb. Dasselbe ist das Begrebnus des heiligen Panthaleonis, welches uns die grichischen Prister zeigten. Das Grab ist aus einem schönen, weissen Marmor gehauen. Hinden am Grab war ein Schildt ausgehauen, darauf ein Kreitz, in die Lenge am Grab ein Man in einem Kuris oder Harnisch mit einem Spehr, daran eine Fahnen. Das Grab wahr oben offen und der Körper nicht mehr furhanden. Dieses Gewelb ist gahr unter der Erden und musten durch ein enges Loch mit einer Leiter hinabsteigen; wahr auch gantz finster und hatte unser jeder ein brennendes Licht in der Handt." Sahm (1914) 14–15.

²⁸ Dalleggio-D'Alessio (1951) 95–100; Foss (1996) 23.

²⁹ The later sources are also unanimous in crediting the Crusaders with the removal of the saint's remains. However, relics associated with the saint were in circulation long before the Crusaders arrived in the city, suggesting that the remains had been long removed. For the early translation of Panteleimon's relics to the West, see Kracht (1975) 10–15 (with collected bibliography).

³⁰ As far as I have been able to determine, the saint's portrait does not appear on any tiles found in Bulgaria. For Bulgarian figural tiles, see Totev (2001).

scale and date, though in bronze, representing Panteleimon's teacher, Hermolaos, and the healing saints Cyrus and John.³¹ We might see the ceramic plaques representing the healing saint—especially the two of larger scale—as votive panels that materialized the donor's thanks for the saint's intervention in medical matters.³² The survival of four plaques provides evidence for the continued existence of a local cult around the year 1000.

The assemblage of a large number of plaques attributable to a single workshop in the region of İzmit also demonstrates that the Nicomedian tile industry mentioned in the inventory of the Botaneiates *oikos* was, in fact, very much a reality. Tiles from the region of Nicomedia were produced in ca. 1000. This date reflects the rough chronology established through excavated and historical contexts in Constantinopolitan churches where tile finds cluster in the period between the tenth and mid eleventh century.³³ After that period, it would appear, tiles ceased to decorate the interior walls of the city's finest buildings. Their disappearance has been attributed to a number of factors, including changing artistic tastes.³⁴ One compelling explanation, however, for the absence of tiles was the inability of the Nicomedia workshop and allied groups of tile artisans to produce, and indeed, to export works in a period of political and military unrest. For an eyewitness report on conditions in Nicomedia in the late eleventh century we need look no further than the testimony provided by Stephen, Count of Chartres. In 1097, the Count wrote a letter to his sweetest wife Adele from nearby Nicaea, noting: "Ad Nicomediam urbem desolatam a Turcis, in qua beatus martyr Pantaleon pro Christo passus est..."³⁵ The memory of the saint was alive for him. The city was in ruins.

³¹ Boyd (1998) pls. 1, 6.

³² Such a function is suggested by the drilled hole at the top of a ceramic plaque representing the Virgin and Child. The plaque was found in excavations at the Topkapı Sarayı Basilica. See Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) 209 no. XII.1.

³³ A group of tiles found in excavations carried out in the south aisle of St. John Stoudios may be dated to the mid 11th century. Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) 203–5.

³⁴ See the discussion by Marlia Mango in Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) 28–29.

³⁵ *Stephani, comitis carnotensis, ad Adelam, uxorem suam, epistola. scripta ex castris obsidionis nicaenae*, in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, 3 (Paris, 1866) 886.

FIGURAL TILES³⁶

Christ	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.28), Private Collection, England (J.1), <i>London Collection</i> (cat. nos. 1, 19)
Virgin and Child	Topkapı Sarayı Basilica, Istanbul Archaeological Museum (XII.1), Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.1), Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.26), Musée du Louvre, Paris (B.1)
Archangels	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.17, A.18), State Historical Museum, Moscow (F.3), <i>London Collection</i> (cat. nos. 2, 3)
Andrew	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.12)
Arethas	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.22)
Bartholemew	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.8)
Basil	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.23)
Christopher	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.2)
Constantine	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.27)
Elisabeth	State Historical Museum, Moscow (F.4)
George	State Historical Museum, Moscow (F.1), <i>London Collection</i> (cat. nos. 12, 14)
Ignatios Theophoros	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.4)
James	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.21)
John the Baptist	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.7)
John the Theologian	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.10)
Luke	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.13)
Matthew	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.9)
Nicholas	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.19)
Panteleimon	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.3), Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.24), State Historical Museum, Moscow (F.2), <i>London Collection</i> (cat. no. 10)
Paraskeve	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.20)
Paul	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.6)
Peter	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.11)
Theodore	<i>London Collection</i> (cat. no. 11)

³⁶ Numbers in parentheses indicate catalogue numbers in Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001); Tiles from the London Collection are published in Gerstel (2011).

Thomas	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.5)
Unidentified	Topkapı Sarayı Basilica, Istanbul Archaeological
Male saint	Museum (XII.2), Düzce, Istanbul Archaeological Museum (XX.1), Benaki Museum, Athens (D.2), Mallon Collection (I.1), <i>London Collection</i> (cat. nos. 16, 17)
Unidentified	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.25) <i>London</i>
Military Saint	<i>Collection</i> (cat. nos. 13, 15, 20)
Unidentified	<i>London Collection</i> (cat. nos. 8, 9)
Episcopal Saint	
Unidentified	Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (A.14, A.15, A.16),
Apostle	Benaki Museum, Athens (D.1), <i>London Collection</i> (cat. nos. 4, 5, 6, 7)
Unidentified	<i>London Collection</i> (cat. no. 18)
Female Saint	

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Imperiale, C. ed. 1942. *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*. Fonti per la storia d'Italia 89. Rome.
- Miklosich, F. and J. Müller. 1865/1961. *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*. Vol. 3: *Acta et diplomata res graecas italicasque illustrantia*. Repr. Athens.

Secondary Literature

- Anderson, J. 2001. "Tiles, books, and the 'Church like a bride adorned with pearls and gold'." In Gerstel and Lauffenburger 118–41.
- Angold, M., ed. 1984. *The byzantine aristocracy, IX to XIII centuries*. BAR International Series 221. Oxford.
- Bardžieva-Trajkovska, D. 2002–3. "New elements of the painted program in the narthex at Nerezi." *Zograf* 29: 35–46.
- Boyd, S. 1998. "Ex-voto therapy: A note on a copper plaque with St. Hermolaos." In *Aetos: Studies in honour of Cyril Mango presented to him on April 14, 1998*. Ed. I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter, 12–29. Stuttgart.
- Buckler, W., W. M. Calder and W. K. C. Guthrie, eds. 1933. *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua*. Vol. 4 of *Monuments and documents from eastern Asia and western Galatia*. Manchester.
- Budde, L. 1987. *St. Pantaleon von Aphrodisias in Kilikien*. Recklinghausen.
- Chatzidakis, N. 1997. *Hosios Loukas*. Athens.
- Courtois, C. 1951. "Sur un carreau de terre cuite représentant Saint Pantaleon." *Karthago* 3: 209–13.
- Dallegio-d'Alessio, E. 1951. "Le tombeau de Saint Pantéléémon à Nicomédie." *Actes du VIe congrès internationale d'études byzantines*. Vol. 2, 95–100. Paris.
- Demoen, K. 2004. "'John Geometres' Iambic Life of Saint Panteleemon. Text, Genre and Metaphrastic Style". In *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek Patristic and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 137. Ed. B. Janssens, B. Roosen, P. Van Deun, 165–84. Leuven.

- Delehay, H. 1933. *Les origines du culte des martyrs*. Brussels.
- Dufrenne, S. 1966. *L'illustrations des psautiers grecs du moyen-âge*. Paris.
- Eyice, S. 1955. "Remarques sur deux églises byzantines d'Istanbul: Koşa Mustafa Paşa camii et l'église du Yuşa tepesi." *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Διεθνούς βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* 1: 184–95. Athens.
- Firatlı, N. 1959. *İzmit: Tarahi ve Eski Eserleri Rehberi*. Istanbul.
- Foss, C. 1996. *Survey of medieval castles of Anatolia*. Vol. 2: *Nicomedia*. Oxford.
- Gerola, G. 1961. *Τοπογραφικός κατάλογος τῶν τοιχογραφημένων ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Κρήτης*. Trans. K. Lassithiotakes. Heraklion.
- Gerstel, S. and J. Lauffenburger. 2001. *A lost art rediscovered: The architectural ceramics of Byzantium*. University Park, PA.
- Gerstel, S. 2001. "Ceramic icons from medieval Constantinople." In Gerstel and Lauffenburger (2001) 42–65.
- . 2009. "New 'Tiles of Nicomedia' and architectural polychromy in medieval Byzantium." In *ANAΘΕΜΑΤΑ ΕΟΠΤΙΚΑ: Studies in honor of Thomas F. Mathews*. Ed. J. Alchermes, H. C. Evans and T. Thomas, 171–77. Mainz.
- . 2011. "The Nikomedia Workshop: New Evidence on Byzantine Tiles." *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 66/67: 5–53.
- Hild, F. and H. Hellenkemper, eds. 1990. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*. Vol. 5: *Kilikien und Isaurian*. Vienna.
- Janin, R. 1937. "Études de topographie byzantine." *Échos d'Orient* 36: 294–98.
- . 1953. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, La siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*. Paris.
- . 1975. *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*. Vol. 2: *Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galèsios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique*. Paris.
- Kalavrezou, I. 1985. *Byzantine icons in steatite*. Vienna.
- Kleonymos, M. and C. Papadopoulos. 1867. *Βιθυνικά ἢ ἐπίτομος μονογραφία τῆς Βιθυνίας καὶ τῶν πόλεων αὐτῆς*. Constantinople.
- Knipp, D. 2002. "The chapel of physicians at Santa Maria Antiqua." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56: 1–36.
- Koukias, S. 2006. "Εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος με σκηνές τοῦ βίου τοῦ στη μονὴ Σινά." *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Αρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας* 27: 233–43.
- Kracht, H. 1975. *Geschichte der Benediktinerabtei St. Pantaleon in Köln, 965–1250*. Siegburg.
- Lafontaine, J. 1959. *Peintures médiévales dans le temple dit de la Fortune Virile à Rome*. Brussels.
- Latyshev, V. 1911/1970. *Menologii anonymi byzantini saeculi X*. 2 fasc. Fasc. 2: *Fasc. alter menses Junium, Julium, Augustum continens*. Repr. Leipzig.
- Majeska, G. 1984. *Russian travelers to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*. Washington, DC.
- Makris, G. 2009. "Τὸ ἐγκώμιο πρὸς τιμὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος BHG 1418c καὶ ὁ συντάκτης του," in *Realia Byzantina*. Byzantinisches Archiv Bd. 22. Ed. S. Kotzabassi and G. Mavromatis. 103–36. Berlin and New York.
- Mango, C. 1972. *The art of the byzantine empire: 312–1453, Sources and documents*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
- Mason, R. and M. Mundell Mango. 1995. "Glazed 'Tiles of Nicomedia' in Bithynia, Constantinople, and elsewhere." In *Constantinople and its hinterland*. Ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron, 313–31. Aldershot.
- Mesnard, M. 1935. *La Basilique de Saint Chrysogone à Rome*. Rome.
- Öztüre, A. 1969. *Resim—Fotograf—Belgelerle: Nicomedia İzmit Tarihi*. Istanbul.
- Pallas, D. 1955. *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν*. Athens.
- Pelekanides, S. and M. Chatzidakis. 1985. *Καστοριά*. Athens.
- Perrot, G., E. Guillaume and J. Delbet. 1872/1983. *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie d'une partie de la Mysie, de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont*. Vol. 1. Repr. Hildesheim.

- Pogodin, P. and O. Wulff. 1897. "Nikomidiya." *Izvestiya russkago arkheologicheskago instituta v Konstantinopole* 2: 77–184.
- Poutsko, V. 1974. "Saint Pantéléimon. Icône à l'encaustique." *Byzantion* 43: 181–94.
- Quispel, G. and J. Zandee. 1962. "Some coptic fragments from the martyrdom of St. Pantoleon." *Vigiliae Christianae* 16: 42–52.
- Restle, M. 1968. *Byzantine wall painting in Asia Minor*. 3 vols. Vol. 2: *Plates*. Greenwich, CT.
- Sahm, W. 1914. *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*. Vol. 2. Königsberg.
- Ševčenko, N. 1990. *Illustrated manuscripts of the metaphrastian menologion*. Chicago.
- Tomeković, S. 1988. "Les cycles hagiographiques de Sant'Angelo in Formis: Recherche de leur modèles." *Zbornik za liovne umetnosti* 24: 1–22.
- Totev, T. 2001. *The ceramic icon in medieval Bulgaria*. Sofia.
- Verdier, P. 1983. "Tiles of Nicomedia." In *Okeanos: Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his sixtieth birthday by his colleagues and students*. Ed. C. Mango and O. Pritsak. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7: 632–38.
- Weitzmann, K. 1976. *The monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The icons*. Vol. 1: *From the sixth to the tenth century*. Princeton.
- Wharton (Epstein), A. J. 1986. *Tokalı kilise: Tenth-century metropolitan art in byzantine Cappadocia*. Washington, DC.



Fig. 1. London, Private Collection. St. Panteleimon. Source: Sharon Gerstel.



Fig. 2. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum. St. Panteleimon (acc. no. 48.2086.15).
Source: courtesy of the Walters Art Museum.



Fig. 3. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum. St. Panteleimon (acc. no. 48.806.4).
Source: courtesy of the Walters Art Museum.



Fig. 4. Moscow, State Historical Museum. St. Panteleimon (acc. no. 53066).
Source: courtesy of the State Historical Museum.

MICHAEL PSELLOS ON THE ‘USUAL’ MIRACLE AT BLACHERNAE, THE LAW, AND NEOPLATONISM¹

Elizabeth A. Fisher

Michael Psellos the lawyer, the philosopher, and the Byzantine insider presents his multifaceted persona to excellent effect in his lengthy “Oration on the Miracle That Occurred at the Church of the Blachernai.”² The oration includes a vivid and detailed account of the miracle as well as a learned Neoplatonic explication of it. Since the miracle played a crucial role in resolving a remarkable legal case in Psellos’ time, nearly 600 lines of the oration focus primarily upon this case and upon the laws and philosophical principles relevant to it. In fact, Psellos claims that his oration has a double purpose. In closing, he characterizes the Blachernai oration as a panegyric of the Virgin Mary and also as a *hypomnema* or summary of her legal decision (lines 756–57).

Although the ‘usual’ miracle at Blachernai is familiar in the scholarly literature,³ it will be useful to recapitulate Psellos’ version briefly at this point. Every Friday evening, a crowd waited at the closed gate of the Blachernai Church while priests conducted special rituals in the vacated building. When the church reopened, the crowd entered to see the sudden rising of the ornate veil or curtain that hung in front

¹ A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the 34th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, New Brunswick NJ in October 2008; I am grateful to conference participants, particularly Nancy Ševčenko, for their helpful questions and comments. I am also indebted to the participants in our honoree’s Greek reading group at Dumbarton Oaks (2007–8 and 2008–9) for their helpful suggestions on difficult aspects of translating the oration and especially to Denis Sullivan and Stratis Papaioannou.

² The Greek text of the Λόγος ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν Βλαχέρναις γεγονότι θαύματι was published as *Michael Psellus Orationes hagiographicae*, 1994, pp. 200–29 “De miraculo in Blachernais patrato,” ed. Elizabeth A. Fisher © B. G. Teubner Stuttgart und Leipzig 1994 (with kind permission of Springer Science+Business Media). This text will be cited as Psellos, *Or. Blach.*

Translations here are based on this text and drawn from my own translation of the oration forthcoming in *Michael Psellus on Literature and Art*, ed. Charles Barber and Eustratios Papaioannou (Notre Dame University Press).

³ For the most recent discussions of the miracle and for previous bibliography, see Papaioannou (2001); Pentcheva (2006) 145–63; Barber (2007) 80–98.

of the icon of the Virgin “as if,” to quote Psellos, “some breath of air gently moved it” (lines 133–34). Simultaneously, the form of the Virgin changed, becoming animate or ‘ensouled’ (ἔμψυχος line 138). Lest skeptics attempt to offer a physical explanation for this regular phenomenon, Psellos notes that it, unlike an eclipse of the sun or moon, sometimes failed to occur as expected (lines 157–60).

Psellos’ brief account of the miracle compasses a mere thirty-four lines within a 757-line text. His description of the miraculous Blachernai icon has nevertheless drawn close attention from art historians even though, as Charles Barber has observed, the text is “remarkably reticent concerning the specific appearance of this work of art.”⁴ Of the icon, Psellos says only, “the form of the *handmaid of the Lord* (Luke 1, 38) changes simultaneously with what is accomplished, I think, as it receives her animate (ἔμψυχος, ‘ensouled’) visitation, thereby visibly signaling the invisible.”⁵ After comparing this phenomenon to the rending of the Temple veil at the Crucifixion (Matt. 27, 51 = Mark 15, 38 = Luke 23, 45), Psellos adds,

The holy drapery raises itself for the Mother of God in an ineffable fashion so that she may embrace within herself the crowd that enters as if within some new inner sanctum and refuge that cannot be violated.⁶

Recent scholarship has interpreted the miraculous action of the animate or ‘ensouled’ icon as an overt change in its appearance. Papaioannou and Pentcheva suggest that the Theotokos moved, opening her arms to embrace the viewers, while for Barber the text implies a change in the color of the icon, because Psellos the Neoplatonist believed that the icon must change when ‘ensouled’ by the visitation of its holy subject.⁷

⁴ Barber (2007) 85.

⁵ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 136–39, ed. Fisher (1994): συνεξαλλάσσεται δὲ τῷ τελουμένῳ καὶ ἡ μορφή τῆς θεόπαιδος, οἶμαι, δεχομένη τὴν ἔμψυχον ἐπιδημίαν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἀφανὲς τῷ φαινόμενῳ ἐπισημαίνουσα. I have adopted the Greek texts quoted in this paper from the on-line *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG).

⁶ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 143–46, ed. Fisher (1994): ἀνέλη τὸ διατείχισμα τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἡμῶν οἰκειώσεως· τῇ δὲ γε θεομήτορι ὁ ἱερὸς πέπλος ἀπορρήτως ἐξαίρεται, ἵν’ ἔνδον ἑαυτῆς τὸ εἰσιὼν πλήθος κατακολπίσῃται ὥσπερ ἐν καινῷ τινι ἀδύτῳ καὶ ἀσύλῳ καταφυγῇ. I have benefited from other translations of this important passage. See Grumel (1931) 136–37; Belting (1994) 511–12; Papaioannou (2001) 184–86; Pentcheva (2000) 46–47; Barber (2007) 80–89.

⁷ Papaioannou (2001) 185–88; Pentcheva (2006) 151–55; Barber (2007) 85–86.

Although Psellos alone among Byzantine authors describes details of the 'usual' miracle at Blachernai, a Westerner who spent some time in Constantinople during the last quarter of the eleventh century provides an equally extensive account of the miracle that adds some useful details to our understanding of it.⁸ This Latin narrative is anonymous in the single 12th-century manuscript preserving it (*Tarragonensis* 55, f. 50^r–58^v) and lacks its opening and closing sections; nevertheless, four hundred lines of the original survive to preserve the account of a northern European visitor in Constantinople whom we may call 'Anonymous Tarragonensis,' or for convenience, 'AT.' AT addresses an unknown recipient who apparently shares his interest in the material and spiritual wealth of the city, for AT concentrates upon the richly embellished churches, the relics, and the icons in Constantinople. He notes in particular miracles associated with various relics and with icons of the Virgin. Of these, the Church of Blachernai ("Ulachernas," line 96) and its 'usual' miracle is the first to attract his attention (lines 97–134). AT self-consciously claims accuracy for his account:

And although [the miracle] is described in various ways by many [others], I have observed it as an eyewitness not once but on many occasions; I will be careful to give my account in accordance with the truth, adding no detail false in any respect.⁹

AT gives us details omitted by Psellos, who may have assumed that his Byzantine audience knew the 'usual' miracle and its setting very well. The composite picture assembled from these two accounts enables us to visualize the settlement of the legal case involving the 'usual' miracle that provided the occasion for Psellos' oration. Psellos describes the location of the icon and its miracle in general terms, while AT is much more specific. Psellos says,

Her icon hangs nicely fitted on the right of the church as one enters facing east... The area near her is another sanctuary, where all the <things> prescribed for celebrants and celebrations are reverently dedicated to her—all sorts of hymns, prayers of propitiation, offerings appropriate to a sacred place.¹⁰

⁸ Ciggaar (1995).

⁹ AT 121.107–9, ed. Ciggaar (1995): Et quum [gloriosum miraculum] varie a multis narratur, ego sicut oculis illud vidi non semel sed vicibus multis, per veritatem referre curabo nichil apponens falsitatis in aliquo.

¹⁰ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 112–13, 117–20, ed. Fisher (1994): Εἰκὼν τις αὐτῇ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ νεῶ τοῖς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς εἰσιούσιν ἐκκρέμαται τε ἅμα καὶ ἐνήρμοστα ἀκριβῶς... καὶ

AT offers a fuller account that clarifies what Psellos says:

Adjoining this basilical church is another church, a small rotunda, also in marble; each is joined to the other in such a way that you can pass readily from one into the other. In this small [church] is the holy and venerable golden icon of the Mother of God, who carries the son she blessedly bore.¹¹

From AT we learn that the miraculous icon occupied a small rotunda connected to the main sanctuary of the Church of Blachernai but separate from it and thus removed from the regular activities of the church (lines 103–6). AT adds that the icon's veil ("pallium") covered only the lower part of the figure so that the head, arms and upper body of the Virgin were always visible (lines 109–13), and that the sounding of the *semandron*, hymns, prayers, and censuring of the altar and icon preceded the miraculous elevation of the veil (lines 119–34). A second Latin account also contemporary with Psellos' and preserved in *Paris lat.* 2628 adds that the veil remained elevated from Friday evening until the ninth hour on Saturday.¹²

AT mentions that the miracle occurred in an extremely hot and crowded space (lines 128–29), but neither his account nor that of the other western visitor notes any change in the actual appearance of the icon that coincided with the rising of the veil. Because the rituals that surrounded the miracle normally included the censuring of the altar and of the icon, observers apparently viewed the miraculous event through a haze of smoke. Psellos and his anonymous Latin contemporary unanimously report that the elaborate veil in front of the icon rose; only Psellos, however, mentions any further movement or change in the icon itself. Perhaps the clouds of incense concealed the change from all but the closest observers—or perhaps, as Barber suggests, Psellos (and

ἔστιν ἕτερον τὸ κατ' ἐκείνην μέρος θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ἐπιθειάζεται αὐτῇ ὅσα τοῖς τελοῦσι καὶ τελουμένοις νενόμισται· ὕμνοι παντοδαποί, εὐχαὶ ἱλαστήριοι, θύματα ἱεροπρεπῆ.

¹¹ AT 121.103–6, ed. Ciggaar (1995): Iuxta hanc basilicam est alia parva ecclesia rotunda et ipsa marmorea ita utreque ad invicem sic coniuncte ut de una mox transeas in aliam. In hac parva est Dei genitricis sancta et venerabilis ycona aurea, gestantis filium quem benedicta genuit.

¹² Details of this second account are consistent with AT's narrative; the Paris text is the source used for the anonymous *Liber virginalis* preserved in a 13th-century manuscript. Narratives by two late twelfth-century authors, Jean Belet and the Russian pilgrim Anthony of Novgorod (source for the *Chronicle of Novgorod*), provide no new information on the 'usual' miracle. For texts and discussion, see Grumel (1931) 141–42.

only Psellos) saw a change in the icon because Psellos' Neoplatonic understanding of a supernatural intervention required that some perceptible transformation in the icon occur.

As described by Psellos, the case settled by the miraculous icon of Blachernai was mundane in its origin (lines 166–79). Two prominent and powerful claimants went to court over ownership of a water mill in Thrace; the litigants were the noble general Leo Mandalos and the monks of the wealthy monastery Tou Kalliou in Constantinople. The two parties carried their increasingly bitter dispute before a series of courts, obtaining contradictory verdicts on the basis of supporting documents and arguments each offered and, Psellos adds, because each occasionally attempted to bribe the judges (lines 184–86). The situation reached an impasse when the chief judge in Thrace, Gabriel Tzirithon, declared that the general and the monastery were each half owners of the mill. The general promptly rejected both the judge's decision and the official court memorandum or *hypomnema* (lines 204–5). After angry and protracted wrangling, the two parties agreed to submit to the decision of a special court under a special judge, as allowed by civil law (lines 210–13). In this case, however, the special judge would be the Virgin Mary. According to their agreement, she would decide the case through her usual miracle at Blachernai, but at a time when it did not usually occur. The parties agreed that they would assemble in the church at dawn, present their supporting documents before the icon, and that they, to quote Psellos,

...would make this a kind of court that was innovative and reflected the judgment of God, then summon the Virgin in the icon and cry out in misery <for her> to judge their case with justice and to make a decision by means of the drapery; that if it remained unmoved, the monks would claim victory in the case, but if it was moved, the general would claim the <spoils> of victory.¹³

Although Psellos speculates that the monks may have manipulated the allocation of signs to favor themselves (lines 223–24), he does not say why the general accepted the alternative that was apparently less likely to occur. Nevertheless, the two parties followed this scenario exactly,

¹³ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 228–33, ed. Fisher (1994): τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ποιῆσαι καινὸν δικαστήριον καὶ θεόκριτον, εἴτ' ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι παρθένον καὶ θρηνώδες ἀναβοῆσασθαι δικάσαι αὐτοῖς τὴν δίκην καὶ τῷ πέπλῳ τεμεῖν καί, εἰ μὲν ἀκίνητον τοῦτο μείναι, τὸ κράτος τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἔχειν τοὺς μοναχοὺς, εἰ δὲ κινηθεῖ, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὰ νικητήρια λήψεσθαι.

then waited in front of the icon—and waited, while the icon’s curtain remained firmly in place. Finally, the monks noisily claimed victory, and the general surrendered to them the documents supporting his claim on the mill. At that very moment, the curtain in front of the icon rose, and victory belonged to the joyful general (lines 221–71)! The monks attempted to protest his victory, but in vain. After rehearsing and rejecting their arguments (lines 272–305), Psellos suggests that this case might provide a precedent and pattern for divine resolution of deadlocked legal disputes, saying

Who could know if this might be a pattern for future innovations, and, should human courts come to a standstill after encountering disputed matters and failing repeatedly in their purpose, the Virgin would also decide complex investigations by easily managing <judicial> inquiries as well as announcements of verdicts. Thus would our life be without disputes, and a person would be least likely to devote himself to intentional wrongdoing if he faces immediate conviction by divine symbols.¹⁴

The general received documentation of his victory from Psellos himself, who concludes his oration by noting that it is an official record of the case, given to the general in July, 1075,

These <documents> have been signed and sealed in regard both to spiritual and at the same time to civil <considerations>. They have been delivered to the general who prevailed in the case thanks to the Mother of God. <This took place> in the month of July in the thirteenth indication year, when the miracle happened to be performed and made known during the reign of his Excellency Michael Doukas. By him the honorable monk Michael was urged to write an oration that <belongs to the category> of an official memorandum and simultaneously of a panegyric type, when the year 6583 (i.e., 1075 CE) was already waning.¹⁵

¹⁴ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 348–55, ed. Fisher (1994): τίς δ’ ἂν εἰδείη εἰ καὶ μελλουσῶν καινοτομιῶν τοῦτο παράδειγμα, καὶ σταίη τὰ ἀνθρωπικὰ δικαστήρια ἐπ’ ἀμφιβόλοις βάλλοντα πράγμασι καὶ πολλάκις ἀποτυγχάνοντα τοῦ σκοποῦ, καὶ διαίροίτο ἡ παρθένος τὰ συμπεπλεγμένα ζητήματα, τὰς γνώσεις καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις ὁμοῦ σχεδιάζουσα; οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὁ βίος ἡμῖν ἀστασίαστος εἴη, καὶ ἥκιστα ἂν τις ἐπιβάλοι τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν, αὐτίκα τοῖς θεοῖς συμβόλοις ἐλεγχθισόμενος.

¹⁵ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 750–57, ed. Fisher (1994): Ταῦτα γραφέντα πνευματικῶς ὁμοῦ καὶ πολιτικῶς ὑπογέγραπται καὶ ἐσφράγισται καὶ τῷ θεομητρόθεν τῆς δίκης κρατήσαντι στρατηγῷ ἐπιδέδοται εἰς μῆνα ἰούλιον ἰγ’ ἰνδικτίωνος, ὀπηνίκα καὶ τὸ συμβάν θαῦμα τετέλεσται καὶ κεκήρυκται, τοῦ βασιλεύοντος τηνικαῦτα κύρ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Δούκα ἐμοὶ τῷ μοναχῷ Μιχαὴλ τῷ ὑπερτίμῳ τὴν γραφὴν ἐπιτρέψαντος, ὑπομνήματος ὁμοῦ νομικοῦ καὶ πανηγυρικοῦ εἶδους λόγον ἔχουσαν, ἔτους ἥδη διαρρέοντος, ,ςφπγ’.

Did Psellos in fact compose this oration at the behest of Michael VII Doukas (1071–78)? Or, as some scholars have implied, did Psellos present as an official legal memorandum what was really a rhetorical display designed to magnify his own persona?¹⁶ Although Psellos was never loathe to create opportunities for self-advertisement, in the case of the oration on the 'usual' miracle at Blachernai, I think that he is describing the actual circumstance of its composition.

In the course of the oration, Psellos mentions frequent and intense conversations he had with Michael VII Doukas about the miracle at Blachernai and the legal case it resolved. As Psellos claims,

For this divinely inspired man would take fire from the flames of my <intelligence> to a greater extent than I myself could ignite <him>. As a result, I assure you, he too became all but an eyewitness of the miracle that took place <in Blachernai> and prompted many discussions about the quite divine <events>; he both marveled at their fulfillment and elaborated upon it in discourses that he did not write down. He then encouraged me <to provide> a more complete explanation in reverent language, as if assigning to some Pericles the more authoritative public speech. Now Pericles was pressed to compose his speech for the virgin <goddess Athena> three days before delivering it in public,¹⁷ while I pronounced mine by improvising it on the spot.¹⁸

It is indeed plausible that the Emperor heard reports of a protracted legal case in Constantinople between two prominent litigants and wondered at the extraordinary means used to settle it. More than intellectual curiosity, however, may have motivated Michael's interest in the case. It is possible that the Emperor had received or had reason to expect a judicial appeal of the decision reached at the Church of the Blachernai, for under the Byzantine legal code "The Emperor's

¹⁶ As suggested by Papaioannou (2001) 183 and implied by Barber (2007) 80.

¹⁷ Psellos somewhat inaccurately recalls Thucydides' famous account of Pericles' Funeral Oration, which was delivered at the state commemoration of war dead celebrated by Athens, city of the virgin goddess Athena (cf. Thuc. 2.34.1 and 6). I am grateful to Stratis Papaioannou for recognizing this reference to Pericles.

¹⁸ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 471–81, ed. Fisher (1994): μάλλον γὰρ ὁ θεῖος οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἐξάπτοιο τοῖς ἡμετέροις πυρσοῖς ἢ ἐγὼ δυνάμην τοῦτον ὑφάψασθαι. ἐνθεν τοι καὶ τοῦ γεγονότος θαύματος μόνον οὐκ αὐτόπτης γενόμενος καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνακινήσας περὶ τῶν θειοτέρων λογισμούς, ἐθαύμασέ τε τὸ τελεσθὲν καὶ τοῖς ἀγράφοις λόγοις ἐκόσμησεν· ἔπειτα δὴ κάμοι τὴν τελεωτέραν ἐπεκδιήγησίν τε καὶ εὐφημίαν παρακελεύεται, ὥσπερ τινὶ Περικλεῖ τὴν κρείττονα δημηγορίαν προσεταχώς. ἀλλ' ὁ μέντοι πρότρίτα τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τοῦ παρθενικοῦ λόγου τὴν συνθήκην προτρέπειται, ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα σχεδιάσας ἀπήγγειλα.

decision is law.”¹⁹ That Michael should need expert guidance through the complexities of this particular case is very likely. In the *Chronographia*, Psellos describes the limited understanding of the law possessed by the young Emperor, his former student:

Not having made a special study of legal matters, he takes a broad view of their interpretation, and passes judgment rather in accordance with the spirit than with the letter of the law.²⁰

Psellos devotes four hundred lines of his oration (lines 330–733) to defending and justifying the procedures followed in this case, which he considers without precedent: “For through all past history it has never happened in this way, neither based upon such agreements [between parties] nor regarding such decisions.”²¹

Psellos begins to discuss the philosophical and legal principles operative in this case by addressing the premise that allowed the litigants to designate the miracle at Blachernai as decisive; in effect they agreed that the Theotokos would make a decision based upon her divine insight and express it by moving or failing to move a physical object—i.e., the veil in front of her icon. To support their premise and therefore the validity of the judicial decision reached at the Church of the Blachernai, Psellos cites both Scriptural and pagan precedents demonstrating that divine intelligence has acted visibly in the physical world (lines 335–55). He notes that God stopped the sun and the moon over Gibeon (Josh. 1, 1–2 and 10, 12–13), caused an eclipse during the Crucifixion (Lk. 23, 44), and reversed the course of the sun (Is. 38, 5–8). Psellos then describes pagan oracular responses that were accurate although ambiguous (lines 336–64)—e.g., the Delphic oracle’s injunction to the Athenians to “seek the wooden wall” (Hdt. 7. 140–44) and Apollo’s warning that Croesus would destroy a great empire by going to war (Hdt. 1. 53–55, 90–91). Although Psellos does not deny the efficacy of such pagan oracles, he protests that their prophecies

¹⁹ Ὅπερ ἄρ᾽ ἐσι τῷ βασιλεῖ νόμος ἐστίν... (*Basilica* 2.6.2), reflecting Justinian’s *Digest* 1.4.1 *Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem* (“The decision of the Emperor has the force of law”). I am grateful to George Sheets for an illuminating discussion of this aspect of Justinian’s legislation.

²⁰ Psellos, *Chron.* 2:175.6.6–8, ed. Renauld (1967): Νόμοις μὲν τὰ πολλὰ μὴ ἐμμελετήσας, ἐς δὲ τὴν δίκαιαν ἀθρόους τούτους καταριθμούμενος, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν δέλτων, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν στέρνων. Translation after Sewter (1953) 370.

²¹ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 330–32, ed. Fisher (1994): οὐπω γὰρ ἐγεγόνει τὸν παρεληλυθότα ὅλον καιρὸν οὕτως οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις συνθήμασιν οὐδ’ ἐπὶ τοιαύταις αἰρέσεσιν.

were unclear and confusing to the recipients because they derived from inferior spirits of the Neoplatonic hierarchy, spirits of the sort that were "quite closely attached to the material world and wandered in the realm of things that will happen in the future."²² Warming to his subject, Psellos describes additional pagan processes used to determine divine guidance by interpreting oracular statues, the behavior of animals and birds, and the movements of the stars (lines 393–458); among manifestations of such guidance was the *daemon* of Socrates (Plato *Apol.* 31d 2–4). Psellos notes that explaining the nature of this famous *daemon* would take him into dangerous subject matter:

Whatever might this <daemon> be? Was it some echo that cast back <what a person already intended to do>? Or was it some apparition? According to the <system> of <occult> interpretation that we cannot mention, <this> would be the daemon that is assigned to him and watches nearby, which Plato calls the pilot of the mind.²³

The "<system> of <occult> interpretation that we cannot mention" is Neoplatonism. Psellos demonstrates his familiarity with the famous Neoplatonist Proklos by applying Plato's metaphor of "the mind, sole pilot of the soul," (Plato, *Phaedr.* 247c 7) to Socrates' daemon as Proklos does.²⁴ Perhaps to demonstrate his respect for Biblical as well as pagan literature, Psellos cites instances in the Hebrew Scriptures where consultants interpreted changes in the oracular stones of the Ephod (Num. 27, 21) and in the Ark of the Covenant (Exod. 25, 21–22) as visible expressions of God's guidance. "Even these," asserts Psellos, "are of lesser significance than the manifestations and overshadowings of the Mother of God."²⁵ The miracle at Blachernai is superior to

²² Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 391–92, ed. Fisher (1994): τὸ ἐφεστηκὸς πνεῦμα προσυλότερον ὃν πεπλάνηται περὶ τὸ μέλλον πραχθήσεσθαι. For the place of these lower divine spirits in the Neoplatonic system, see the lucid explication provided by Majercik (1989) 1–46, esp. 8–11.

²³ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 404–8, ed. Fisher (1994): ὅ τί ποτε τοῦτο εἴη, εἴτε ἡχώ τις κατόπιν βάλλουσα, εἴτε εἰκασμὰ τι ὁρώμενον· εἴη δ' ἂν κατὰ τὰς ἀρρήτους τῶν ἐξηγήσεων ὁ εἰληχῶς αὐτὸν δαίμων καὶ ὑπερκαθήμενος προσεχῶς, ὃν Πλάτων κυβερνήτην ὀνομάζει τοῦ νοῦ.

²⁴ Proklos explains, "Wherefore Plato calls the mind the 'pilot of the soul' (for he says "visible only to reason, the soul's pilot"), and <calls> the daimon of men a 'ruler' and 'guardian'." (Proklos, *In Alc. I.*, 77. 9–11, ed. Westerink [1954]: διὸ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων τὸν μὲν νοῦν 'ψυχῆς κυβερνήτην' ἀποκαλεῖ ['ψυχῆς' γὰρ φησι 'κυβερνήτη μόνῳ θεατῇ <νῶ>'], τὸν δὲ δαίμονα ἀνθρώπων 'ἔφορον' καὶ 'ἐπίτροπον').

²⁵ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 425–26, ed. Fisher (1994): καὶ ταῦτα ἦττω τῶν τῆς θεοτόκου ἐμφανειῶν καὶ ἐπισκιάσεων.

both pagan and Biblical parallels because it was an unambiguous and completely authoritative expression of divine guidance; the Theotokos “predicts future events because she is closely attached to God in immediate <bonds of> unity, and from that source she draws the truth and power of her pronouncements.”²⁶

Having sufficiently established that the miracle at Blachernai is a valid means of determining the opinion of the Theotokos, Psellos turns to the legal problem posed by designating her as judge in a case under litigation, citing in great detail the relevant sections of the *Basilics*. A keen student of the law and former provincial judge, Psellos was well qualified to instruct the Emperor regarding this case, for he taught law in Constantinople and composed numerous forensic orations.²⁷ He devotes nearly 150 lines of text (lines 495–637) to citing specific laws and to explaining the application of each law to the case decided at Blachernai.

Surprisingly, Psellos prefaces his discussion of law with an assertion that achieving justice in this case was beyond the competence of regular laws and courts:

The investigation <of a disagreement> is <characteristic> of civil subject matter for the laws and the courts, but the means of achieving a just resolution <in the present case> is different, beyond everyday laws and in truth transcending them by means of the supernatural.²⁸

In effect, he states that the legal case was not in reality a legal case, but an intervention of the supernatural in a circumstance where human resources had failed. Psellos may be addressing the potential of the theological protest that orthodox doctrine prohibited an icon from resolving a legal case. A strict construction of the Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicaea II, 787 CE) might proscribe the use of an icon to render a legal decision; the Acts contrast orthodox Christian doctrine regarding veneration of Christ with heretical beliefs and practices regarding created things like icons:

²⁶ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 462–64, ed. Fisher (1994): προαναφωνεῖ τὰ ἐσόμενα, θεῷ δὲ ἀμέσους προσηρμοσμένα ἐνώσεσιν, ἐκεῖθεν ἔλκει τῶν λεγομένων καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν.

²⁷ Dennis (1994) 189–94.

²⁸ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 485–88, ed. Fisher (1994): τὸ ζήτημα τῆς πολιτικῆς ὕλης ἐστὶ περὶ ἥν νόμοι καὶ δικαστήρια, ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς λύσεως καὶ τῆς δικαιώσεως ἕτερος παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ νόμιμα, ὑπερφυῆς μέντοι γε καὶ ὑπεραναβεβηκῶς ταῦτα.

As for the icons, Christians do not call them 'gods,' nor do they worship them as gods, nor do they entrust the hope of their salvation to them, nor do they expect judgment to come from them.²⁹

The closing statement prohibits innovations regarding the traditions of the Church, excommunicating anyone guilty "...of violating the traditions of the Church and inventing some sort of novelty" ...³⁰ Ever the adept rhetorician, Psellos has escaped heterodoxy by establishing that it was the Virgin herself through her miracle and not her icon who decided the dispute between the general and the monks. Psellos then considers the laws which permitted the litigants to designate the Virgin as a special judge or αἰρετὸς δικαστής.

Laws pertaining to the powers of a special judge are particularly important for Psellos to explain to the Emperor because their provisions could provide a basis for the monks to appeal the decision reached at Blachernai. In order to anticipate such an appeal, Psellos quotes the texts that validate the proceedings of a court under a special judge and that define the category of αἰρετὸς δικαστής:

The special court is like a competent court and its <powers> extend to reaching judgments <in a case> (Basilica 7.2.1),³¹ and further, A special judge is one who has received an assignment as judge (Basilica 7.2.13.2 line 7).³²

Under Byzantine law a 'competent court' functioned under one of at least seven magistrates with jurisdiction over the defendant's place of residence or over the legal category of the litigants: members of the clergy, of guilds, or the military, and senators.³³ These competent or 'great' (μεγάλοι) judges were often appointed to their magistracies because of their connections to the emperor rather than because of

²⁹ Mansi (1901–27) 13:225A.2–6 τὰς τοίνυν σεπτὰς εἰκόνας οἱ Χριστιανοὶ οὔτε θεοὺς ὀνόμασαν, οὔτε ὡς θεοὺς ἐλάτρευσαν, οὔτε τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν, ἐν αὐταῖς ἔσχον οὔτε παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκδέχονται τὴν μέλλουσιν κρίσιν... Translation by Sahas (1986) 64.

³⁰ Mansi (1901–27) 13:380B 1–3, 12–13: Τοὺς οὖν τολῶντας... τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς παραδόσεις ἀθετεῖν, καὶ καινοτομίαν τινὰ ἐπινοεῖν... προστάσσομεν μωλίζοντας δὲ ἢ λαϊκοὺς τῆς κοινωνίας ἀφορίζεσθαι. Translation by Sahas (1986) 180.

³¹ Psellos slightly misquotes the text of the law, substituting the adjective προσφῶρ ("fitting, suitable") for κυρίῳ ("competent").

³² Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 498–500, ed. Fisher (1994): 'τὸ αἰρετὸν δικαστήριον ἔοικε προσφῶρ δικαστηρίῳ καὶ ἀνήκει πρὸς τὸ περατοῦσθαι τὰς δίκας,' καὶ αὖθις 'αἰρετὸς δικαστής ἐστιν ὁ δικαστοῦ τάξιν ἀναδεξάμενος.'

³³ For Byzantine courts and judges, see Macrides (1994) 117–29.

their legal expertise, which was provided by their own assistants, the ‘coadjutors’ (σύμπονοι). Temporary jurisdiction over a particular case could be assigned by the competent judge to one of these assistants or to a ‘special judge’ (αἰρετὸς δικαστής) selected by agreement between the parties in a case like the one settled at Blachernai. Decisions by a special judge were regulated under two additional laws quoted by Psellos:

*Whether just or unjust, the sentence of the special <judge> must stand (Basilica 7.2.27.2) and yet more surprising, that Even should someone serving anywhere at all in the capacity of a special judge be mistaken in casting his vote, he does not correct it; for once he has cast his vote, he ceases to be a judge (Basilica 7.2.20 lines 1–2).*³⁴

This last citation, which Psellos himself labels “yet more surprising,” is relevant to the question of exactly when the Virgin cast her vote and thus ceased to be a special judge empowered to decide the case.

Psellos recorded earlier in his oration the monks’ objection to the interpretation of the miracle that decided the case. Let us return to the aftermath of the decision at Blachernai, when Psellos noted the particulars of the monks’ protest and emphatically denied its merits. The monks claimed that the case should have been resolved in their favor

because the drapery did not move quickly nor did the symbol of its divine possession occur simultaneously with the <general’s> prayer, but <rather> when the general gave over the written judgments in the matter under dispute. This <objection> is insufficient to require a counter argument. For the <two> adversaries did not make an agreement that the movement of the drapery should occur immediately or after a <definite> time.³⁵

Under the agreement between litigants that legally established the Virgin as a special judge, time was not a factor, although Psellos conceded that in practical terms it needed to be taken into account.

³⁴ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 501–5, ed. Fisher (1994): ‘εἴτε δικαία εἴτε ἄδικός ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ αἰρετοῦ ψήφος, ἐμμένειν αὐτῇ δεῖ,’ καὶ τό γε θαυμασιώτερον ὅτι ‘κὼν πλανηθῇ τις ἐν τῷ ψηφίζεσθαι δικάζων που πάντως ὡς αἰρετός, οὐ διορθοῦται· ψηφισάμενος γὰρ πέπαυται εἶναι δικαστής.’

³⁵ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 272–75, 277–79, ed. Fisher (1994): “Ἐνιοι γὰρ τῶν ἀντιθέτων, ὅτι μὴ ταχὺ ὁ πέπλος κεκίνηται μηδὲ τὸ τῆς θεοφορίας σύμβολον ἅμα τῇ εὐχῇ ἐγεγόνει, ἀλλ’ ὀπνῆκα τοῦ ἀμφιβόλου ἔγγραφα δίκαια ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀπεδίδου... τοῦτο δὲ ἔλαττον ἢ δεῖσθαι ἀντιλογίας· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτίκα ἢ μετὰ χρόνον τὴν τοῦ πέπλου γεγενῆσθαι κίνησιν συνέθεντο οἱ ἀντικρινόμενοι.

Since she decided to delay the movement for a short time, and those who were contending with one another as parties in the case were still standing in the holy precinct, and the divine decree coincided with the <general's> distribution of his documents, and the Virgin in making her decision announced her verdict in a quite innovative manner, what reason is there to oppose it?³⁶

Although Psellos chose to separate his discussion of law from the dramatic denouement of the case, in justifying the general's victory over the monks he gives exceptional prominence to the legal provisions concerning special judges. Under the terms of *Basilica* 7.2.20, the Virgin had not in fact cast her vote when the monks prematurely claimed victory and had not therefore ceased to be a judge; under the terms of the two parties' agreement, the general certainly won the case. Lest skeptics contend that resolving a legal case by means of a miracle was no more reasonable than entrusting the decision to a trivial event like the outcome of a backgammon game or the movements of birds (lines 520–24), Psellos returns to the crucial agreement between the two parties that set the terms under which the Virgin served as special judge: "...she resolved the inquiry by means of a novel symbolic <action> that was agreed upon by the contending parties."³⁷

Might those protesting the judgment reached at Blachernai demand that it be re-examined in the light of new evidence? Psellos acknowledges that the law does provide for this: "The law says, when *good cause* is established and new documents *have been discovered*, even the *oath* sworn before the court can be examined in a new trial."³⁸ Conceding that civil judges might make errors in judging a case, Psellos asserts that the Virgin can reveal only the truth, even if the process of revelation

³⁶ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 290–96, ed. Fisher (1994): ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς βραχύν τινα καιρὸν ἡ ὑπέρθεσις τῆς κινήσεως ὄριστο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐδάφους ἔτι ἐστήκεσαν αὐτοὶ τε οἱ ἀμφισβητοῦντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ οἱ παρατυχόντες τῷ πράγματι, καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἀναδόσει τῶν δικαιωμάτων ἡ θεία ψήφος ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἡ κρίνασα παρθένος τὴν ἀπόφασιν καινότερον τρόπον ἐξήνεγκε, τίς ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀντιθέσεως;

³⁷ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 549–51, ed. Fisher (1994): καινῶ συμβόλῳ καὶ ᾧ συνέθεντο οἱ δικαζόμενοι διαλυσσάμενη τὸ ζήτημα.

³⁸ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 564–66, ed. Fisher (1994): μεγάλης, φησὶν, ὑποκειμένης ὁ νόμος, αἰτίας καὶ καινῶν εὑρεθέντων δικαιωμάτων, καὶ ὁ ἔνδικος ὅρκος ἀναψηλαφᾶσθαι δύναται. Psellos paraphrases *Basilica* 22.6.4.2–3: "Only the judge can invite an oath before the court, and it is in <the judge's power> to move <the oath> and to fix the amount of the claim. *He* is also *able* even after the oath <has been taken> to lessen <the fine on> the defendant wholly or in part for *good cause* or if new evidence *has later been discovered*."

seems extraordinary. Any sort of appeal is impossible, for “who in the world would dare provide a different [verdict]?”³⁹

To further justify the legality of the process used in settling the case at Blachernai, Psellos cites the *condicio ex lege* (“action according to statute”) as a parallel. He observes,

But if someone should not be altogether able to refer to a law the procedure undertaken in this situation, <it would be> nothing new, since one would not even move the *condictio ex lege* with reference to an action limited <to a particular law>. “For this <*condictio ex lege*> is applicable when legislation introduces a new <sort of> liability and claim without expressly stating by what action it is to be moved.”⁴⁰

Psellos finds an additional legal parallel in the law that expedites ambiguous situations where the parties award plaintiff’s rights in a novel way:

If the opposing parties should agree with one another regarding the right to speak first in the action, <that is, regarding> who first enters the court (for both could not be plaintiff with equal rights <to speak first>), and <if> they should assign this <role>, to which they have a common right, by some symbol or in some other manner, and if someone should obtain this by lot, would he not himself be first to bring his accusation, even though this <role> is not assigned to him by law?⁴¹

Before concluding his oration, Psellos returns to the story of the monks and the general. After the dramatic scene at Blachernai, the general received both official and supernatural confirmation of the verdict in his favor. To quote Psellos,

The *protoproedros* John of the Xeros family, who received from the Emperor the first position of the service in his ranking as a judge,

³⁹ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 576–77, ed. Fisher (1994): τίς ἂν τῶν πάντων...ἢ ἄλλο τι κρίνειν τολμήσειεν.

⁴⁰ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 578–83, ed. Fisher (1994): Εἰ δὲ μή, εἰς νόμον τις ἀναγαγεῖν ἔχοι πάντῃ ἐνταῦθα τὸ πεπραγμένον, καὶνὸν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν ἐξ λέγε κονδικτικίον οὐκ ἂν τις εἰς ὠρισμένην ἐκβιβάσειεν ἀγωγὴν· ἀρμόζει γὰρ οὗτος ἡνίκα ὁ νόμος καὶνὴν μὲν ἐνοχὴν εἰσάγει καὶ ἀπαίτησιν, μὴ ῥητῶς δὲ ἐπάγει διὰ ποίας ἀγωγῆς ἐκβιβάζεται. Psellos quotes here his own essay, “Concerning the Disposition of Actions” (Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγωγῶν διαιρέσεως in Weiss [1973] 288–91; quotation from lines 102–4).

⁴¹ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 596–602, ed. Fisher (1994): εἰ ἐπὶ τῇ πρωτολογίᾳ τῆς ἀγωγῆς ξύνθοιντο ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἀντικείμενοι τίς ἄρα πρότερος εἰσέλθοι τὸ δικαστήριον (οὐ γὰρ δύναιντο ἀμφοτέροι ἐπίσης κατηγορεῖν), καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κοινὸν λάχοιεν ἢ ἀπὸ συμβόλου τινὸς ἢ ἀφ’ ἐτέρου τρόπου, ἂρ’ οὐκ ἂν, εἴ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ λαχοῦ τὸ πρῶτως εἰπεῖν πορίσαιτο, οὐκ αὐτὸς πρῶτος κατηγορήσειε;

awarded to <the general> the legal documents. Thus <the judgment> was awarded to him both by the authority of the Virgin and by the power of the Emperor.⁴²

Bearing the document from John Xeros in his hands, the general returned to the Virgin's miraculous icon at the Church of the Blachernai to render thanks. As he prostrated himself in gratitude before her icon, he received supernatural approval of John Xeros' official action. Psellos marvels,

She then, who miraculously decided the case, <even> more miraculously seals anew her verdict. And <what was> the seal? Yet again the covering of her icon is raised, and the holy veil is lifted up.⁴³

Psellos does not explain how he learned of this second miracle, which occurred in the chapel reserved for the miraculous icon, separate from the normal activities of the church and outside the time when a large crowd awaited the 'usual' miracle. Did others, even Psellos himself, happen to witness this second miracle? Did Psellos learn of the second miracle from the general? Was it an invention of Psellos or the general, convinced that the miracle happened because it should have happened? Psellos does not bother to assign a source for the story, but rather turns to explaining the Neoplatonic principles behind such a singular event (lines 660–716).

For Psellos the philosopher, Neoplatonic doctrine operates inevitably, regardless of time or location. To illustrate its ubiquity Psellos describes phenomena noted in pagan antiquity that, like the miraculous icon of Blachernai, respond to the presence of a divine being. He mentions images and statues that perspired unaccountably as well as handprints and footprints that mysteriously appear and sounds of unknown origin.⁴⁴ He then concedes,

⁴² Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 643–47, ed. Fisher (1994): ἐκράτησε μὲν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ νόμῳ καὶ θαύματι, καὶ πρωτοπρόεδρος Ἰωάννης, ὁ κατὰ τοὺς Ξηροῦς, τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ διακονίας παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λαβὼν, ἀποδεδώκει τούτῳ τὰ ἔγγραφα δίκαια, οὕτῳ προστεταγμένον αὐτῷ παρὰ τε τῆς παρθενικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἰσχύος.

⁴³ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 652–56, ed. Fisher (1994): ἡ δὲ θαυμασίως τῷ πράγματι διαιτήσασα θαυμασιώτερον αὐθις τὴν ψῆφον ἐπισφραγίζεται· ἡ δὲ σφραγίς; αἵρεται καὶ πάλιν τῆς εἰκόνος τὸ περιβόλαιον καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνακουφίζεται καταπέτασμα.

⁴⁴ For an illuminating discussion of the philosophical basis for such phenomena in the works of the Neoplatonists (including Psellos), see Johnston (2008).

But the truest cause of these <phenomena> God in fact would know and anyone who approaches the nature of the divine; what we then have learned from the more esoteric branch of philosophy, if we could say <this> with modesty, will be sufficient for our audience.⁴⁵

For Psellos as a Neoplatonist, divinity exists in a hierarchy; the divine beings recognized by pagan antiquity are vastly inferior to the most true and complete revelation of the divine through Christianity. He declares that the divine presence, whatever its place in the hierarchy, is essentially different from the base material world but inevitably makes a discernible mark upon it:

Moreover, the divine is similar to itself and not at all subject to change, while everything under the moon is both composed of dissimilar elements and subject to change, and to the degree that the descent <of the divine> proceeds, the change makes its mark. The worse also receives its illuminations from the better, not in the way those <divine beings> possess <illumination> but in the way these <worse ones> are capable <of receiving it>.⁴⁶

According to the system revealed by Neoplatonism, the full presence of the Virgin in her icon at Blachernai once it became 'ensouled' required that the material substance of the icon acknowledge her divinity; the occurrence of the miracle, whatever it might have been, was the manifestation of her presence to the extent that limited human understanding could grasp it.

Psellos' "Oration on the 'Usual' Miracle at Blachernai" is all that its title promises and much, much more. As Psellos himself claims in the last sentence of the oration, he intended it to be both an official memorandum of a court case (*hypomnema*) and also a panegyric of the Virgin (lines 756–57). In the course of fulfilling his double purpose,

⁴⁵ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 672–75, ed. Fisher (1994): τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀληθεστάτην τούτων αἰτίαν ὁ θεὸς ἂν εἰδείη καὶ εἴ τις τῇ θεῖᾳ φύσει ἐγγύς· ἃ δ' οὖν ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀπορρητοτέρας φιλοσοφίας ἐσχήκαμεν, εἰ μετρίως εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμεν, ἀρκούντως ἔξει τοῖς ἀκούουσι.

⁴⁶ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 681–85, ed. Fisher (1994): καὶ τὸ μὲν θεῖον ὅμοιον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἀπαθέστατον, τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τὴν σελήνην ζύμπαν ἀνόμοιόν τε καὶ παθητόν, καὶ ὅσῳ πρόεισιν ἢ κάθοδος, βαθύνει τὸ πάθος. δέχεται δὲ καὶ τὰ χεῖρω τὰς ἐλλάμψεις τῶν ὑπερτέρων, οὐχ ὡς ἐκεῖνα ἔχει, ἀλλ' ὡς ταῦτα δύναται. Psellos recalls Proklos, *Institutio theologica* 173. 5–6, "And in fact each thing participates in the better things to the extent of its natural capacity, but not as those <better things truly> are." Barber (2007) 90 discusses this passage as it relates to Psellos' understanding of the process of human vision.

Psellos has described the internationally famous 'usual' miracle from a contemporary Byzantine perspective. He has also created a vivid drama worthy of Euripides, complete with a lengthy struggle between prominent characters and a sudden reversal of fortune resulting from the actions of a *dea ex machina*. In addition, he has provided a thorough analysis of the laws relevant to any potential appeal of the outcome of the case and demonstrated the application of Neoplatonic doctrines to the occurrence of the miracle. His oration is an astonishing *tour de force*, which this discussion has attempted to place in its contemporary historical, cultural, legal and philosophical context. In closing, let us quote Psellos' self-conscious expression of astonishment at his own miraculous achievement:

If my inspiration derived from that source which moved the drapery of the Virgin, this <work of mine> was also from the Mother of God so that miracle might attach upon miracle, the miracle pertaining to my speech upon the miracle of the drapery.⁴⁷

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Ciggaar, K. N. 1995. "Une description de Constantinople dans le *Tarragonensis* 55," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 53: 117–40.
- Fisher, E. A., ed. 1994. *Michael Psellus orationes hagiographicae*. Stuttgart.
- Grumel, V. 1931. "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre-Dame des Blachernes à Constantinople." *Échos d'Orient* 30: 130–46.
- Majercik, R. 1989. *The Chaldean Oracles: Text, translation and commentary*. New York.
- Mansi, G. D., ed. 1901–27. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. 53 vols. Paris.
- Renauld, É., ed. 1967. *Michel Psellus chronographie ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)*. 2 vols. Paris.
- Sahas, D. J. 1986. *Icon and logos: Sources in eighth-century Iconoclasm*. Toronto.
- Sewter, E. R. A., trans. 1953. *Fourteen Byzantine rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*. Harmondsworth, England.
- Weiss, G. 1973. *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellus*. Munich.
- Westerink, L. G., ed. 1954. *Proclus Diadochus. Commentary on the first Alcibiades of Plato*. Amsterdam.

⁴⁷ Psellos, *Or. Blach.* 481–84, ed. Fisher (1994): εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖθεν μοι τὸ ἐπίπνουν ὅθεν δὴ καὶ τῷ παρθενικῷ πέπλῳ ἡ κίνησις, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς θεομήτορος, ἵνα δὴ θαύματι θαῦμα προσάπτοιτο, τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ πέπλου τὸ παρὰ τοῦ λόγου.

Secondary Literature

- Barber, C. 2007. *Contesting the logic of painting: Art and understanding in eleventh-century Byzantium*. Leiden.
- Belting, H. 1994. *Icon and presence: A history of the image before the era of art*. Trans. E. Jephcott. Chicago. (Orig. pub. 1990. *Bild und Kult—Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*. Munich.)
- Dennis, G. T. 1994. "A rhetorician practices law: Michael Psellos." In *Law and society in Byzantium: Ninth-twelfth centuries*. Ed. A. E. Laiou and D. Simon, 187–97. Washington, DC.
- Johnston, S. I. 2008. "Animating statues: A case study in ritual," *Arethusa* 41: 447–77.
- Macrides, R. J. 1994. "The competent court." In *Law and society in Byzantium: Ninth-twelfth centuries*. Ed. A. E. Laiou and D. Simon, 117–29. Washington, DC.
- Papaioannou, E. N. 2001. "The 'usual miracle' and an unusual image: Psellos and the icons of Blachernai." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 51: 177–88.
- Pentcheva, B. V. 2000. "Rhetorical images of the Virgin: The icon of the 'usual miracle' at the Blachernai." *Res: Journal of Anthropology and Aesthetics* 38: 34–55.
- . 2006. *Icons and power: The Mother of God in Byzantium*. University Park, PA.

“PANGS OF LABOR WITHOUT PAIN”
OBSERVATIONS ON THE ICONOGRAPHY
OF THE NATIVITY IN BYZANTIUM

Henry Maguire

This paper, in honor of Alice-Mary Talbot whose work has done so much to illuminate the lives of women in Byzantium, is concerned with a paradox of gender and the problem that it set for Byzantine artists. The paradox concerned the birth of Christ. According to orthodox theology, the Virgin gave birth to her son in such a way that he was fully human, yet, at the same time, this was not a normal birth, because its nature was miraculous. In the words of Proclus of Constantinople, preaching on the Incarnation of the Lord, the incarnation was “the inexplicable mystery of divinity and humanity; a pang of labor without pain...an inconceivable birth.”¹ Theodoret (*In Deuteronomium, Interr.* 42) also spoke of “those pangs of labor without pain and without seed.”² The idea that the Virgin gave birth without pain was enshrined in church doctrine by the seventy-ninth canon of the Council in Trullo in 692, where it was decreed that the Virgin had given birth miraculously and suffered no pain.³

As Nicholas Conostas has emphasized,⁴ the concept of the Virgin’s painless parturition was not only an acknowledgment of the miraculous nature of Christ’s coming into the world, but also more specifically a proof of the annulment of the curse laid by God on Eve after the Fall: “In pain thou shalt bring forth children.”⁵ In another homily on the incarnation, Proclus wrote (*Homily 23, De dogmate incarnationis* 14) “The birth of Christ in the flesh overturned the sentence against Eve, for the Virgin had only to hear the (words of Gabriel), <Hail O

¹ Conostas (2003) 200: 37–39.

² PG 80:445B. This and subsequent translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

³ Mansi (1960) 11: 977.

⁴ Conostas (2003) 208–9.

⁵ Gen. 3:17.

favored one,> and the source of sorrows ceased, namely the words, <In pain thou shalt bring forth children>.”⁶

How were Byzantine artists to illustrate this important, but paradoxical, theological concept, the labor pangs that were unaccompanied by pain? The most effective way to achieve this aim was to contrast the miraculous birth of Christ with one that had been natural, namely the birth of the Virgin herself to her mother, St. Anne. If we examine those Byzantine churches in which the two Nativities, of Christ and of the Virgin, appear in the same space, we can see that Byzantine artists contrasted the pair of Nativities according to two features, the presence or absence of which was an indication of the degree of physical trial undergone during the labor. The first of these features was the offering of food to the mother. The second was the betrayal of exhaustion by the mother after the birth.

The principal focus of the seventy-ninth canon of the Council in Trullo, which has been cited above, was the condemnation of the custom of preparing and eating a special dish of cereal in honor of the Virgin on the day after the feast of the Nativity. This popular tradition echoed the secular practice of bringing food to a mother after the delivery of her child.⁷ But the participants in the council objected that, since the Virgin had undergone a miraculous childbirth without pain, it was inappropriate to treat her as an ordinary mother. They declared that the practice of honoring the Virgin's role in the Nativity of Christ in this way should end.

Later Byzantine canonists reiterated the conclusions of the Council in Trullo concerning the preparation of the cereal for the Virgin. In the twelfth century, Theodore Balsamon wrote in his commentary on the seventy-ninth canon:

We confess that the childbirth of the Mother of God was not such as occurs to the rest of women, but was without pain; because the conception also was above nature and from the Holy Spirit. How can we perform for one who did not know parturition acts that are appropriate for those who have undergone parturition? Therefore, this is not a [paying of] honor to the Holy Virgin, who, above mind and speech, bore in the flesh the divine Logos without maternal pains. Wherefore one should not equate things that are above nature with those that are according to

⁶ Martin (1941) 47, translation by Constas (2003) 208.

⁷ Herrin (1992) 104–5.

nature, and, as it were, profane them and visualize them according to our own earthly [existence].⁸

In a somewhat earlier commentary on the same canon of the Council in Trullo, John Zonaras described the physical characteristics of childbirth:

Parturition is the bringing of the babe to birth with pains and the attendant flow of blood—with which we believe the Theotokos was not afflicted. Such things accompany those who conceive physically, but her conception was above nature, for it was from the Holy Spirit, and her childbirth [also] was above physical particularities.⁹

In consideration of the seventy-ninth canon of the Council in Trullo and its later commentaries, it is surely significant that the standard iconography of the Nativity of the Virgin, as it developed after iconoclasm, showed two or more women bringing gifts of food to St. Anne. These offerings can be seen in the late eleventh or early twelfth-century mosaic at Daphni (*fig. 1*).¹⁰ The female visitors to the bedside never appeared of course in scenes of the birth of Christ, neither at Daphni nor elsewhere (*fig. 2*). Their place in the Nativity of Christ is taken by the visits of the Magi, who do not bring food, but gold and spices.¹¹ Hence the incorporation of the women with their gifts of food into the standard iconography of the Birth of the Virgin underlined a point about the Nativity of Christ—that his birth was miraculous, and that his mother did not need to be strengthened afterwards with food.

Sometimes, as was pointed out by Gordana Babić,¹² the scene of the Virgin's birth in Byzantine art had an imperial resonance. In the palace also there was a ceremony on the eighth day after the birth of a male child to an empress, in which the widows and wives of the court officers came to give respect to the mother, each bringing her a gift. The *Book of Ceremonies* (2.21) specifies that on this occasion both the child in crib and the empress were covered with "spreads woven with gold."¹³ In the mosaic of the Nativity of the Virgin at Daphni precious golden cloths of such a kind cover St. Anne's couch (*fig. 1*). In spite of

⁸ PG 137: 781C.

⁹ PG 137: 784A.

¹⁰ Maguire (1996) 151–55, *fig.* 134.

¹¹ Maguire (1996) *fig.* 135.

¹² Babić (1961) 169–75.

¹³ PG 112: 1149B–52A.

the imperial resonances of this mosaic, however, the presence of two women with their gifts of food proves that this birth scene is of a lower spiritual status than that of Christ, who, in the mosaic of the Nativity in the same church, receives no such female visitors.¹⁴

In the early fourteenth-century frescoes of the King's Church at Studenica the two scenes of the Nativity of Christ and the Nativity of the Virgin are directly juxtaposed, being positioned one over the other. Below, the Birth of the Virgin takes place within a palatial setting that contrasts with the simple cave of Christ's birth above.¹⁵ But here, again, St. Anne in her palace is attended by three women bringing gifts of food, while Christ in his cave receives the gifts of the Magi and the veneration of angels. The birth scene lower down on the wall has a higher earthly status, in contrast to the one above it, which has a higher heavenly status.

The scene of the Virgin's birth acted as a foil to that of Christ in another way. Some Byzantine artists went to great lengths to depict the exhaustion of St. Anne after she had given birth to her child. At the King's Church in Studenica, for example, we can see St. Anne barely able to sit up in her bed after she has produced her baby, who lies already in a crib beside her. Two of the midwives have to prop her up, one holding her left arm from behind, and the other standing in front supporting her right hand. By contrast, in the fresco of the Nativity in the same church, the Virgin is able to lean forward on her own and embrace the head of her child; she needs no assistance. This motif, of St. Anne's weakness following childbirth, had appeared already in the twelfth century. It can be seen in the fresco of 1164 in the church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi, where the mother has to put her arm around the shoulders of one of the midwives so that she can sit up in bed.¹⁶

Up to this point, the iconographic features that have been considered transmit a clear message that the birth of Christ was special, and that it involved an absence of fatigue and pain. When we consider gesture and facial expression, however, the picture becomes more ambiguous. In the Byzantine Octateuchs, the first birthing scene that is illustrated is the birth of Enoch, which is described very briefly in Gen. 4:17: "And Cain knew his wife; and she conceived, and bore Enoch." In three of

¹⁴ Maguire (1996) fig. 148.

¹⁵ Hamann-Mac Lean and Hallensleben (1963) figs. 249, 254, 267.

¹⁶ Sinkević (2000) 56, pl. 42.

the Octateuchs (the Smyrna Octateuch, Vatican, MS gr. 746, and the Seraglio Octateuch) the illustrators of the birth depict the mother sitting up on a bed while holding her left hand against her cheek.¹⁷ This gesture, of the hand held against the chin or the cheek was frequently, though not exclusively, associated with sorrow and pain in Byzantine art.¹⁸ A connotation of suffering would be appropriate in this scene, since in the Octateuch manuscripts it is the first nativity scene to be portrayed after Eve's curse. In a fourth manuscript of the Octateuch (Vatican, MS. Gr. 747), the mother of Enoch clasps the hair on top of her head,¹⁹ which is definitely a gesture of suffering.²⁰ In addition, in all four manuscripts the mother's eyebrows are strongly drawn together, a facial expression that conveyed pain and sorrow in Byzantine art.²¹ On the basis of these Old Testament illustrations, one might expect that New Testament scenes of the birth of the Virgin would show signs of pain, such as the hand held against the cheek, or the furrowed brows, while scenes of the birth of Christ, which was without pain, would be devoid of these marks of suffering. This, however, was not completely the case.

The first apparent anomaly is created by the gesture of the hand held against the chin or cheek. It is made, appropriately enough, by St. Anne in some portrayals of the Nativity of the Virgin, such as the mosaic at Daphni (*fig. 1*). But it also occasionally occurs in illustrations of the birth of Christ. An early example is the mosaic of the Nativity in the church of St. Sergius in Gaza, which was described in the sixth-century by Choricus. According to Choricus (*Laudatio Marciani* 1.51), the Virgin in this scene was shown "lying back on her bed with her left hand placed under her right elbow and resting her cheek on her right hand."²² She is represented in a similar pose in a portrayal of the Nativity on a late sixth-century ampulla at Monza.²³ The pose recurs in the late eleventh- or early twelfth-century 'Phocas' Lectionary in the Skevophylakion of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, where the Virgin again holds her left hand up under her chin.²⁴ In a later fresco

¹⁷ Weitzmann and Bernabo (1999) figs. 108–10.

¹⁸ Maguire (1977) 132–51.

¹⁹ Weitzmann and Bernabo (1999) fig. 107.

²⁰ Maguire (1977) 126–32.

²¹ Maguire (1977) 166–71.

²² Translation by Mango (1972) 64.

²³ Grabar (1958) pl. 7.

²⁴ Weitzmann (1950) 171 fig. 30; Weitzmann (1971) 268 fig. 258.

in the church of Christ Antiphonetes at Kallogrea on Cyprus, dating to around 1200, the Virgin reclines on her mattress, leaning over the head of her child and grasping her right cheek between the fingers and thumb of her right hand.²⁵ A possible reason for the apparent display of suffering by the Virgin in these Nativity scenes is that she is not expressing the physical pain of her childbirth, but rather the mental and emotional pain that she will undergo at the passion of Christ. In some Middle Byzantine paintings of the Presentation in the Temple, the Virgin conveys her future pain at the passion by holding her hand against her cheek.²⁶ In these Presentation scenes, her gesture is a response to the prophecy of St. Simeon, "a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also."²⁷ It might be suggested that the gesture in the Nativity scenes is a similar proleptic expression of the Virgin's future suffering.

A more puzzling anomaly concerns the Virgin's display of suffering in her facial expression. In his well-known description of the mosaics in the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, Nikolaos Mesarites, a Byzantine churchman who wrote around the year 1200, described the figure of the Virgin in the Nativity scene as follows: "She lies on a mattress...showing the face of a woman who has just been in pain—even though she escaped the pangs of labor."²⁸ This description is remarkable, because it directly contradicts the testimony of an earlier Byzantine authority, Choricus of Gaza. In his account of the mosaic of the Nativity in the church of St. Sergius at Gaza (*Laudatio Marciani* 1.52), from which I quoted above, Choricus says that the artist showed a Virgin who

has given birth to a child without recourse to union with a man. Her face is not altered with the pallor of one who has just given birth, and, indeed, for the first time; deemed worthy of a supernatural motherhood, she was justly spared its natural pains.²⁹

When the twelfth century Byzantine monk John Phokas wrote an account of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem that he made in 1185 (*Descriptio terrae sanctae*), he borrowed the description of the Nativity mosaic

²⁵ Nicolaidès (1996) fig. 106.

²⁶ Maguire (1980–81) figs. 1, 4.

²⁷ Luke 2:35.

²⁸ Downey (1957) Greek text 906, with translation on 877; see Kitzinger (1963) 104.

²⁹ Translation by Mango (1972) 65.

by Choricus virtually word for word and made it serve as a description of the Nativity mosaic in the grotto underneath the church at Bethlehem.³⁰ Like Choricus, John Phokas said that the Virgin in the mosaic showed no signs of pain in her face; indeed, the twelfth century pilgrim went further, and said that the mother was "looking toward the Babe, and displaying her inner discretion in her smiling form, and in the color in her cheeks."³¹

Mesarites' statement that the Virgin in the mosaic in the Holy Apostles was showing the face of a woman who had just been in pain comes therefore as a surprise. It is however matched by one equally remarkable work of visual art, which dates to around the period when Mesarites was writing, and which may have been painted by an artist from Constantinople. The work in question is the fresco of the Nativity in the church of Hosios David in Thessaloniki, in which the reclining Virgin not only rests her cheek in her left hand but also displays drawn features with a deeply arched brow line that clearly express a degree of suffering (*fig. 3*).³² To my knowledge, this painting is virtually unique; even St. Anne in portrayals of the birth of the Virgin was not depicted with such a sorrowful visage (*fig. 1*).

What was the meaning of such a portrayal of the Virgin mother, who, as even Mesarites admitted, "escaped the pangs of labor"? Mesarites himself provides the answer; it is done, he says, "in order that the dispensation of the incarnation might not be looked upon with suspicion, as trickery."³³ In other words, Mesarites declared that even though the church taught that the Virgin suffered no pain, the artist showed her as suffering in order to better engage the faithful in Christ's humanity. In his reaction and in the corresponding fresco at Hosios David, we can see the delicate balance of the earthly and the spiritual in Byzantine art coming under strain and starting to tip, as it were, toward the terrestrial. It as if the Byzantine artist and his viewer might at this moment try to escape from the control of church doctrine and create an art and a response in which the human expression of the Gospel story will be prioritized over the codification of eternal truths, so that we might, in the words of Balsamon, "visualize things that are above nature according to our own earthly existence." At this period,

³⁰ Folda (1995) 371–72.

³¹ PG 133:957D–60A.

³² Tsigaridas (1986) pl. 7.

³³ Downey (1957) Greek text 906, with translation on 877–88.

at the turn of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, there were other evidences of impatience among Byzantine artists with the restrictions imposed by the artistic conventions of their church. A case in point is the dramatic iconography of the hesitant archangel that appeared in a few contemporary paintings of the Annunciation, a motif which was based on a homiletic tradition, but which made only a brief appearance in Byzantine art.³⁴ Likewise, the characterizations of the Virgin as suffering from the effects of childbirth in the ekphrasis of Mesarites and in the fresco of Hosios David seem to have remained rarities. For the most part, Byzantine artists stayed clear of such explicit allusions to the travails of childbirth in scenes of the Nativity of Christ, preferring to restrict depictions of human frailty to the foil provided by the Nativity of the Virgin.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Constas, N. 2003. *Proclus of Constantinople and the cult of the Virgin in late antiquity, Homilies 1–5, texts and translations*. Leiden.
- Downey, G. 1957. "Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* n.s. 47, part 6: 855–924.
- Mango, C. 1972. *The art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
- Mansi, G. D. 1960. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Graz.
- Martin, C. 1941. "Une florilège grec d'homélies christologiques du IV^e et V^e siècles sur la Nativité (Paris. Gr. 1491)." *Muséon* 54: 44–48.

Secondary Literature

- Babić, G. 1961. "Sur l'iconographie de la composition 'Nativité de la Vierge.'" *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta* 7: 169–75.
- Folda, J. 1995. *The art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187*. Cambridge.
- Grabar, A. 1958. *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*. Paris.
- Hamman-Mac Lean, R. and H. Hallensleben. 1963. *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*. Giessen.
- Herrin, J. 1992. "'Femina byzantina': The Council in Trullo on women." *DOP* 46: 97–105.
- Kitzinger, E. 1963. "The Hellenistic heritage in Byzantine art." *DOP* 17: 95–115.
- Maguire, H. 1977. "The depiction of sorrow in middle Byzantine art." *DOP* 31: 123–74.
- . 1980–81. "The iconography of Symeon with the Christ Child in Byzantine art." *DOP* 34–5: 261–69.
- . 1983. "The self-conscious angel: Character study in Byzantine paintings of the Annunciation." In *Okeanos: Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his sixtieth birth-*

³⁴ Maguire (1983) 377–92.

- day by his colleagues and students. Ed. C. Mango and O. Pritsak. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7: 377–92
- . 1996. *The icons of their bodies: Saints and their images in Byzantium*. Princeton.
- Nicolaidès, A. 1996. "L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudéra, Chypre: Étude iconographique des fresques de 1192." *DOP* 50: 1–137.
- Sinkević, I. 2000. *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi, architecture, programme, patronage*. Wiesbaden.
- Tsigaridas, E. N. 1986. *Oi toichographies tes mones Latomou Thessalonikes*. Thessaloniki.
- Weitzmann, K. 1950. "The narrative and liturgical Gospel illustrations." In *New Testament manuscript studies*. Ed. M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren, 151–74, 215–19. Chicago.
- . 1971. *Studies in classical and Byzantine manuscript illumination*. Ed. H. L. Kessler. Chicago.
- Weitzmann, K. and M. Bernabo. 1999. *The Byzantine Octateuchs*. Princeton.



Fig. 1. Daphni, monastery church, mosaic. Birth of the Virgin. Source: Josephine Powell Photograph, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

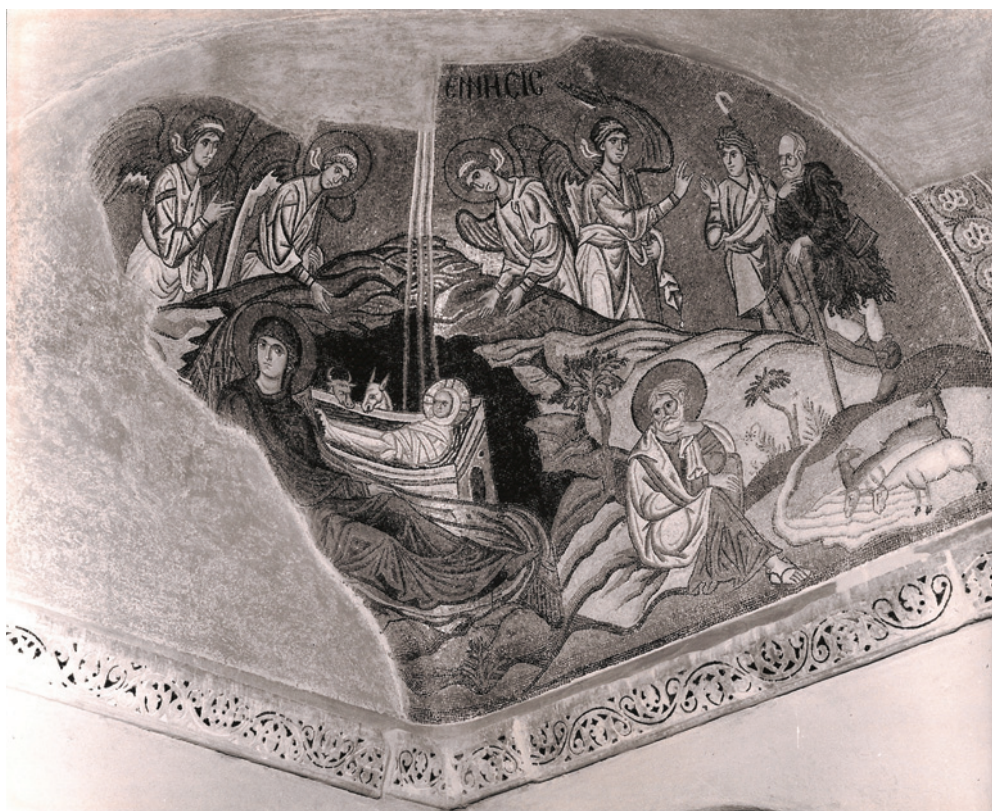


Fig. 2. Daphni, monastery church, mosaic. Nativity of Christ. Source: Josephine Powell Photograph, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard College Library.

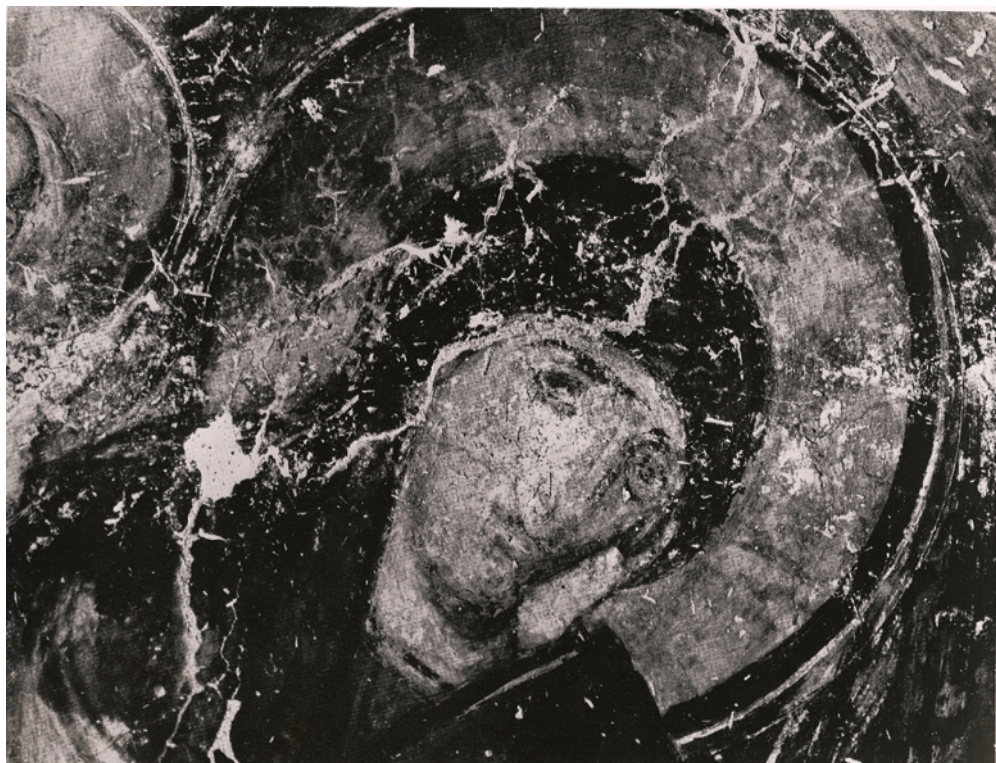


Fig. 3. Thessaloniki, Hosios David, fresco of the Nativity, detail. The Virgin. Source: after E. N. Tsigaridas, *Oi toichographies tes mones Latomou Thessalonikes* (Thessaloniki, 1986), pl. 7.

BYZANTINE 'MEDALS': COINS, AMULETS AND PIETY

Cécile Morrisson and Simon Bendall

Byzantium did not know “medals” as we now understand them: “a piece of metal or other material, usually round and resembling a coin, issued to commemorate and honor important events, persons, or institutions; to be given as awards for outstanding merit or achievement; or for satirical purposes” or “a piece of metal stamped with a religious device, used as an object of veneration.” These came into being in the late 14th–early 15th century in the West.¹ In Byzantium the commemorative and award function of modern medals was assumed by large ‘medallions,’ multiples of current gold, silver or bronze coins, issued mostly from the third to the sixth century, and later on by exceptional coins often issued for events like imperial accessions.² The vast archaeological record of mounted coins or multiples of the early Byzantine period and the relevant literature does not concern us here. We will look into the religious function which was taken over in the Byzantine period either by coins diverted from their original role or by specially produced amulets. We will examine them here successively using examples selected from Dumbarton Oaks and from a private collection.³ We are happy to present these insights into coins as objects of devotion as an offering to Alice-Mary Talbot, whose work has encountered so many pious Byzantine women.

Wearing coins as an element or ornament of costume or as jewelry was an ancient practice. It is spectacularly attested in the Roman world from the third century onwards by a profusion of coins mounted in necklaces or girdles destined to show the prestige of their owner and

¹ See the introductory survey by Jones (1979) and the introduction and other essays in Scher (2000). We will use the abbreviation *DOC* for Bellinger, A., P. Grierson and M. Hendy (1966–1999).

² For a recent assessment, with references to earlier literature, see Morrisson (forthcoming). Numerous examples of early Byzantine mounted coins or pseudo-coins in Perassi (2005). See also Reinert (2008). For those in the DO collection, see Boyd and Zwirn (2005).

³ Still in the possession of S. Bendall.

give testimony to imperial protection.⁴ Their state of preservation is generally so remarkable that they were surely not worn frequently, but rather probably stored and passed from one generation to the other. As civilian objects however they do not interest us here. The ‘medals’ with which we are concerned in what follows may have sometimes been family treasures, but were permanently or frequently worn as we will see.

The progressive Christianization of the coins’ imagery from the fifth century onward combined with the widely spread belief in the special powers associated with the emperor’s portrait led to the use of coins or imitations of them with an apotropaic intention. This magic use is attested by several texts and related objects analyzed in Henry Maguire’s penetrating study.⁵ Though not exempt from magic beliefs, the practice of wearing coins with the image of Christ, the Virgin or any saint was also a simple and sincere expression of faith and trust in this divine protection or saintly intercession. Kekaumenos advised his reader not to wear “phylacteries but only a cross or a holy icon or the relic of a saint.”⁶ We may surmise that the portable ‘holy icon’ must have been such a coin or coin-like object. The often cited and discussed letter of Michael Italikos († 1157) to [Michael Pantekhnes], *aktouarios* in the school of medicine in Constantinople, gives evidence of such elaborate faith. He recommends that the mounted coin which he is presenting to his benefactor should be worn “not only as a phylactery against the ill-effects of nature, in that it bears the imprint of the victory-bringing cross, but there is an ineffable power peculiar to this object, which is not contrived from some magical art...but [it comes] from some divine power that has perhaps been injected into it by the instruments of the metal workers which renders the bearer immune to the evils of plague.”⁷

⁴ For example, see Brenot and Metzger (1992), the pair of bracelets with several *solidi* of Maurice, Phocas and Heraclius in *Dumbarton Oaks* (Ross I, no. 46), the Kyrenia girdle, the objects published in Reinert (2008), those commented upon in Maguire (1997) etc.

⁵ Maguire (1997).

⁶ Kekaumenos, *Strategikon*, § 117: φυλακτήριον δὲ μὴ βαστάσης εἰ μὴ σταυρὸν ἢ εἰκόνα ἁγίαν ἢ λείψανον ἁγίου.

⁷ Italikos, ep. 33, ed. Gautier (1972) with French transl.; Codex Bodl. Barocci 131 f. 337r, ed. C. M. Mazzucchi in Perassi (2005) 395–6; Perassi (2005) for Italian transl. and detailed commentary to which we refer the reader. We cite here the English translation of this particular sentences by Maguire (1997) 1044. We are grateful to John

In spite of his researched style, Michael Italikos' letter is also an invaluable testimony for its description of the mounted coin; it is a *nomisma* of the "highest valued gold" (χρυσοῦ τοῦ τιμαλφεστάτου) whereas the suspension (ἀρτάνη) is of a different "whiter gold" (χρυσοῦ λευκοτέρου).⁸

It does not bear the inscription (ἐπιγραφή) of the first Caesar [Augustus] nor of his successor Tiberios...but that of the most pious and greatest of all emperors. It reproduces the imprint (ἀπομάττεται) of the most divine Constantine and Helena and on the other side of Christ himself in 'very Roman types' (ῥωμαϊκωτέροις τοῖς ἐκτυπώμασι) as were depicted at that time (καὶ οἷοις ὁ τότε χρόνος ἐνέγραφε). All along the border it is imprinted with non-Greek letters which I think are Roman characters (γράμμασιν οὐχ' ἑλληνικοῖς...οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τούτους Ῥωμαίων εἶναι τοὺς χαρακτηῖρας)...which you will recognize, since you are not ignorant of them.

Behind the ambiguous vocabulary one recognizes a coin with two imperial figures on one side, that of Christ on the other, and a circular inscription on both. The "very Roman types" refer to the style of the image or representation as is assumed rightly by many commentators.

It cannot be a gold coin of Constantine I, as already noted by Maguire, for none is known with the emperor and his mother, Helena, who always appears alone and without the cross which was associated with her only in later documents. No other imperial coins with Constantine and Helena are known other than rare Latin imitations of the early thirteenth century⁹ and equally rare coins of John V (*DOC* 5/2, nos. 1203, 1302–1304) or Manuel II (*DOC* 1599).

Duffy for a discussion on the interpretation of the terms used in the description of the *nomisma*.

⁸ Psellos already noted the different alloys used for jewelry; see Bidez (1924–) 26–41. In fact electron microprobe analyses of the two Dumbarton Oaks Constantine I pendants show a gold content of the openwork mount of ca 92%, with silver at ca. 8% (Boyd and Zwirn [2005] 180–81 and 230). The fineness is certainly inferior to that of the double solidus inserted which was not analyzed but which, according to results for contemporaneous solidi, should be ca. 97% or more.

⁹ A stamenon attributed to Thessalonica showing Constantine and Helena standing and holding the patriarchal cross between them (*DOC* 4/2, 692, nos. 26.1–8, pl. 51; first published by Bertelè [1948]), and a half-tetarteron attributed to Thessalonica, showing the standing figures of St. Helena on one side, and Constantine on the other, both in loros, holding patriarchal cross. The inscriptions read: H AGIA ELENH O AGIOS KONQANT (ibid., 693–94, nos. 28.1–6, pl. 52). Helena wears a feminine crown with three spikes.

Neither can it be a coin of Theodosius II with the two seated figures of Theodosius II and Valentinian III (*DOC LRE* 370–376) as Maguire hypothesized, since it is hard to imagine that the three-quarter facing armed bust of Theodosius on the obverse could have been mistaken for Christ. After a careful examination of several numismatic possibilities, Perassi follows Maguire's second and preferred hypothesis proposing that Italikos' mounted piece may have been an issue of the second reign of Justinian II depicting the emperor with his son Tiberius holding a cross on steps between them and on the obverse the bust of the younger Christ with curly hair and cross without nimbus (*DOC* 2).¹⁰ This type would have been unknown to Italikos, since it had not appeared on the coinage since the early eighth century. However, Italikos was writing some fifty years after Alexios I Komnenos monetary reform, which in approximately a decade entailed the nearly complete disappearance of preceding issues from circulation as well as changes in iconography, for example, the increasingly prominent imperial mantle or sagion, the transformation of the loros, the appearance of the low throne with no back of Christ, etc. As a result any coin with more elaborate iconography, not necessarily a coin several centuries old, may correspond to Italikos' interpretation.

The "non-Greek letters" mentioned in the second sentence of the description (περὶ δὲ τὴν ἴτυν τοῦ κύκλου γράμμασιν οὐχ' ἑλληνικοῖς ἐνσεσήμασται) are "Roman characters," which in the context can only point to Latin letters; already in ninth-century Constantinople these could only be read by a Roman (from Rome) according to the *Parastaseis* 3.30.¹¹ Italikos surely was able to read them but pretends not to in order to flatter the recipient of his letter and gift. But Latin letters were used on the coinage through the tenth century before gradually leaving the ground to pure Greek inscriptions in the late eleventh century.¹² Therefore, we are left with any gold coin type with a Latin inscription that features Christ on one side and on the other two imperial figures with a conspicuous cross recalling Helena. One could go back to the hypothesis of a nomisma of Leo VI and Constantine (908–12) already proposed by Laurent. The name of Constantine

¹⁰ *DOC* 2/2; 649–50, pl. 43. Color reproduction in Bühl (2008) 126, below.

¹¹ *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum* 2: 225–26, ed. Preger (1901/1986).

¹² Morriison (1992/1994).

inscribed $\text{C}\text{O}\text{N}\text{S}\text{T}\text{A}\text{N}\text{T}$ ¹³ would have been readily understood, while one might wish to see in the $\text{L}\text{E}\text{O}\text{N}$ the blundered name of Helena. In this hypothesis the coin, which had already been “adorning imperial breasts” ($\text{βασιλικοῖς ἐνέπρεπε στέρνοις}$), was then more than two centuries old.¹⁴

Whatever the ambiguous identification of the original type, Italikos' letter is uncontrovertible proof of the religious use of mounted or suspended coins in the Byzantine period. On the other hand the archaeological evidence for this is unfortunately very meager. The large follis of Justinian I which one of us published in 1995 has a crude inscription on its border saying “Christ protect the bearer” ($\text{Χ}\text{Ε}\text{ }\text{Β}\text{Ο}\text{Η}\text{Θ}\text{Ι}\text{ }\text{Τ}\text{Ο}\text{N}\text{ }\text{Φ}\text{Ο}\text{Ρ}\text{V}\text{N}\text{T}\text{A}$).¹⁵ It is pierced at 12 o'clock above the emperor's head. Its provenance is unknown, and its transformation probably occurred soon after the issue of this type of dated folles, heavier and larger than the preceding issues.

Early Byzantine hoards of the sixth and seventh centuries do not contain mounted or pierced coins, a feature which would have diminished their value as a store of wealth. As Jean-Pierre Callu rightly observed of Roman gold coins:

la perforation d'une pièce d'or traduisait une démonétisation, au minimum provisoire: autant que le sertissage, que l'agrafage plus ou moins élaborés, le simple trouage, tout en facilitant la mobilité de l'objet, l'immobilisait à l'écart des circuits de la circulation.¹⁶

¹³ The special fonts used here for inscriptions were first created by the late Professor Nicolas Oikonomides in 1986 and subsequently enriched by Glenn Ruby (†) and the Publications Department of Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, DC). The authors are very grateful to DO's program in Byzantine Studies for graciously releasing these fonts for use in scholarly publications.

¹⁴ Such a delay is perfectly possible, whether old coins were retrieved from hoards that spanned a long period, or from hoards that included such anomalous isolated older coins (see Leroy [2007] for a 14th-century hoard of contemporary florins, Venetian and French gold coins, which contained also a much worn solidus of Justinian I with a loop, 93 silver coins and 6 batches of gold plaques); alternatively, they simply could have been passed from one generation to the other. Travaini 2007, 274 cites an anonymous follis of the early 11th century found in a 12th–14th century context in the village of Rascino between Rieti and L'Aquila. She suggests that, due to the bust of Christ on the obverse, it had “the function of a little icon.”

¹⁵ Bendall (1995), to whom it still belongs. See the comment on it and contextualization of it in Fulghum (2001).

¹⁶ Callu (1991) 99.

Pierced Byzantine coins are more likely to appear in grave finds of the *Barbaricum*, for example, in Hungarian finds of the Avar period or from the ninth century.¹⁷ In the famous Ukrainian find of Maloe Perescepinno of the late seventh century, almost all the 61 gold coins are either pierced (often twice) or provided with a loop.¹⁸ Late silver *miliarisia* of the tenth and eleventh centuries found in Sweden are pierced in a high proportion, nearly a third (28%) of the specimens published in 1989.¹⁹ But this took place in Scandinavia at the beginning of the process of its Christianization, when silver, whether minted or not, circulated at metal value; it is not evidence of Byzantine practices.

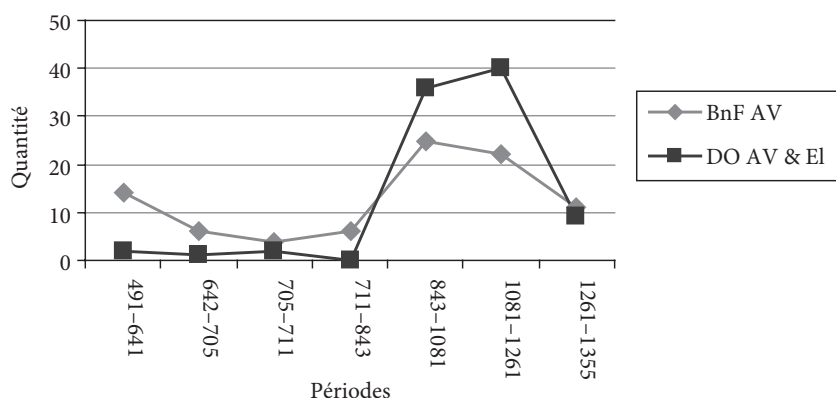
The Lagbe hoard (dep. ca. 840) contains no pierced specimens among its 102 solidi. Late Byzantine hoards rarely include pierced coins: none are found in the Torbalı hoard of Nicene silver coins, nor in any of the Dumbarton Oaks various hoards of early thirteenth century stamena ("billon trachea"), nor in the Djera Pasha hoard of hyperpyra (dep. ca. 1320).²⁰ We have however examined the evidence from the representative collections of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and of Dumbarton Oaks, from Anastasios I to Constantine XI. The proportion of pierced coins is, as expected, much smaller than in the Swedish hoards (88 in the BnF on some 1,000 gold coins, i.e. 8.8%). Although most of the mounted or pierced specimens are not associated with any ascertained hoard or other provenance in these museum collections, their chronological distribution and the location of the suspension

¹⁷ Somogyi (1997). It is not possible to estimate the proportion of pierced coins or specimens provided with an attachment. To judge from illustrations it is frequent but not overwhelming. Musteață (2008) 684 and 680, n. 10 cites pierced gold coins of Theophilus in Transylvanian finds.

¹⁸ Werner (1984) with previous literature. The popular Hermitage publication by Zalesskaja et al. (1997) has beautiful color illustrations of the jewelry and vessels and of some coins but not of all (last update in Zalesskaja et al. [2004]). Piercing is generally practiced in the axis of the figure (around 12 and 6 o'clock). The exceptional 2 ½ solidi of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine nos. 4 and 9 and no. 24 (a solidus of Heraclius with his two sons) are the only ones which remain intact. Lvova (in Zalesskaja et al. [1997] 88–131 and plate p. 120) proposes a reconstruction of the location and use of the pierced coins.

¹⁹ Hammarberg, Malmer, and Zachrisson (1989). Florent Audy is preparing a detailed study of monetary pendants in medieval Scandinavia and their religious context (Paris I dissertation, supervised by Catherine Jolivet-Lévy). We are grateful to him for sharing with us the results of his work in progress.

²⁰ The three pierced hyperpyra (*DOC* pl. 30, nos. 495, 497–98) were listed by Bertelè (1948) as belonging to the hoard, but they are probably not from it.



Graph 1. Chronological distribution of pierced coins in Paris (BnF) and in DO

device may be of interest. Their chronological distribution shows similar trends in the Paris and the Dumbarton Oaks collection, which points to the significance of the two samples. The earlier period yields few specimens, as does the period of iconoclasm (5 specimens in Paris, none in DO). We singled out the second reign of Justinian II because of the possible identification proposed above: Paris has two pierced solidi and two pierced tremisses of Justinian II and Tiberios; the piercings on two of them are above the bust of Christ, while on two others, the piercings are above the cross between the two emperors;²¹ D.O. has two solidi and one false solidus, all pierced above the cross which the emperors hold between them.²² In both collections there are clearly two peaks: from 843 to 1081, and from 1081 to 1261. Two coins of Michael III and Theodora—the first issue with the bust of Christ after the restoration of images in 843—are found in D.O., both pierced above the emperors' busts and without the cross above Christ. Most of the coins in the first peak period date from the eleventh century and favor the histamenon against the smaller tetarteron (only one of Romanos IV, *BNC Schl 3300 = BNC 53/Cp/AV/10* vs. 20 histamena). The "long twelfth century" is the most abundantly represented, no doubt because of the greater affluence of the period which allowed more people to

²¹ Perassi (2005) 384 noted this fact, which underlines the alternate choice of the emperors' or of Christ's side as the "sacred image."

²² *DOC 1.8 and 2b2* (the fake is a Whittemore coin which was not catalogued).

devote a gold or an electrum coin displaying their devotion. It is also the period when, starting from Isaac II onward, some billon or copper coins, are put to religious use. The Palaeologan hyperpyra are much more rarely pierced probably because of progressive impoverishment but also because of the increasing production of coins substitutes at that time which we will consider later.

The majority of coins that have been worn have not been mounted or provided with a ring, but have only been pierced, usually only once but sometimes twice at a small interval so that the coin/medal would hang properly without the addition of a ring. Very rarely several holes occur, two, three or four at a compass-dial orientation, that were designed for stitching the coin on a cloth or a headdress with no consideration for the image²³ (*Fig. A*). In the majority of cases only one or two holes are placed as close as possible to the border of the flan in order not to damage the image; the piercing is centered above the figure that the bearer wants to wear conspicuously. As most of Byzantine coins have a regular opposite (180° or 6 o'clock) die axis, there is no ambiguity about the image chosen, which is often confirmed by the much poorer state of preservation of the hidden side, that was "worn" in both meanings by its constant rubbing on the clothes, as can be seen, for example, on the Michael VII histamenon in Paris (Af 926 = *BNC* pl. XC, AV/05).²⁴ The location of the one or two piercings indicates the preferred imagery and the evolution of such preferences over time. In the sixth and seventh centuries (from 491 to 705), in spite of its more conspicuous religious type (angel holding cross or cross on steps) the solidus reverse is chosen only four times vs. 13 times for the obverse, picturing in 12 cases the emperor wearing a crown with cross. Five coins are pierced at random. In this early period bearers are still mostly interested in imperial protection. As mentioned above, the religious factor appears with the solidi or tremisses of Justinian II and Tiberios. These coins are pierced either above Christ's image (two cases) or above the cross held by the two emperors (four cases), though

²³ Greek popular feminine costumes of the 19th and 20th century abound in examples of pierced coins used for decoration with no consideration for their imagery. See Georgoula (1984) and Chatzemichale (1979) (e.g. in the Megaran *kaplamès* ill. fig. 42, here *Fig A*. We are grateful to Fotini Kondyli for providing this illustration).

²⁴ Hence the numismatic technical term "wear" for the loss of weight (and of a striking's relief) on which see Delamare (1994) esp. p. 7 the amusing epigram about the Alexander gold coin which was once set into a mount for the diplomat Roger Peyrefitte and worn at parties; it thus lost its relief and all its original value.



Fig. A. Megaran woman wearing the *kaplamès* and breast and headdress (after Chatzemichale 1979, 55, fig. 42).

in this latter case there may have been a preference for the emperors' display. Since the few gold coins in our samples that were issued between 711 and 843 feature emperor(s)'s busts on both sides with or without a cross, the location of the hole is therefore not relevant. In the same period, among the silver *miliaresia* in Dumbarton Oaks only one specimen has been pierced to show the large cross on steps on its reverse,²⁵ two specimens were pierced above the imperial inscription of the obverse and the remaining coin was pierced at random, which may indicate non-religious use or piercing carried over into a non-Byzantine environment. Between 843 and 1081 the choice is divided rather equally between the side with Christ's image (or later on some coins, the Virgin's) and the side showing the imperial figure.

²⁵ But this *miliaresion* of Theophilos (*DOC* 10.3) has a "medal" die axis ($0^\circ = 12$ o'clock) so both sides could have been chosen.

Between 1081 and 1261 most of the hyperpyra are pierced so as to show the imperial figure upright, and fewer to show the side with Christ in bust or enthroned.²⁶ But the distinction between the imperial side (the obverse) and the religious side (the reverse) with its unique image of Christ or the Virgin is now blurred by the frequent—even systematic, since Manuel I's second issue—representation on the obverse of the emperor with a religious figure who blesses him or holds a cross or another insignium together with him. The same blurring is valid for the Palaeologan hyperpyra; in this period, however, nearly all of the Paris examples (10 out of 11) and all the D.O. ones are pierced above the images of the emperor, or emperors, blessed by Christ. In this case we may observe a technical choice; since the emperor(s) are on the concave side of the coin, the imprint displayed would have been less subject to wear.

But most importantly, among the coins of the post-iconoclastic periods from 843 to the mid-thirteenth century, people seem to have preferred types featuring two figures over those with a unique religious image of Christ or of the Virgin. Naturally it cannot be taken for granted that the reuse of these coins as religious or other ornaments was more or less contemporary with their date of issue (or at least not separated by more than one century), and indeed a few mounts look modern and standardized in their fabric. But the letter of Italikos is sure proof of the development in the Comnenian period of the belief in the prophylactic powers of coins supposedly depicting Constantine I and Helena together. The cult and general reputation of the emperor Constantine is known to have enjoyed a significant development in the tenth century and onward; his name, given to several rulers, conferred legitimacy and sanctity.²⁷ As a result, the figure of the saint Constantine eventually made its way onto the coinage of Alexios III Angelos.²⁸ Through Helena his association with the cross connected him with the palladium of the empire and with the central symbolical element of the Christian faith. The multiplication of images of Constantine and Helena in church decoration in the tenth century and later is related to

²⁶ Usually taken to be the obverse and described as such in *DOC*, but technically and also in the eyes of the Byzantines, the reverse.

²⁷ Brubaker (1994); Markopoulos (1994).

²⁸ Magdalino (1994); *DOC* 5/1, 78; Callegher (forthcoming) with refs. On Constantine and "imperial sanctity" see Dagron (1996) 141–68.

the contemporaneous *floruit* of coin images presenting two emperors or one emperor and an empress holding a cross, which conveyed a message of legitimacy and piety.²⁹ All these factors led to the association of Constantine's name with imperial coins reused as "medals" in Byzantium and to the creation of pseudo-coins of similar types.

"Coins of Constantine," the so-called *Konstantinata*, have long attracted the attention of numismatists and antiquarians. Seventeenth-century travellers mentioned that they were found in the ground in Greece.³⁰ In the early twentieth century they were still popular in the Levant. Money changers would admit to Hasluck that the Comnenian coins with the emperor and a religious figure holding a cross were the *konstantinata par excellence*, but in fact they would misrepresent as those coins a wide variety of coins, ranging from Byzantine gold, silver and copper coins to Venetian coins in gold and silver (including modern forgeries) and even nineteenth-century European coins.³¹

The equivalent denomination prevailing in the West from the Middle Ages until the twentieth century is that of the *santalene*, to which Lucia Travaini devoted several studies. She first drew attention to a series of Italian coin lists preserved in merchandise manuals dating from 1280 to 1315 citing *santa elene* or *santalene d'oro* of high fineness (24 carats, or 24 carats minus a quarter or a third) and was the first to propose identifying them with the nomismata histamena of Basil II and Constantine VIII present in three Italian hoards of the time (Ortona, dep. ca 1030; Roma, Torre delle Milizie, dep. ca 1185; Pisa, Logge dei Banchi, dep. ca 1266).³² Their isolated occurrence in the two last hoards with a majority of much later coins is possibly proof that they were kept for devotional purposes. It is clear that many ancient coins with two figures holding a cross could be brought into use in the context of the increasingly popular cult of the Holy Cross, as had been the case in Byzantium. In the fourteenth century, Dante cites a hoard of silver *santalene* discovered by a peasant in Tuscany; he states that they could have been "more than two thousand years

²⁹ Spieser (2009) provides now an essential analysis of the history and interpretation of the imperial "couple" representations of Helena and Constantine.

³⁰ La Guilletière, *Lacédémone ancienne et nouvelle* (Paris 1679) cited by Hasluck (1913/1966).

³¹ Hasluck (1913/1966).

³² Travaini (2001) with refs.

old.” In the sixteenth century the fifth- and sixth century coins dating from Theodosius II to Heraclius that were unearthed in the excavations for the building of the new Lateran palace were called “monete di santa Helena” and distributed by the pope to cardinals or churches with important indulgences attached to those who bore or venerated them.³³ *Santalene* are also cited in Provence in the seventeenth century as *escudeletto di Sto-Eleno* (sic, that is small *écus* of saint Helena) or “médailles de sainte Hélène” by Peiresc.³⁴ Coins of Alexios III Angelos with the figures of the emperor and of St. Constantine are also known in the Iberian peninsula as “Ochavo de Santa Elena” and medals of St. Helena and Constantine have been produced in Spain through the twentieth century.³⁵

Such coin-like objects for devotional and apotropaic purposes with the images of St. Constantine and Helena (or figures which were mistaken for them) were produced in the Late Byzantine period. They are mostly cast and sometimes bracteates (one-sided coins). Byzantine numismatics does not ignore them, but only Tommaso Bertelè published three of them from his collection.³⁶ They still, however, await an in-depth study that will inventory them in various collections and track them in their archaeological context. In what follows we are simply opening the way with a few examples of the main types known from Dumbarton Oaks and Simon Bendall’s collection. They are arranged here according to their iconographic type and in chronological order of their models when they could be identified. All pieces are copper, and most of them are cast and pierced, with normal (6 o’clock) die axis unless stated otherwise. Many of them are cup-shaped (so-called “scyphate”).

³³ Travaini (2007).

³⁴ Travaini (2008) with refs. The complete text of the bulla of Sixtus V and illustration of one of these solidi are still kept in the Milan Church of Sant’ Alessandro. The text and this coin were already cited in Bertelè (1948) 102, n. 1.

³⁵ Burguet Fuentes (2001) is unfortunately very confused on this topic. Dr. Miguel Crusafont i Sabater presented Dumbarton Oaks with one twentieth-century medal (BZC 2002/3) showing St. Helena standing with cross (ELENA) on the obverse and Constantine on the reverse with inscription HIJO DE S. ELENA.

³⁶ Bertelè (1948); Callegher (forthcoming).

Type of Manuel I and Saint Theodore (DOC 4, pl. XII, 4a.3–4d. Aspron trachy El)

Obv. Emperor and Saint Theodore standing holding patriarchal cross on long shaft and globe. St Theodore's hand is above that of the emperor. Traces of legend.

Rev. Christ standing on dais IC XC In field left six pointed star.

DO has 7 specimens (diam. 20 to 23mm; wt 5.03 to 2.80g; 2 are brass. Three have a 'medal' die axis at 12 o'clock)

Fig. 1 ill.: Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88.4966, 23mm, 4.93g and 1a Bertelè 1960.4964 = Ratto sale, no. 2126 (this coin) 22mm, 3.11g

Type of Isaac II crowned by St. Michael (DOC 4, pl. XX, 2a.1–2c.9. Aspron trachy El)

Obv. Emperor crowned by standing Archangel

Rev. Christ on throne with back

DO has 4 specimens (diam. 24 to 22mm; wt. 3.89 to 2.85g; one with a serrated circular mount weighs 6.98g)

Fig. 2 ill.: Bertelè 4997 22 mm, 3.89g

Type with two standing figures, emperor and saint (loosely inspired by Theodore I Lascaris silver trikephalon DOC 4/2, pl. 27.2 and 27.3, or copper stamenon pl. 28, 9)

a. Obv. Two standing figures (either emperor and military saint or in other specimens two emperors) with star above between their heads. In center field below, a short patriarchal cross

Rev. Nimbate figure of Christ or saint holding in each hand a globe with patriarchal cross.

DO has two specimens (Bertelè 4980 Fig. 3 ill. Pierced at 3 h., diam. 28, wt. 6.38g; Bertelè 4979, pierced at 3 h., diam. 28, wt. 5.39).

b. Obv. Two standing figures sometimes wearing crowns with triangular peaks holding between them a long staff with six pointed star on top.

Rev. Christ on throne with back

The emperors' crowns appear more western than Byzantine. Bendall's specimen is enclosed in a brass mount with serrated inner borders which survives because it is of brass and not of gold. This amulet is impossible to date but could be as late as the 17th or 18th centuries.

Fig. 4 ill.: Bertelè 4995 (23mm, 2.78g) and Bendall fig. 5 both with Christ on throne

Type of John III hyperpyron (DOC 4, pl. XXIX, 4a–XXX, 10a)

Obv. Emperor blessed by Virgin standing

Rev. Christ on throne without back

DO has 21 specimens (diam. 26 to 20mm; wt. 6.49 to 2.89g; 13 are flat, two only are pierced; two have a medal die-axis, i.e. at 6 o'clock; one is gilt)

Fig. 6 ill.: Bertelè 4928 (22mm 4.50g)

Type of Andronikos II and Michael IX hyperpyron (DOC 5, pl. 15ff)

Obv. Emperors kneeling blessed by Christ

Rev. Bust of Virgin orans within walls. In field, l. and r. K L Traces of circular legend between two linear borders;

DO has one gilded specimen in a circular mount with a loop at 12 on the obv. (Fig. 7 Schindler coll no. 1739; diam 29mm, total weight 6.03g).

Type with emperor and saint

Obv. Two standing figures holding between them a long cross. On the left, an emperor holding a cross in r. hand, on the right, a military saint holding a long sword in his l., his r. hand holding the central cross above that of the emperor.

Rev. Half-length figure of Virgin orans MP ΘV

DO has eight specimens (diam. 31 to 27mm; wt 5.66 to 4.27g; one with traces of gilding is pierced at 3:30, 8 and 12, one in brass is mounted in a circle of folded up petals, another is mounted in a circle of small x's with a loop soldered at 12 o'clock); the Whittemore collection has three, two of them being pierced at 12 o'clock; Simon Bendall's collection has three, two of them gilt. DO's specimens and Bendall's all have 12 o'clock die axes. When pierced or mounted the hole or loop in the coins is always at 12 o'clock. Bendall has a specimen with re-engraved figures which is gilt except for the series of triangles around the edge. It is possible that this amulet was originally in a gold mount, held in place by the crimping of the serrated edge of the mount before it was gilded. The mount, later removed for its gold content, would thus have left this triangular pattern showing the original copper and only after the removal of the mount would the amulet have been pierced.

Fig. 8–10 ill.: Bendall coll. and DO Peirce coll. 3778, diam. 31mm, wt. 6.85g

The die orientation allowed that after piercing either side could be exhibited the correct way up. But the fact that the gilding, or the imprint, has worn away on the convex side with the bust of the Virgin suggests that it is this side that was next to the wearer's clothing and that the side depicting the two figures was the one exposed to view.

This type has been known since Sabatier who described it as an issue of Michael VIII and Andronicus II, noting rightly that "la légende de cette monnaie...de fabrique barbare, est confuse et illisible" and stating that he had seen several specimens.³⁷ In fact the type is attested in

³⁷ Sabatier (1862) 245, no. 15, pl. 59, 16.

Athens (Kanta collection 47.16)³⁸ while specimens from the same mould are found in Padoa, in Udine, in the Ratto sale (n° 2222) and in the Hunterian cabinet, Glasgow³⁹

Types with saint Constantine and Helena (numerous varieties)

a. Obv. Two standing nimbate figures holding cross.

Rev. Bust of Christ Emmanuel

DO Peirce collection, from Raymond XI-1928 (diam. 22mm; wt 3.63g) and Bertelè 4972 (no rev., incuse, diam. 25; wt. 1.49g) *Fig. 11* ill.

b. Obv. Two nimbate figures standing three-quarter length. In the middle a globus cruciger with Latin cross in field below and letter L in field above (for Helena?). In lower field r. cross

Rev. "Anastasis" Christ standing holding long patriarchal cross on his r. shoulder and globus with patriarchal cross in his l. hand

DO has two specimens (Bertelè 4970 *Fig. 12* ill. Pierced at 12 o'clock, diam. 24, wt. 1.78g; Bertelè 4971, diam. 23, wt. 2.67g, gilt). A variant shows the same globus with cross on obverse but a conspicuous cross in lower field and another in field r. on reverse (DO Bertelè 4987, *fig. 13* diam 25, 2.67g)

c. Obv. Two nimbate figures standing each holding cross on their exterior shoulder and a globus cruciger in the middle. Above, center and in lower field r. a six- and an eight-pointed star.

Rev. completely worn

DO Bertelè 4978 (*Fig. 14* ill.; diam. 23, wt. 2.873g).

d. Obv. Two standing figures in robes (no nimbus) wearing crowns with three triangular peaks. The figure on the left generally holds a cross on its r. arm, the figure on the right a globus cruciger in his, or her, r. hand. In field left (or left and right) a six-pointed star. On a few specimens the letters € L (*Helena*) or var. can be seen on the left and C O (*Constantino*) on the right.

Rev. completely or very worn. Two specimens show a standing figure holding cross in her r. hand with a star above and cross below in field right.

DO has five specimens all pierced at 12 o'clock, one at 12 and 6 (diam 25 to 22; wt. 4.77 to 2.24) *Fig. 15* ill.: Bertelè 4977 (25mm, 2.75g). *Fig. 16* ill.: Bendall coll.

e. Obv. Half-length figure of Constantine left and Helena right, holding between them a cross on shaft. On either side of the shaft, below € X

Rev. Christ on throne.

Fig. 17 ill. DO Bertelè 5002

³⁸ Galani-Krikou et al. (2000) 236–237, no. 47.16.

³⁹ Callegher (2001) 37–38 draws attention to this identity between Padoa no. 624, Udine (Callegher [1996] no. 134), the Ratto specimen, no. 2222 and the Glasgow one (Bateson and Campbell [1998] pl. 21, BIC 1). He also cites a fifth identical specimen in Trieste.

The letters may be Latin and represent the initials of Helena and Constantine since on the Latin imitation trachea (*DOC* 4.2, pl. 52, no. 26.8) Helena appears on the left and Constantine on the right. The crowns with triangular peaks appear more Western than Byzantine and perhaps reflect the mode introduced in the Balkans (e.g. on Serbian coinage) following the penetration of Italian and other coinages. Similar crowns appear on the “enigmatic coin” that copies trachea of John V and John VI known in Bulgarian hoards and from the Thessalonica excavations on Dioiketeriou Square.⁴⁰

Other types with two imperial figures

- a. Obv. Two crowned figures holding between them a globus cruciger.
Rev. Bust of Christ
Crudely executed. Flat coin
Bendall (*Fig. 18*) with regular 6 o'clock die orientation, Bendall (*Fig. 19*) with 12 o'clock die axis
- b. Obv. Same as above
Rev. Christ standing
Bendall (No illustration available) Flat coin with 12 o'clock die axis
- c. Obv. Two imperial figures standing, the one on l. holding labarum-headed sceptre and the one on the r. a sceptre cruciger. Inscr. on l. $\epsilon \times \tau$
Rev. Nimbate bust of Christ holding labarum-headed sceptre in r. hand and in l. globus cruciger before chest. Inscr. NC or XC in field
Bendall (*Fig. 20*) Flat coin with 12 o'clock die axis.

The most important feature of this amulet is that it is overstruck on a coin of the same size and thickness from which the letters NOVA can be seen above the heads of the two standing figures. These letters are Latin, quite large and neat, and the undertype was obviously about the same size as this amulet. The flan was obviously mechanically rather than hand made and it has been suggested by several friends who examined it that it was a European coin of the late 17th century with the legend *MONETA NOVA*, which dates this and presumably the above coins (*Figs. 16–18*) to some 250 years after the fall of Constantinople

⁴⁰ Bendall (1996); Georganteli (2001).

d. Obv. Two standing crowned bearded figures in loros each holding cross on their exterior arm. In center field a globus cruciger. The figure on the right seems to be blessing the one on the left. Long inscr generally illegible but apparently on the r. ending ΤΟΥ or ΤΔΥ

Rev. Christ seated on backless throne, r. hand raised in benediction and holding long cross in l. hand.

Bendall (no. 11. No illustration available) Pierced at 3 and 9 o'clock (large holes). Flat coin with 12 o'clock die axis.

e. Obv. Two nimbate figures holding long cross between them.

Rev. Similar figures; Left hand figure's hand superior on the staff.

Bendall (*Fig. 21*) 12 o'clock die axis. Struck on a smaller, flat and thicker flan and possibly earlier in date than the following ones.

Bendall (*Fig. 22*), with 12 o'clock die axis, has the same design on the obverse and in repoussé on the reverse, on a thin flan in very crude style, Pierced at 12 o'clock with "medal" die orientation

Type of Venetian grosso (Rainerio Zeno)

Obv. Doge standing receiving banner from San Marco. Traces of inscr.

Rev. Christ on throne with back. In field IC XC

DO has two specimens (Schindler 1757 (*Fig. 23*), and 1758 (diam. 25mm; wt. 4.57 and 4.48g) both within a mount decorated with small globules. 1757 has traces of attachment at 12 on the reverse (above Christ's head)

Type of emperor blessed by Virgin (?)

Obv. Emperor standing on left holding in r. a large globus cruciger, blessed by Virgin standing on the right. Left ΚΩ above head & right Α C (Κωνσταντίνος βασιλεύς?)

Rev. Virgin (?) on throne without back. In field left, eight pointed star. Inscr. Left Μ Ο or Μ Δ right Ο Δ

DO Bertelè 4988 (*Fig. 24*) ill. (diam. 24; wt. 2,496g) Flat coin, crude style and 12 o'clock die axis.

The lettering here seems westernized and post-byzantine.

As far as they can be identified, the prototypes of these pseudo-coins are often precious metal denominations, either the hyperpyron electrum or silver *trikephalon* dating from the mid-twelfth to the thirteenth century. This fact confirms that this production aimed at providing the less affluent part of the Byzantine population with copies of more precious original coins like the one mentioned in Italikos' letter. The date of these models provides a terminus *ante quem*, in agreement with the date of Michael Italikos' letter and contemporary with the vogue for representations of the imperial couple, which resulted in the

production of what seems an abundant and varied series. It started in a relatively prosperous economic context and extended probably over a long period of time. But style, even the obviously increasing distance of the pseudo-coins from the Byzantine models, cannot give a measure of time elapsed nor indicate the date of production. Only finds in an archaeological context will help in that respect.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Gautier, P., ed. 1972. *Lettres et discours [de] Michel Italikos*. Paris.
 Preger, T., ed. 1901/1989. *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*. Repr. Leipzig.

Secondary Literature

- Bateson, J. and I. Campbell. 1998. *Byzantine and early medieval western European coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, University of Glasgow*. London.
 Bellinger, A., P. Grierson and M. Hendy. 1966–99. *Catalogue of the Byzantine coins in the Dumbarton Oaks and in the Whittemore Collection*. Washington, DC.
 Bendall, S. 1995. "A Byzantine numismatic amulet." *Numismatic Circular* 103/3: 87.
 —. 1996. "An enigmatic fourteenth century coin." *Numismatic Circular* 104: 39.
 —. 2002. "The Dioikitirion square trachion reconsidered." *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 21: 107–15.
 Bertelè, T. 1948. "Costantino il Grande e S. Elena su alcune monete bizantine." *Numismatica*: 91–106.
 Bidez, J. 1924–. *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimistes grecs*, vol. 6. Bruxelles.
 Boyd, S. A. and S. Zwirn. 2005. Addendum (to) M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and early medieval antiquities in Dumbarton Oaks*, vol. 2. Washington, DC.
 Brenot, C. and C. Metzger. 1992. "Trouvailles de bijoux monétaires dans l'Occident romain." In *L'or monnayé*: Vol. 3, *Trouvailles de monnaies d'or dans l'Occident romain*. Ed. C. Brenot and X. Loriot, 315–71. Cahiers Ernest-Babelon 4. Paris.
 Brubaker, L. 1994. "To legitimize an emperor: Constantine and visual authority in the eighth and ninth centuries." In Magdalino (1994), 139–58.
 Bruhn, J. A. 1993. *Coins and costume in late antiquity*. Washington, DC.
 Bühl, G., ed. 2008. *Dumbarton Oaks: The collections*. Washington, DC.
 Burguet Fuentes, E. 2001. "Una pieza inédita de medalla de Santa Elena u 'ochavo de Santa Elena' y nueva aportación al estudio de estas monedas usadas como amuleto." *Gaceta numismática* 143/IV-01: 23–29.
 Callegher, B. 1996. "Le monete bizantine della collezione Rodolfo di Colloredo Mels al Museo Civico di Udine." *Udine. Bollettino delle civiche istituzioni culturali*, 3a ser., 3: 7–50.
 —. 2001. *Catalogo delle monete bizantine, vandale e longobarde del Museo Bottacin*. Vol. 1. Padova.
 —. 2009. "Da imperatore a santo militare: «San Costantino» su monete e su sigilli tra XII e XIII secolo." *Numismatica e antichità classiche. Quaderni Ticinesi* 38: 285–309.
 Callu, J.-P. 1992. "'Ortus Constantini' Aspects historiques de la légende." *Costantino il Grande. Dall'antichità all'Umanesimo. Colloquio sul Cristianesimo nel mondo antico*, Macerata 18–20 Dec. 1990, 253–82. Macerata.
 —. 1991. "La perforation de l'or romain." in *Die Münze. Bild—Botschaft—Bedeutung. Festschrift für Maria R.-Alföldi*. Ed. H.-C. Noeske, H. Schubert, 98–121. Frankfurt.

- Chatzemichale, A. 1979. *The Greek folk costume*. Athens.
- Dagron G. 1996. *Constantinople imaginaire*. Paris.
- Delamare, F. 1994. *Le frai des monnaies—The wear of coins*. Cahiers Ernest-Babelon 5. Paris.
- Fulghum, M. 2001. "Coins used as amulets." In *Between magic and religion. Interdisciplinary studies in ancient mediterranean religion and society*. Ed. S. Asirvatham, C. Ondine Pache, and J. Watrous, 139–47. Lanham, MD.
- Galani-Krikou, M., I. Touratsoglou, E. Tsourte. 2000. Συλλογή Ηλία Καντά. Βυζαντινά νομίσματα. Athens.
- Georganteli, E. 2001. "A Palaiologan trachion." *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 20: 71–93.
- Georgoula, E., ed. 1984. *Cosmèsis: la parure féminine en Grèce à l'époque post-byzantine: collection du Musée Benaki*. Fribourg.
- Grabar, A. 1951. "Un médaillon en or provenant de Mersine en Cilicie." *DOP* 6: 27–49.
- Grierson, P. 1955/2001. "The Kyrenia girdle of Byzantine medallions and solidi." *Numismatic Chronicle* 6th ser., 15: 55–70. Repr. in P. Grierson, *Scritti storici numismatici*, 175–90. Spoleto.
- Hammarberg, I., B. Malmer and T. Zachrisson. 1989. *Byzantine coins found in Sweden*. Stockholm.
- Hasluck, W. 1913/1966. "Constantinata." In *Essays and studies presented to William Ridgeway*. Ed. G. Quiggin, 635–38. Repr. Freeport, NY.
- Jones, M. 1979. *The art of the medal*. London.
- Koukoules, P. 1917. "Κωνσταντινάτα." *Λαογραφία* 6: 216–20.
- Laurent, V. 1940. "Numismatique et folklore dans la tradition byzantine." *Cronica numismatica si arheologica* 15: 3–16.
- Leroy, C. 2007. "Le trésor de Bruges (1877) et la circulation des florins d'or de Florence au nord des Alpes de 1250 à 1350." *Revue belge de numismatique* 153: 87–134.
- Magdalino, P., ed. 1994. *New Constantines. The rhythm of imperial renewal in Byzantium, 4th–13th centuries*. Aldershot.
- Maguire, H. 1997. "Money and magic in the early middle ages." *Speculum* 72: 1037–54.
- , ed. 1995. *Byzantine magic*. Washington, DC.
- Markopoulos, A. 1994. "Constantine the Great in Macedonian historiography: Models and approaches." In Magdalino (1994) 159–79.
- Morrisson, C. 1992/1994. "L'épigraphie des monnaies et des sceaux à l'époque byzantine." In *Paleografia e codicologia greca, Atti del II Colloquio internazionale (Berlino-Wolfenbüttel, 17–21 ottobre 1983)*. Ed. D. Harlfinger and G. Prato, 251–74. Alessandria. Repr. in C. Morisson, *Monnaie et finances dans l'empire byzantine*, art. 2. Aldershot.
- . Forthcoming, 2012. "Imperial generosity and its monetary expression: The rise and decline of the 'largesses.'" In *Donation et donateurs dans l'empire byzantine*. Ed. E. Yota. Réalités byzantines 14. Paris.
- Musteață, S. 2008. "Byzantinische Münzfunde im Karpatenbecken und nördlich der unteren Donau im 8.–9. Jahrhundert." In *Kulturwandel im Mitteleuropa. Langobarden—Awaren—Slawen*. Ed. J. Bemmman, M. Schmauder, 679–90. Bonn.
- Perassi, C. 2005. "Un prodigioso filatterio monetale nella Costantinopoli del XII secolo: l'epistola 33 di Michele Italico." *Aevum* 79: 363–405.
- Pitarakis, B. 2006. *Croix-reliquaires pectorales en bronze*. Paris.
- Reinert, F., ed. 2008. *Moselgold: der römische Schatzfund von Machlum, ein kaiserliches Geschenk*. Luxembourg.
- Sabatie, P. J. 1862. *Description générale des monnaies byzantines*. Paris.
- Scher, S., ed. 2000. *Perspectives on the Renaissance medal*. London and New York.
- Somogyi, P. 1997. *Byzantinische Fundmünzen der Awarenzeit*. Innsbruck.
- Spieser, J.-M. 2009. "Hélène, mère de Constantin." *Micrologus*: 129–48.
- Travaini, L. 2001. "The Normans between Byzantium and the Islamic world." *DOP* 55: 179–96.

- . 2007. "La bolla numismatica di Sisto V." *Sanctorum* 4: 203–40.
- . 2008. "Les frontières de l'Éternité ? Le cas d'un nom de monnaie: *santalene*." *Revue Numismatique* 164: 169–83.
- Werner, J. 1984. *Der Grabfund von Malaja Pereščepina und Kuvrat Kagan der Bulgaren*. Bayerische Akademie der Wiss., philos.-hist. Klasse Abhandlungen, Neue Folge 91. Munich.
- Zalesskaja, V. N., Z. A. Lvova, B. I. Marcak, I. V. Sokolova, N. A. Fonjakova. 1997. *Sokrovišča khana Kubrata. Perescepinskij Klad* St. Petersburg.



Fig. 1. Bertelè DO BZC
1960.88.4966.



Fig. 2. Bertelè DO BZC
1960.88.4997.



Fig. 3. Bertelè DO BZC
1960.88.4980.

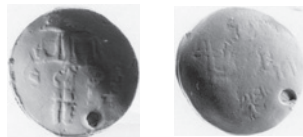


Fig. 4. Bertelè DO BZC
1960.88.4995.



Fig. 5. Bendall coll.



Fig. 6. Bertelè DO BZC
1960.88.4928.



Fig. 7. Schindler BZC
1960.125.1739.



Fig. 8. Bendall.



Fig. 9. Bendall.



Fig. 10. Peirce DO BZC
1948.17.3778.



Fig. 11. Bertelè DO BZC
1960.88.4972.



Fig. 12. Bertelè DO BZC
1960.88.4970.



Fig. 13. DO Bertelè
1960.88.4987.

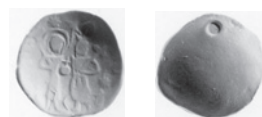


Fig. 14. Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88
4978.



Fig. 15. Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88
4977.



Fig. 16. Bendall coll.



Fig. 17. Bertelè DO BZC 1960.88
5002.



Fig. 18. Bendall coll.



Fig. 19. Bendall coll.



Fig. 20. Bendall coll.



Fig. 21. Bendall coll.



Fig. 22. Bendall coll.



Fig. 23. DO Schindler BZC
1960.125.1757.



Fig. 24. DO Bertelè DO BZC
1960.88 4988.

NEW EVIDENCE ON LEAD FLASKS AND DEVOTIONAL PATTERNS: FROM CRUSADER JERUSALEM TO BYZANTIUM

Brigitte Pitarakis*

The wealth of pilgrimage souvenirs from the early Christian period contrasts with the paucity of materials from medieval pilgrimage shrines. The distribution of sacred substances with healing properties, especially fragrant oil or *myron*, in medieval pilgrimage shrines in Greece and Anatolia was probably made in relevant receptacles, but unfortunately the only shrine which has produced such evidence is that of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike.¹ This issue has already struck the interest of Alice-Mary Talbot who observed that the question of middle and late Byzantine *eulogiai* is a topic that would reward further investigation.² My intention in this paper is to discuss two unpublished lead flasks in the Halûk Perk Museum in Istanbul in light of comparative material from twelfth-century Jerusalem. In this respect, I will first explore the iconography of a small group of flasks from the Holy Sepulcher within the historical, artistic and religious background which produced them. The motivations which lie behind the creation of this ensemble will provide the ground for a discussion of the unusual iconography found on one of the two flasks in the Halûk Perk Museum. Finally, a second flask from the same collection will allow an exploration of the link between the decoration of these flasks, their content and the issuing shrine or the ritual which is at the origin of their content.

* I am particularly grateful to Halûk Perk who allowed me to publish the two lead flasks in his collection as well as to Prof. Gülgün Köroğlu who is currently studying this material. Many thanks also to Holger Klein for the illustration of the lead flask from the Cleveland Museum of Art. Sharon Gerstel, Catherine Jolivet-Lévy and Jean-Pierre Sodini should also be acknowledged for their useful comments on the unusual decorative patterns found on the flasks.

¹ See Bakirtzis (1990) and Bakirtzis (2002) 175–192 (with earlier bibliography).

² Talbot (2003) 161–162 and note 45.

1 DEPICTIONS OF THE HOLY SEPULCHER IN THE LATIN KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM

The Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem, or more precisely the *aedicula* enclosing the Tomb of Christ, is at the core of the iconography of a well defined group of lead flasks dated ca. 600, a large collection of which is kept at the treasuries of Monza and Bobbio in Italy.³ A small group of lead flasks from Crusader Jerusalem bears witness to the increased importance of architecture on pilgrimage *souvenirs* of the later period. I will discuss them in light of the iconography of coins and seals of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

These flasks have a similar rounded body with a convex surface on both sides and a large flaring neck with two lateral rings for suspension. On one side, they share in common a tripartite view of the complex of the Holy Sepulcher, while the other side is devoted to a Christological scene or to the representation of saintly figures. One member of this group, which is housed in Berlin, was the subject of important scholarly attention in recent years.⁴ A second one in the British Museum was discussed in the exhibition catalogue *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture* (1994).⁵ This latter piece was also included in Robert Ousterhout's (2003) demonstration that the architectural frame of the Holy Sepulcher could also be viewed as a relic.⁶ To the best of my knowledge, a third example in the Cleveland Museum of Art was still unpublished when I first mentioned it in a paper devoted the emergence of multiple centers of production in Greece and Anatolia (2008).⁷

The architectural pattern used on these flasks offers a transverse section of the building complex of the Holy Sepulcher following its restoration by the Crusaders (1149) and the completion of the bell-tower (ca. 1154). The Anastasis Rotunda at the center, with its open

³ Grabar (1958) esp. Monza no. 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15; Bobbio no. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 15, 18; Kötzsche (1995) 274–276, pl. 28; Vikan (1998) 241–243, 249–250, 260–261.

⁴ Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inv. no. 25/73. See Kötzsche (1988) Kötzsche (1995) 281–283, pl. 30; Folda (1995) 294–297, pl. 8B.8; *Die Welt von Byzanz* (2004) 200, no. 276.

⁵ Buckton (1994) 187, no. 202.

⁶ Ousterhout (2003) esp. 4–6, 20. See also Vikan (1995/2003) 385, who presents the Holy Sepulcher as a 'living icon' of the Resurrection.

⁷ Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1999.234. See Pitarakis (2008) 396–397, fig. 1.

domical vault, is flanked by the basilica with a central dome to the left and the three-storeyed bell-tower with a pointed roof to the right. The distinctive feature of these flasks is the representation of the interior of the Tomb *aedicula* including the image of the dead body of Christ laid on the burial slab beneath a lamp hanging from the center of an arch. Of the three lead flasks, the Berlin one offers the most accurate drawing of the details (*fig. 1*). It reproduces the three characteristic port-holes on the side of the burial couch of Christ, whose nimbed head and body, oriented in the east-west axis, are clearly recognizable. The letters O A(γίος) TA(φος) can be read on either side of the dome of the Anastasis.⁸ On the London (*fig. 2*) and Cleveland (*fig. 3*) flasks the body of Christ and the side of the burial couch are roughly suggested by a zigzag pattern and the orientation of the body seems to be reversed.

A similar view of the Holy Sepulcher is attested on one of the earliest maps of Jerusalem in Cambrai (ca. 1170). The accurate depiction of the Holy Sepulcher includes the *aedicula* within the Rotunda identified by the Greek name Anastasis on the top, the Crusader bell tower and the courtyard to the left of the monumental entrance at the south transept.⁹ The dead Christ on the burial couch is not represented on the map, the function of which is not devotional. The reversal of the left-right sequence of the buildings on the ampullae is perhaps due to a different point of view, but it seems also likely to suggest that it simply results from the negative carving in the mould. The emphasis placed on architecture in the decoration of lead flasks and the tripartite arrangement of the buildings find further parallels in the iconography of coins and seals of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. A tradition in the iconography of the royal seal, already initiated by Baldwin I (r. 1100–1118), was the introduction of the three architectural symbols of Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulcher, the Dome of the Rock and the Tower of David, on the reverse. With the introduction of the *oculus* in the shape of a curved line on top of the dome of the Holy Sepulcher on the seals of Baldwin III (1153–1162), the image becomes more closely associated with that found on the lead flasks.¹⁰ Seal iconography also

⁸ Transcription by Kötzsche (1988) 17.

⁹ Cambrai, Médiathèque municipale, MS. 437, fol. 1r. Folda (1995) 294; Rozenberg (1999) 231–232 and *fig. 2*; Delpont, Fauret and Koïkas (2001) 95, no. 63.

¹⁰ Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet (1943) 4–5, pl. XVI, 2. See also discussion in Folda (1995) 290.

seems to have served as model for the distinctive use of architecture on the coins of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Tower of David was the monument selected by Baldwin I until the first introduction of the Anastasis Rotunda by his successor Amaury I soon after his accession in 1163.¹¹ As Jaroslav Folda has demonstrated, the shift from a secular architecture to the most significant holy shrine of Christendom reflects a desire to foster ties with Byzantium and enhance the identification of Jerusalem jointly with Crusader and Byzantine policy. The iconography of coins reflects a desire to foster the privileged ties with Byzantium already reflected in the diplomatic mission of Amaury I to Constantinople (1165) to negotiate for a Byzantine princess to be his wife. Like the lead flasks, the coins offer a simultaneous representation of the exterior of the roof and the interior of the arcading of the Rotunda. However, coin iconography omits the *aedicula* and ancillary buildings which were given a Crusader look in order to highlight the most important Byzantine component of the Crusader church.¹² The dating of the lead flasks may then be placed in this period of intensification of Byzantine influence in Jerusalem from the marriage of Princess Theodora to King Baldwin III in 1159 to the reign of Amaury I (1163–1174).¹³

The architectural setting found on the lead flasks focuses on the Tomb *aedicula* and its furnishings which are at the core of the pilgrims' veneration. These are the lamp hanging above the dead body of Christ and the port-holes on the side of his burial couch. The arch from which the lamp hangs probably refers to the rebuilding work carried out in the *aedicula* following its destruction by the Caliph al-Hakim (1009).¹⁴ In ca. 1012–1040, the Tomb Chamber was covered with a coupola on a hexagonal ciborium in order to keep out the rain water falling from the oculus on top of the Rotunda. The cladding of the burial couch with slabs equally dates from this period.¹⁵ The Russian

¹¹ The Anastasis Rotunda appears on the billon denier of King Amaury I, ca. 1163–1164. See Folda (1995) 335, pl. 9.1 and color pl. 24.

¹² Folda (1995) 336–337.

¹³ Folda (1995) 296.

¹⁴ By a comparative study of written sources, Biddle challenges the traditional attribution of the rebuilding of the Anastasis Rotunda to Constantine IX Monomachos. He proposes a chronology in two phases. A first phase of local inspiration (1012–1023) and a second phase which was Byzantine and imperial (ca. 1037–1038 to ca. 1040): Biddle (1999) 74–80.

¹⁵ See Biddle (1999) 85–86.

Abbot Daniel who visited Jerusalem in 1106/1108 is the earliest certain surviving witness to the existence of these port-holes, while their first dated visual occurrence is on the representation of the three Marys and the Angel beside the Tomb on a seal of Warmund (or Guermond), patriarch of Jerusalem, 1118/19 to 1128.¹⁶ The depiction of the port-holes within the architectural setting of the Rotunda is attested on the seals of the canons of the Holy Sepulcher, the earliest dated example of which is appended on a document dated 1172 (*fig. 4*). These seals show a section of the Anastasis Rotunda with its characteristic open domical vault, while the *aedicula* includes the three port-holes at the side of the burial couch. However, the dead body of Christ is not represented.¹⁷

Let us now look at the images that accompany that of the Holy Sepulcher on the other side of the above mentioned lead flasks. These images are also consistent with the iconographic trends on the lead seals of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. The selection of the scene of the Women at the Tomb on the Berlin flask follows the tradition of early Christian flasks, but the iconography reflects the prevalent type in Western art of the twelfth century (*fig. 1*). The Holy Women are accompanied by a Greek inscription Η ΜΗΡΟΦΩ(ραι). By contrast with the conventional Byzantine iconography based on the Gospel of Matthew (28, 1–7) which represents two Women, the Western iconography of the scene follows the version of Mark (16, 1–7) in which three Women are mentioned. The Tomb is not placed on the central axis of the composition as on the early models but isolated at the right extremity. To the left is an architectural feature which might be identified as a city gate of Jerusalem that the Holy Women have entered. The foremost hands out a closed rounded vessel with a knob, probably a spice-jar.¹⁸ A similar composition can be found on the seals of the patriarchs of Jerusalem Guermond (1118–1128) and William I

¹⁶ Wilkinson (1988) 128; see discussion in Biddle (1999) 39, 86. The seal is lost but is known from a sketch design in the Amico register (Palermo, Biblioteca Comunale, ms. Qq. H. 11). See Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet (1943) 73, pl. XX, 4. The essential features recur in a seal of patriarch William I (1130–1145) that does survive. Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet (1943) 74, pl. I, 7 and 8. See also discussion in Folda (1995) 90, 172.

¹⁷ Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet (1943) 134–135, nos. 163–164, pl. V, 6 and 9.

¹⁸ A similar vessel in the hand of the foremost Woman appears in the miniature of the Holy Women at the Sepulcher on a Gospel lectionary dated around 1220 and attributed to Syria Mesopotamia, in the British Library, London (inv. no. Add. 7170). See Cormack and Vassilaki (2008) 348–349, 457, no. 304.

(1130–1145).¹⁹ Their successor Foulcher I (1146–1157) marked an innovation by replacing the image of the Women at the Sepulcher with that of the Anastasis. Foulcher's choice may reflect a desire to commemorate the transfer of the Anastasis mosaic from the apse of the Rotunda where it stood after its rebuilding following the destruction of al-Hakim (1009) to the main apse of the Crusader church, inaugurated in 1149.²⁰ The same type of the Anastasis is found on a miniature of Melisende's psalter, dated ca. 1131–1143.²¹ It recurs on the Cleveland flask (fig. 3) and a second flask from Crusader Jerusalem in Berlin, the other side of which bears the image of the Crucifixion.²² The Christ in a three-quarter view exerting a forward movement to the right is at the axis of the composition. His head turns slightly backwards as he drags Adam with his right hand, while with his left hand he brandishes a large patriarchal cross. Eve stands immediately behind Adam with her hands extended towards the Savior. The protoplasts are paralleled by the Biblical Kings David and Salomon at the right end of the composition. On the London flask, the image placed on the other side of the representation of the Holy Sepulcher is not a scene from the Passion cycle but a representation of two standing warrior saints identified as George and Demetrios. The mail garments and the kite-shaped shields indicate a date in the early twelfth century and a Crusader context.²³

2 FROM LOCUS SANCTUS PATTERNS TO VISUAL ALLUSIONS TO RITUALS AND LITURGY

Ritual of Veneration at Christ's Tomb a Model for Pilgrimage Practices

The distinctive and yet intriguing feature of the image of the Holy Sepulcher on the lead flasks is the presence of the dead Christ laid on the burial slab beneath a lamp. The image may have been inspired by

¹⁹ Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet (1943) 73–75.

²⁰ Folda (1995) 230. For the seal of Foulcher I, see also Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet (1943) 75–76; Rozenberg (1999) 280.

²¹ London, British Library, Egerton Ms. 1139, fol. 9v. See Buchtal (1957) 5–6, 8, pl. 10a; Folda (1995) 142, pl. 6.8r; Evans and Wixom (1997) 392–393, no. 259.

²² Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inv. No. 24/73. Kötzsche (1988) 19–23, figs. 3–4, 8–10; Folda (1995) 295–296.

²³ Buckton (1994) 187, no. 202.

the mosaic of the Entombment which, according to twelfth-century pilgrims' accounts, stood over the low entrance to the Tomb chamber.²⁴ But still the representation of the dead Christ in a building constructed on the site of the empty Tomb remains a paradox. One may attempt to understand it in light of the ritual of veneration at Christ's Tomb. Medieval pilgrims probably replicated St. Jerome's experience when he says that "whenever we enter [the Tomb of the Lord], we see the Savior lying in the shroud."²⁵ By commemorating the dramatic moment of Christ's Entombment, the image enhances the spiritual presence of Christ which reaches its culmination at the moment of the "miraculous" Descent of the Holy Fire, celebrated annually at the church during the Easter Vigil, from the later ninth century at least.²⁶ The image of the dead Christ laid on the burial couch was probably intended to offer a visual reference to the pilgrim's experience at the moment of touching and kissing the Tomb. It may equally reflect a vision that the pilgrim had at this moment.

A variant of this image is found on the seals of the Grand Masters of the order of the Knights Hospitalers of Jerusalem. The earliest occurrence is on the seal of Raymond of Le Puy dated 1134. The seal is divided into two horizontal compartments: an onion dome and two subordinate flanking domes on the top, which emphasize the Crusader features of the building, and the burial chamber below. However, here the body of Christ is associated with two large crosses placed at his head and feet, while a censer waved by an invisible hand appears above his feet. The association of this sepulchral image to that of the Grand Master kneeling with both hands joined before a patriarchal cross on the obverse of the seal place it in the context of the ritual of veneration at the Holy Sepulcher.²⁷ A more eloquent composition appears on the seal of patriarch William II of Jerusalem (1261–1270). Here, the dead body of Christ is laid beneath a double arcature from which hang two lamps, while three men, probably the patriarch himself

²⁴ See Biddle (1999) 83–84.

²⁵ Jerome, *Epistula* 46.5, PL 22, 426. Commented in Ousterhout (2003) 4. Similarly, let us mention the experience of Jerome's companion Paula when she came before the wood of the True Cross in Jerusalem: "she fell down and worshipped... as if she could see the Lord hanging on it." St. Jerome Letter 108 to Eustochium, trans. Wilkinson (2002) 83. Discussion in Vikan (1990/2003) 97.

²⁶ Ousterhout (1989) 69; Canard (1965) 16–43; Biddle (1999) 138.

²⁷ Folda (1995) 294; Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet (1943) 232 and pl. XI, 8 for a later seal (1192–94) of this type.

with other prelates, stand above the body that they venerate (*fig. 5*).²⁸ The inscription in the exergue of the seal that reads † SEPVLCRM (XISTI) VIVENTIS, The Sepulcher of the Living Christ, is taken from the Paschal hymn “Victimae paschali laudes”, composed by Wipo of Burgundy in the eleventh century.²⁹

The reference to the Paschal hymn highlights the Passion symbolism of the image which is equally emphasized by the foliate cross within a vine scroll placed on the neck of the lead flasks in the axis of the body of the dead Christ (see *fig. 1*). The image can be viewed in the broader context of the artistic language of the twelfth-century which favored the creation of new iconographic types such as the Threnos, the Man of Sorrows and the Amnos or sacrificed Child on the altar. These images reflect a new sensibility towards the depiction of emotions, especially sorrow, which is linked to the growing influence of the language of liturgy.³⁰ But as Hans Belting has pointed out, the new artistic language owed its very existence to the new way of staging the mysteries. The new iconographic types were intended to match the extension of the Passion rituals.³¹ These iconographic experiences also joined to highlight the symbolic link between the Tomb, the altar and the crib. The altar on which the diminutive figure of Christ is laid, as in the church of St. George in Kurbinovo (1195), for instance, takes a rectangular shape similar to that of the burial slab.³² The miniature representing the Women at the Sepulcher on a thirteenth-century Gospel Book in Berlin provides a further interesting parallel to the image of the dead Christ within the Anastasis Rotunda. The two Marys are shown sitting by the Sepulcher, while the dead body of Christ is contained in the open stone sarcophagus with arched decorations on the front. His body tightly wrapped in the burial attire echoes that of the infant in swaddling clothes in the crib in Nativity scenes of the Middle Byzantine period.³³ A similar message is conveyed by the

²⁸ Schlumberger, Chalandon and Blanchet (1943) 80–81, nos. 19 and 20, pl. II, 1 and 2.

²⁹ Dic nobis, Maria./Quid vidisti in via?/Sepulchrum Christi viventis/Et gloriam vidi resurgentis. See <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15407a.htm>.

³⁰ Maguire (1977); Maguire (1981) esp. 91–108.

³¹ Belting (1980–1981) esp. 4, 6.

³² Babić (1968) 385–86; Hadermann-Misguich (1975) 67–78; Velmans (2001) 110; Gerstel (1999) 40–41.

³³ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, gr. qu. 66, fol. 96r. Discussion in Maguire (1977) 134, 139–140, fig. 19.

representation of the burial of St. George in the frame of an early thirteenth-century icon of the saint with scenes from his life and miracles. The dead body of the saint, swathed in bandages, is laid on a sarcophagus topped by a vaulted arch which evokes a martyrrium.³⁴

The image of the dead Christ laid in the Sepulcher is linked with Jerusalem, but its sacrificial symbolism and role in the pilgrims' ritual accorded with its transmission to the iconography of the burial of martyrs. More precisely, the image appears to have served as a prototype for the iconography of St. Demetrios on artifacts associated with his shrine in Thessalonike. The hinged enamelled flap in the interior of a thirteenth-century *enkolpion* in the British Museum, which according to its inscription was intended to hold the blood and *myron* of the saint, shows St. Demetrios lying in his tomb beneath an arch from which a lamp is suspended. The flap opens to reveal a *repoussé* version of the same figure (fig. 6).³⁵ A similar *repoussé* figure of St. Demetrios is at the interior of a second thirteenth-century enamelled *enkolpion* at Dumbarton Oaks.³⁶ As Charalampos Bakirtzis has demonstrated, secure testimonies on the emanation of fragrant oil, or *myron*, from the relics of St. Demetrios in his shrine in Thessalonike first appear in the mid-eleventh century. It is also from this period that there developed the distribution of *myron* in lead flasks, commonly named *koutrouvia*, decorated with the image of St. Demetrios commonly associated with St. Theodora, the second *myron*-producing saint from Thessalonike. The *myron* was said to have emerged from the tomb or *larnax* of the saint, the existence of which, however, was never established.³⁷ Before the appearance of the *myron*, the focal point of pilgrimages to the shrine of St. Demetrios was the ciborium, believed to be the dwelling-place of the saint in the nave of the church and the object of veneration was the sweet-smelling earth, *lythron*, from the spot where the saint would have been buried.³⁸ The transmission of the iconography of the

³⁴ Sinai, The Holy Monastery of St. Catherine. See Cormack and Vassilaki (2008) 366–367, 460, no. 315.

³⁵ British Museum, inv. no. M&LA 1926,4–9,1. Diam. 37.5 mm. See Grabar (1950) 16–18; Buckton (1994) 185–186, no. 200, pp. 185–86; Evans and Wixom (1997) 167–168, no. 116; Papanikola-Bakirtzi (2002) 180, no. 201.

³⁶ Dumbarton Oaks, inv. no. 53.20. Diam. 2.8 cm. See Grabar (1954) 305–313; Evans and Wixom (1997) 168, no. 117; Papanikola-Bakirtzi (2002) 180–183, no. 202; Ross (2005) 111–112, no. 160, pl. 75.

³⁷ Bakirtzis (2002) 177, 180.

³⁸ Bakirtzis (2002) 176–185.

dead Christ in the Sepulcher to that of St. Demetrios in the thirteenth century may be linked to the fact that during the Latin occupation of Thessalonike (1204–1224), it was the canons of the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem who officiated at the shrine of St. Demetrios.³⁹

Locus Sanctus Imagery and Liturgy

To the medieval flasks from the Holy Sepulcher and those from the shrine of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike, one may add a further unpublished example in the Halûk Perk Museum in Istanbul (*fig. 7*).⁴⁰ The flask has a circular body made up of two joined halves of cylindrical shape framed by a large border. The elegant vine scroll with alternating grapes and heart-shaped leaves across the border and the stylistic features of the saint favor a dating in the twelfth century. Unfortunately, the bottom and almost half of the body on one side are lacking. The neck is equally damaged and presents losses. However, despite its poor state of conservation, the flask is interesting because of its unusual iconography which is reproduced on both sides.

Let us first look at the small-scale architectural form to the left of the composition. At first sight, one may think of the Anastasis Rotunda. However, this could also be a conventional representation of any martyrrium. Such representations are attested on early Christian artifacts. Let us mention, for example, a seventh-century terracotta flask with St. Menas, on which the standing saint in orant attitude is flanked by two shrines; that on the left has a hanging lamp, that one the right is domed and topped by a cross.⁴¹ This is a stereotyped pattern equally found on a bronze stamp with the image of St. Isidore in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, which was presumably used to make amuletic pilgrim tokens for the visitors to the saint's shrine in Chios.⁴² Another parallel is offered by a bread stamp dated to the late sixth or seventh century in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (*fig. 8*).⁴³ The

³⁹ Grabar (1950) 18.

⁴⁰ Istanbul, Halûk Perk Museum, inv. no. HPM 9467. Height 68 mm; width 42 mm.

⁴¹ Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, MNC, 1926. See Weitzmann (1979) 576–577, no. 516; Vikan (1982) 16 and *fig. 9*. A similar fragmentary flask showing the saint standing next to a circular building topped with a cross is kept in Berlin: Witt (2000) 176, cat. no. 66.

⁴² Vikan (1982) 15 and *fig. 8*.

⁴³ Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 66.29.2. 94. Diam 10.6 cm. Weitzmann (1979) 590–591, no. 530; Gonosová and Kondoleon (1994) 270–271, no. 94.

standing figure of St. Philip, identified by an inscription, is flanked by two church buildings topped with crosses. The one to the left has a pyramidal roof over an arched opening in which a lamp is hanging, while the other one to the right is a domed structure. One of these structures is probably the martyrium of St. Philip in Hierapolis, while the other could be a generic reference to the Holy Sepulcher. Another possibility would be to interpret the two lateral structures as the interior and the exterior view of the same martyrium.

The figure depicted on the Halûk Perk lead flask is not accompanied by any inscription allowing its identification. However, the attributes of the saint and his attitude in relation to the surrounding elements may provide some clues for our understanding of the composition. This is a male nimbed youthful figure enveloped in ample antique garments which, in Byzantine iconography are traditionally associated with Christ, the archangels and the apostles. With regard to the tendencies of the art of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in which visions of the God of the Old Testament often take the features of Christ Emmanuel, the youthful figure might represent the Risen Christ.⁴⁴ This would offer a visual counterpart to the recurrent formula, "The Lord is Risen," above the scene of the Marys at the Tomb on the early Christian flasks from Monza and Bobbio.⁴⁵ However, the absence of a cross-nimbus makes this identification difficult. As the figure is not winged, a young apostle remains therefore the most plausible candidate.

The identity of the figure and its attitude were probably self-evident to the recipient of the flask but remain mysterious to the present viewer. With the right hand, the figure points to a specific spot or object on the ground, while he waves a large olive branch in his left hand. The olive branch is not a common attribute in Byzantine iconography and can only be explained in light of the context or circumstances that

⁴⁴ E.g., Christ Emmanuel in the Vision of Habakkuk is attested in mid-twelfth-century illuminated manuscripts. See Cutler and Spieser (1996) 372, fig. 299 (Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, Ms. Gr. 339, fol. 9v); Cormack and Vassilaki (2008) 247, 436, no. 223 (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Z540 (= 557) fol. 11v). The same composition with youthful Emmanuel recurs on an enamelled enkolpion dated to the early thirteenth century in the Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos: Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, Pitarakis, and Loverdou-Tsigarida (2001) 74–75, no. 23. See also the emergence of the image of Christos-Angelos in the context of the Vision of Habakkuk: Pitarakis (2010).

⁴⁵ See Vikan (1998/2003) 243.

accompany it. The pointed finger of the right hand is probably meant to indicate a *locus sanctus*. If the architectural motif in the background were to be identified as the Holy Sepulcher, one might think of the place across the entrance of Christ's Tomb where the stone was rolled away (Matthew 28:2–3). Since the figure is not an angel, a possible alternative would be John, the younger of the two disciples who bore witness that Jesus was taken away out of the Sepulcher (John 20:1–9). However, if this identification were to be accepted, the present lead flask would offer the unique known occurrence of this iconography and does not explain the prominent role of the olive branch. The latter would be more likely linked with the Mount of Olives. The small-scale church building to the left of the composition might be the octagonal Crusader church of the Ascension. In this case, the spot towards which the youthful figure points could be the site from which Christ rose to heaven before his disciples and more specifically the rock that, according to an early legend, bore the footprints of Christ at the moment of his Ascension.⁴⁶ The holy rock was housed at the center of the church of the Ascension, below the oculus of the dome. According to the testimony of the abbot Daniel (1106/1108), it was clad with marble and topped by an altar for the church service.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the attitude of the youthful apostle (?) who waves the olive branch in the left hand might be connected to the celebration of Palm Sunday in Jerusalem. According to the fourth-century account of Egeria, following the liturgical gathering at the top of the Mount of Olives, the entire congregation with palm or olive branches in hand would escort the bishop into the city and finally reach the Anastasis.⁴⁸ As the Anastasis is the final destination of the procession, this may also be the building represented on the flask.

The preceding discussion is grounded in the elements provided by the decoration of the lead flasks from the Holy Sepulcher. We have proposed a likely interpretation which, however, may be challenged by the discovery of other parallels from Anatolia. If it is not connected with the Mount of Olives, the olive branch might be viewed

⁴⁶ See Kühnel (1994) 30–33. The excavations conducted by Virgilio Corbo (1965) have shown that the Crusader church of the Ascension was an octagon, while the earlier Byzantine building was circular. For the early history of the site of the Mount of Olives and its buildings, see Maraval (1985) 265–266; Bloedhorn (1995) with earlier bibliography.

⁴⁷ Kühnel (1994) 33; Vincent and Abel (1914) 401, 415–416.

⁴⁸ Duchesne (1923) chap. 31, 272–275.

as a reference to the oil contained in the flasks and consequently to a ritual held in any shrine.

3 DISTRIBUTION OF SANCTITY: SANCTIFIED OIL, LOCUS SANCTUS AND THE TRUE CROSS

Already in the fourth century, the account of the pilgrim from Piacenza, who visited Palestine around 570, attests that pilgrims used to take a blessing from the lamp hanging above Christ's Tomb.⁴⁹ The celebration of the Descent of the Holy Fire on Holy Friday, which seems to be attested from the later ninth century at least, made the oil in the lamps the focal point of pilgrimages in the Easter period.⁵⁰ Let us look at the account of the Russian Abbot Daniel (1106/8). The third day after Easter, Daniel reports that he went to the keeper of the keys of the Holy Sepulcher to take away his lamp that he had presumably left inside before the miraculous descent of the Holy Fire:⁵¹

He received me kindly, and made me enter the Tomb quite alone. I saw my lamp on the Holy Sepulcher still burning with the flame of that holy light; I prostrated myself before the sacred Tomb, and, with penitence, covered with kisses and tears the sacred place where the pure body of our Lord Jesus Christ lay. I afterwards measured the length, width, and height of the Tomb as it now is—a thing which no one can do before witnesses. I gave (the keeper of the keys) of the Tomb of the Lord as much as I could, and offered him, according to my means, a small, poor gift. The keeper of the keys, seeing my love for the Holy Sepulcher, pushed back the slab that covers the part of the sacred Tomb on which Christ's head lay, and broke off a morsel of the sacred rock; this he gave me as a blessed memorial, begging me at the same time not to say anything about it at Jerusalem. After again kissing the Tomb of the Lord, and greeting the keeper, I took up my lamp, filled with holy oil, and left the Holy Sepulcher full of joy, enriched by the Divine grace, and bearing in my hand a gift from the sacred place, and a token from the Holy Sepulcher of our Lord.

As illustrated by the decoration of the lead flasks from the Holy Sepulcher, the sacred value of the oil and its healing properties derive from the symbolic presence of Christ beneath an oil lamp. One can

⁴⁹ Wilkinson (2002) 138.

⁵⁰ Biddle (1999) 76, 85, 138.

⁵¹ Wilson (1895) chap. 81; Wilkinson (1988) 128.

assume that lead flasks served to carry the oil taken from the lamps hanging in the Tomb *aedicula*. But this was not the only origin of the sacred oil distributed in the Holy Sepulcher. From the inscriptions accompanying the early Christian flasks we learn that their content was "Oil of the Wood of Life".⁵² The fourth-century account of the pilgrim of Piacenza describes the ritual of the blessing of oil through contact with the wood of the True Cross which was performed at the Basilica of Constantine, adjoining the Tomb and Golgotha. "When the mouth of one of the little flasks touches the Wood of the Cross, the oil instantly bubbles over, and unless it is closed very quickly it all spills out."⁵³ The prominent role of the double-armed cross, commonly named patriarchal cross, on the lead flasks bears witness to the continuity of the ritual in the medieval period. The double-armed patriarchal cross is commonly considered a reference to the True Cross. The top bar is thought to evoke the *titulus* of the Calvary cross which was equally kept in Golgotha.⁵⁴ Consequently, this was the common type used in box-shaped True Cross reliquaries from the tenth to the twelfth centuries.⁵⁵ From the eleventh-century the double-armed cross also became the prominent attribute of Christ in the Anastasis as material evidence of Christ's Passion and a reference to the actual True Cross.⁵⁶

The patriarchal cross with a foliate base is attested on both sides of the neck of the lead flasks bearing the representation of the complex of the Holy Sepulcher (see *fig. 1*). There is a further group of lead flasks of the same period dominated by the single motif of the patriarchal cross on one side, while the other side is devoted to an ornamental motif of universal character. One such example was found during a salvage excavation conducted in the north narthex of Çanlı Kilise, Cappadocia, which revealed several burials, some of which belonged to small children. Most of the objects yielded by the excavation came from a disturbed dirt fill and could not be associated with a particular tomb. However, one has to bear in mind that the north narthex was added during phase II of the construction which can be dated toward

⁵² See Vikan (1998/2003) 243.

⁵³ Wilkinson (2002) 139; Vikan (1990/2003) 101; Frank (2006) 197.

⁵⁴ See Frolow (1965) 132.

⁵⁵ Frolow (1965) 124–134; Klein (2004) *figs.* 19–21, 24–25, 31, 33, 37, 39–41, 51, 53, 59.

⁵⁶ Kartsonis (1986) 204–7, 224, 231, *figs.* 80–81, 83, 85.

the middle of the eleventh century.⁵⁷ The double-armed cross framed by a rope border on one side of the lead flask is combined with a pinwheel pattern surrounded by a foliate border on the other side. Robert Ousterhout suggests a date between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.⁵⁸ A further lead flask, found in medieval layers in Sirmium, has a cross motif on both sides: the double-armed patriarchal cross on one side and a Greek cross on the other (*fig. 9*).⁵⁹ The Halûk Perk Museum in Istanbul has a second unpublished example which, once again, offers an uncommon iconographic pattern (*fig. 10*).⁶⁰ One side bears a slender patriarchal cross, while the other side is devoted to three vases under arches. The vases have an elongated body, which seems to be fluted, standing on a conical foot and have a high flared neck. Handles do not seem to be represented. In Byzantine iconography, the arch motif is commonly used to highlight sanctity and the vases may be linked to the ritual of distribution of the sacred oil contained in the lead flask. However, the presence of three vases and their association with the patriarchal cross on the other side of the object also seem to indicate a symbolic meaning.⁶¹

Let us look at representations of vases in the context of pilgrimage art. The *kantharos*, on the double-sided sixth-century marble parapet plaque in Dumbarton Oaks, bearing the representation of the Holy Sepulcher on the front, was interpreted as a reference to the Fountain of Life from which eternal life is gushing out.⁶² A jar or, more frequently, a *kantharos* is sometimes included on the sixth-century clay tokens of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger. The vessel was probably intended for the *hnana*, a paste made out of water and perhaps oil mixed with the earth collected near the base of the column of the Stylite and which was distributed as a blessing (*fig. 11*).⁶³ On a sixth

⁵⁷ Ousterhout (2005) 61–62.

⁵⁸ Aksaray Museum, inv. no. 3.17–94. Height 6.9 cm; width 4.8 cm; thickness 2.9 cm. Ousterhout (2005) 205–206, *fig. 268*.

⁵⁹ Minić (1980) 57–58, *fig. 9* and *pl. 28*, HPM 12–13.

⁶⁰ Istanbul, Halûk Perk Museum, inv. no. 3173. Height 71 mm; Width 51 mm; thickness 16 mm. This object is part of the collection which received the status of a private museum.

⁶¹ About the metaphorical use of the vessel in texts and images, see Gerstel (2007).

⁶² Kirin (2005) 116–117, no. 56.

⁶³ Vikan (1989/2003) 8, *fig. 9*; Callot (2005). For the *hnana*, see also Frank (2006) 194. I would like to thank prof. Jean-Pierre Sodini who has drawn my attention to this group of clay tokens and shared with me his unpublished work on the clay tokens in the Michel Khoury Collection in Beyrouth.

or seventh-century bronze cross in Dumbarton Oaks, the image of Symeon the Stylite on the vertical arm is associated with an incarnation scene placed on the horizontal arm. A *kantharos* holding three stalks sprouting from its mouth is placed between the Annunciation and the figure of John the Baptist. Here, the vase may be interpreted as the vessel for the divine manna of the Old Testament (Hebrews 9.4) which in the Christian context was interpreted as a type of the incarnation. The manna is a symbol and a type of the divine nature of Christ who descended from heaven and was regarded as the prototype of the bread of the Eucharist. The vase, in its turn, was the vessel of his human nature, the flesh of the Virgin.⁶⁴ The vase motif is therefore invested with multifold meanings at the core of which is the idea of the sacrificial offering and the eucharist. The *kantharos* placed below the image of Christ on the Cross in the Khludov psalter, dated ca. after 843, brings further illustration of this symbolism.⁶⁵

The vases on the Halûk Perk flask may perhaps be equally understood in light of the intense Christological disputes which dominated the reign of Manuel Komnenos (1143–1180). At the center of these debates was the question of whether the eucharistic gifts were offered to a single person or to all the Trinity.⁶⁶ The three vases enclosed within a tripartite arch may then be viewed as a manifestation of the three persons of the Trinity. Thus, the Divine presence reflected in the three vases would have enhanced the healing properties of the oil held in the lead flask.

The universal value of the iconography of the lead flasks bearing the image of the patriarchal cross combined with aniconic motifs raises the issue of their geographical origin. These flasks may well be identified as pilgrimage souvenirs from Crusader Jerusalem. Their geographical distribution from Central Anatolia to Constantinople and the Balkans favors this view. However, the ritual of producing healing substances by contact with the relic of the True Cross was a widespread practice attested as early as the seventh century in Constantinople.⁶⁷ Consequently, in the medieval period the distribution of oil blessed

⁶⁴ Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine collection, acc. no. 69.75. See Cotsonis (1994) 94 and fig. 33a.

⁶⁵ Moscow, The State Historical Museum, GIM 86795 Klud. 129-d, fol. 67r. See Cormack and Vassilaki (2008) 100–101, 390, no. 50 (with earlier bibliography).

⁶⁶ Babić (1968) 372–373, 381; Gerstel (1999) 44–45.

⁶⁷ Ruggieri (1993).

from a contact with the True Cross was not an exclusivity of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, from the available accounts it appears that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the magnet for pilgrimages was Jerusalem. An interesting testimony is the thirteenth-century *Description of the World* by Marco Polo, where we learn that the young Marco together with his father Niccolo and his uncle Matteo, two Venetian merchants, went to Acre before reaching Jerusalem to obtain sacred oil from the lamp burning over the Sepulcher of Christ that had been requested by the Great Khan of the Mongol Empire, Kublai because his late mother was Christian.⁶⁸

In view of the above considerations, Crusader Jerusalem appears to be the most likely candidate for the origin of the two lead flasks from the Halûk Perk collection in Istanbul. Their decoration introduces a mixture of symbolic and topographical features that may be linked to the Mount of Olives, and perhaps to the celebration of Palm Sunday, for the first example, and to the Holy Sepulcher for the second one. In essence, pilgrimage objects are meant to travel across long distances to reach the homes of the pilgrims. Among the wealth of finds from the recent excavations conducted at the Theodosian harbour in Istanbul, for instance, there are two lead flasks from the Holy Land that belong to the well-known early group kept at the treasuries at Monza and Bobbio in Italy.⁶⁹ With the renewal of pilgrimages to Crusader Jerusalem, there is no doubt that the new production of sanctified oil filled in lead flasks arrived at Constantinople.

Following the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, in 1187, lead flasks continued to be manufactured in the Holy Land, but they lost the recognizable hallmarks of specific holy sites. They became generic items decorated with aniconic patterns. The excavations conducted in the Old City of Acre brought to light a thirteenth-century workshop producing ampullae decorated with a fishscale pattern on one side and a six-petalled rosette on the other.⁷⁰ One lead flask with a similar fishscale pattern found during the excavations of Corinth bears witness to the pilgrimage routes from Jerusalem to the West.⁷¹ However, the discovery in Corinth of a limestone mould for a lead

⁶⁸ Moule and Pelliot, eds. (2004) Vol. 1, 52, chap. XI.

⁶⁹ Durak (2010) 214, nos. 147 and 150.

⁷⁰ Syon (1999).

⁷¹ Davidson (1952) 75, no. 573, pl. 53.

flask decorated with a rosette motif indicates that besides the imported lead flasks from the Holy Land or other pilgrimage centers, a local production also existed.⁷² The multiplication of *myron*-producing saints and healing shrines in Greece and Anatolia may also have fostered the geographic multiplication of workshops producing lead flasks. The shrine of St. Demetrios was still the most important center and during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries lead flasks, or *koutroubia*, from his shrine travelled throughout the Balkans and also reached more remote locations such as Novgorod.⁷³ A systematic study of medieval lead flasks in Greece and Turkey is likely to allow the identification of many more centers of production starting with Constantinople. One further example in the Halûk Perk collection in Istanbul, for instance, that we have published previously, bears the representation of the Virgin orans with the Christ Child on one side, while the other side is devoted to the image of a youthful equestrian saint whose long hair and leafy staff allow the identification of St. Christopher. The iconographic type of the Virgin may indicate a link with the Church of Pege in Constantinople.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the importance of sanctified oil in the devotional and healing patterns during the thirteenth centuries and the symbolic link between the miraculous power of this oil and the bilateral decoration of these flasks are probably more important elements to stress than the identification of the issuing shrine which, of course, can only be hypothetical. The exploration of the iconography of these flasks in relation to their content leads to a better understanding of their function and, on the other hand, to possible monumental models that are lost today.

REFERENCES

- Babić, G. 1968. "Les discussions christologiques et le décor des églises byzantines au XII^e siècle. Les évêques officiant devant l'Hétimasie et devant l'Amnos." *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 2: 368–86.

⁷² Davidson (1952) 75–76, no. 576, pl. 53.

⁷³ For an overview of the sites in the Balkans which have yielded lead flasks from the shrine of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike, see Minić (1980) 58; Bakirtzis (1990) 143. See also an example found in Gratini, Thrace: Evans and Wixom (1997) 169, no. 118. A group of lead flasks with the image of St. Demetrios on one side and of Christ on the other was found during the excavations conducted in Nerevskij, Novgorod. See Musin (2009) 236–241, color pl. XIX, fig. 4: 3, 4.

⁷⁴ Pitarakis (2008) 402–408, fig. 3.

- Bakirtzis, C. 1990. "Byzantine ampoullae from Thessaloniki." In *The blessings of pilgrimage*. Ed. R. Ousterhout, 140–49. Urbana-Champaign, IL.
- . 2002. "Pilgrimage to Thessalonike: The tomb of St. Demetrios," *DOP* 56: 175–92.
- Belting, H. 1980–1981. "An image and its function in the liturgy: The man of sorrows in Byzantium." *DOP* 34–35: 1–16.
- Biddle, M. 1999. *The tomb of Christ*. Gloucestershire, Eng.
- Bloedhorn, H. 1995. "Die Eleona und das Imbomon in Jerusalem: Eine Doppelkirchenanlage auf dem Ölberg?" *Akten des XII Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie (Bonn, 22–28 September) 1991*, Teil 1: 568–71, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* Ergänzungsband 20. Münster.
- Buchta, H. 1957. *Miniature painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*. Oxford.
- Buckton, D., ed. 1994. *Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine art and culture*. An exhibition catalogue. London.
- Callot, O. 2005. "Encore des eulogies de saint Syméon l'Alépin... Dèhès 2004." *Mélanges Jean-Pierre Sodini, Travaux et Mémoires* 15: 704–12.
- Canard, M. 1965. "La destruction de l'église de la Résurrection par le Calife Hakim et l'histoire de la descente du feu sacré." *Byzantion* 35: 16–43.
- Cormack, R. and M. Vassilaki, eds. 2008. *Byzantium, 330–1453*. An exhibition catalogue. London.
- Cotsonis, J. A. 1994. *Byzantine figural processional crosses*, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications 10. Washington, DC.
- Cutler, A. and J.-M. Spieser. 1996. *Byzance médiévale, 700–1204*. Paris.
- Davidson, G. R. 1952. *Corinth*. Volume 12, *The minor objects*. Princeton, NJ.
- Delpont, E., A. Fauret and Y. Koïkas, eds. 2001. *L'Orient de Saladin. L'art des Ayyoubides*. An exhibition catalogue. Paris.
- Duchesne, L. 1923. *Egeria's description of the liturgical year in Jerusalem*. In *Christian worship*. <http://users.ox.ac.uk/~mikef/durham/egeria.html>.
- Durak, K., ed. 2010. *From Byzantium to Istanbul. 8000 Years of a Capital*. An exhibition catalogue. Istanbul.
- Evans, H. and W. Wixom, eds. 1997. *The glory of Byzantium. Art and culture of the middle Byzantine era, A.D. 843–1261*. An exhibition catalogue. New York.
- Folda, J. 1995. *Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1117*. Cambridge, Eng. and New York.
- Frank, G. 2006. "Loca Sancta souvenirs and the art of memory." In *Pèlerinages et Lieux Saints dans l'Antiquité et le Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval*. Ed. B. Caseau, J.-C. Cheynet and V. Déroche, 193–201. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 23. Paris.
- Frolow, A. 1965. *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix*. Archives de l'Orient chrétien 8. Paris.
- Gerstel, S. E. J. 1999. *Beholding the sacred mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine sanctuary*. Monographs on the Fine Arts, College Art Association 56. Seattle and London.
- Gerstel, S. E. J. 2007. "The sacred vessel and the measure of a man." In *The material and the ideal. Essays in medieval art and archaeology in honour of Jean-Michel Spieser*. Ed. A. Cutler and A. Papaconstantinou, 149–56. The Medieval Mediterranean 70. Leiden and Boston.
- Gonosová, A. and Kondoleon, C. 1994. *Art of late Rome and Byzantium in the Virginia Museum of Arts*. Richmond, VA.
- Grabar, A. 1950. "Quelques reliquaires de saint Démétrios et le martyrium du saint à Salonique." *DOP* 5: 1–28.
- . 1954. "Un nouveau reliquaire de saint Démétrios." *DOP* 5: 305–13.
- . 1958. *Ampoules de Terre Sainte (Monza—Bobbio)*. Paris.
- Hadermann-Misguich, L. 1975. *Kurbinovo: Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XII^e siècle*. Bibliothèque de Byzantion 6. Brussels.

- Ikonomaki-Papadopoulos, Y., Pitarakis, B., and Loverdou-Tsigarida, K. 2001. *Enkolpia: The holy and great monastery of Vatopaidi*. Mount Athos.
- Kartsonis, A. D. 1986. *Anastasis. The making of an image*. Princeton, N.J.
- Kirin, A., ed. 2005. *Sacred art, secular context: Objects of art from the Byzantine collection of Dumbarton Oaks*, Washington, D.C. An exhibition catalogue. Athens, GA.
- Klein, H. A. 2004. *Byzanz, der Westen und das ‚wahre‘ Kreuz. Die geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland*. Spätantike-Frühes Christentum-Byzanz, Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend 17. Wiesbaden.
- Kötzsche, L. 1988. "Zwei Jerusalemer Pilgerampullen aus der Kreuzfahrerzeit." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 1: 13–32.
- . 1995. "Das heilige Grab in Jerusalem und seine Nachfolge." In *Akten des XII Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie (Bonn, 22–28 September) 1991. Teil 1. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband 20*: 272–290.
- Kühnel, B. 1994. *Crusader art of the twelfth century. A geographical, an historical or an art historical notion?* Berlin.
- Maguire, H. 1977. "The depiction of sorrow in middle Byzantine art," *DOP* 31: 123–74.
- . 1981. *Art and eloquence in Byzantium*. Princeton, NJ.
- Maraval, P. ed. 1982. *Égérie. Journal de voyage (Itinéraire)*. Sources chrétiennes 296. Paris.
- . 1985. *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient : Histoire et géographie. Des origines à la conquête arabe*. Paris.
- Moule, A. C. and Pelliot, P., eds. 2004. French translation L. Hambis. Introd. and notes S. Yerasimos. *Marco Polo. Le devisement du monde. Le livre des merveilles*, 2 Vols. Paris.
- Minić, D. 1980. *Le site d'habitation médiéval de Mačvanska Mitrovica*. Sirmium 11. Belgrade.
- Musin, A. 2009. "Palomnichestvo v Drevney Rusi: istoricheskie koncepcii i arkhologicheskie realii / Pilgrimage in Old Rus: Historical concepts and archaeological facts." In *Archeologia Abrahamica. Studies in archaeology and artistic tradition of Judaism, Christianity and Islam*. Ed. L. Belyaev, 231–272. Moscow (in Russian, with English summary).
- Ousterhout, R. 1989. "Rebuilding the temple: Constantine Monomachus and the Holy Sepulchre." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48: 66–78.
- . 2003. "Architecture as relic and the construction of sanctity. The stones of the Holy Sepulchre." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62(1): 4–23.
- . 2005. *A Byzantine settlement in Cappadocia*. Dumbarton Oaks Studies 42. Washington, DC.
- Papanikola-Bakirtzi, D., ed. 2002. *Everyday life in Byzantium*. An exhibition catalogue. Athens.
- Pitarakis, B. 2008. "Lead flasks and pilgrimages after the Crusades." In *In memory of Prof. Dr. Işın Demirkent*. Ed. A. Özaydın, F. Başar, E. Altan et al., 395–415. Istanbul.
- . 2010. "Wings of salvation in thirteenth-century art." In *First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Symposium: Change in the Byzantine world in the 12th and 13th centuries*. Ed. A. Ödekan, E. Akyürek, N. Necipoğlu. 604–608. Istanbul.
- Ross, M. (with an addendum by S. A. Boyd and S. R. Zwirn). 2005. *Catalogue of the Byzantine and early medieval antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*. Vol. 2. Washington, DC.
- Rozenberg, S., ed. 1999. *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem*. An exhibition catalogue. Jerusalem.
- Ruggieri, V. 1993. "Ἀπομυρίζω (μυρίζω) τὰ λείψανα, ovvero la genesi d'un rito." *Jahrbuch für Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 43: 21–35.
- Schlumberger, G., F. Chalandon, and A. Blanchet, 1943. *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*. Paris.

- Syon, D. 1999. "Souvenirs from the Holy Land: A Crusader workshop of lead ampullae from Acre." In *Knights of the Holy Land: the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem*. An exhibition catalogue. Ed. S. Rozenberg, 111–115. Jerusalem.
- Talbot, A.-M. 2003. "Pilgrimage to healing shrines: The evidence of miracle accounts." *DOP* 56: 153–73.
- Velmans, T. 2001. *Byzance, les Slaves et l'Occident. Etudes sur l'art paléochrétien et médiéval*. London.
- Vikan, G. 1982. *Byzantine pilgrimage art*. Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications 5. Washington, DC.
- . 1989/2003. "Rumination on edible icons: Originals and copies in the art of Byzantium." *Studies in the History of Art* 20: 47–59. Repr. as chap. 8 in Vikan 2003.
- . 1990/2003. "Pilgrims in Magi's clothing: The impact of mimesis on early Byzantine pilgrimage art." In *The blessings of pilgrimage*. Ed. R. Ousterhout, 97–107. Illinois Byzantine Studies 1. Urbana-Champaign. Repr. as chap. 7 in Vikan 2003.
- . 1995/2003. "Early Byzantine pilgrimage *devotionalia* as evidence of the appearance of pilgrimage shrines." *Akten des XII Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie (Bonn, 22–28 September) 1991, Teil 1. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband* 20: 377–88. Repr. as chap. 6 in Vikan 2003.
- . 1998/2003. "Byzantine pilgrim's art." In *Heaven on earth. Art and church in Byzantium*. Ed. L. Safran, 229–66. University Park, PA. Repr. as chap. 5 in Vikan 2003.
- . 2003. *Sacred images and sacred power in Byzantium*. Aldershot and Burlington, VT.
- Vincent, H. and F.-M. Abel. 1914. *Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*. Vol. 2, *Jérusalem nouvelle*. Paris.
- Wamser, L., ed. 2004. *Die Welt von Byzanz-Europas östliches Erbe: Glanz, Krisen und Fortleben einer tausendjährigen Kultur*. An exhibition catalogue. Schriftenreihe der Archäologischen Staatssammlung 4. Munich.
- Weitzmann, K. 1979. *Age of spirituality. Late antique and early Christian art, third to seventh century*. An exhibition catalogue. New York.
- Wilkinson, J. 1988. *Jerusalem pilgrimage, 1099–1185*. London.
- . 2002. *Jerusalem pilgrims before the Crusades*. 2nd ed. Warminster.
- Wilson, C., ed. 1895. *The pilgrimage of the Russian abbot Daniel in the Holy Land 1106–1107*. London. http://www.holyfire.org/eng/doc_Daniil.htm.
- Witt, J. 2000. *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin—Preußischer Kulturbesitz Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst Bestandskataloge, Band 2. Werke der Alltagskultur. Teil 1: Menasampullen*. Wiesbaden.



Fig. 1. Lead flask, 12th century, Berlin Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, Stiftung der Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inv. no. 25/73 a-Side 1 The Holy Sepulchre, b-Side 2 The Holy Women at the Tomb. Source: after Kötzsche (1988), 16, fig. 5.



Fig. 2. Lead flask, 12th century, British Museum, inv. no. M&LA 76,12–14,18. Source: courtesy of the British Museum.



Fig. 3. Lead flask, 12th century, The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1999.234. a-Side 1 The Holy Sepulchre, b-Side 2 The Anastasis. Source: courtesy of The Cleveland Museum of Art.



Fig. 4. Lead seal of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre. Section view of the Anastasis Rotunda enclosing the *aedicula* with the Tomb Chamber of Christ. Source: after Schlumberger (1943) 135, no. 164, pl. V, 6 and 9.



Fig. 5. Lead seal of patriarch William II of Jerusalem (1261–1270). Veneration of the dead body of Christ in the *aedicula* of the Anastasis Rotunda. Source: after Schlumberger (1943) 80–81, no. 20, pl. II, 2.



Fig. 6. Enamel *enkolpion* of St. Demetrios, 13th century, British Museum, inv. no. M&LA 1926, 4–9,1. Source: courtesy of the British Museum.



Fig. 7. Lead flask, 12th century, Halûk Perk Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. HPM 9467. a-Side 1 Youthful nimbed figure (apostle ?) waving an olive branch, b-Side 2 Identical to Side 1. Source: courtesy of Halûk Perk.



Fig. 8. Bronze bread stamp, late 6th or 7th century, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, inv. no. 66.29.2. St. Philip standing between two church buildings or *martyria*. Source: courtesy of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

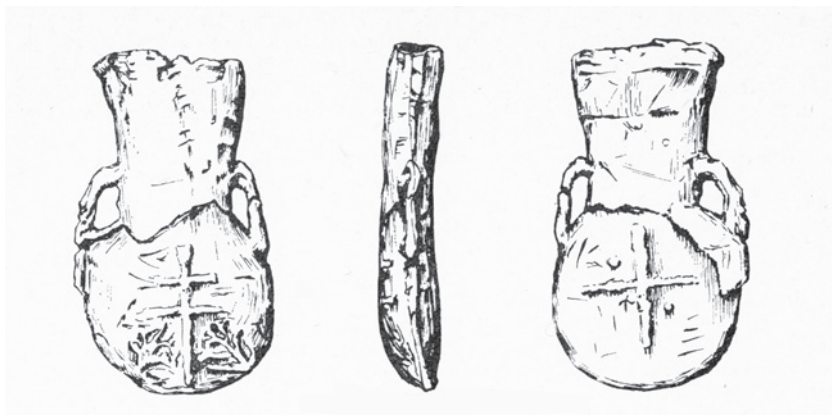


Fig. 9. Lead flask, found in medieval layers in Sirmium. Side 1 Double-armed cross; Side 2 Greek cross. Source: after Minić (1980) 57, fig. 9.



Fig. 10. Lead flask, 12th century, Halûk Perk Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. HPM 3173. a-Side 1 Double-armed cross, b-Side 2 Three vases under arches. Source: courtesy of Halûk Perk.



Fig. 11. Clay token of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger, Michel Khoury Collection, Beyrouth. Source: courtesy of Michel Khoury and Jean-Pierre Sodini.

THE POSTHUMOUS MIRACLES OF ST. EUSTRATIOS ON A SINAI TEMPLON BEAM

Nancy Patterson Ševčenko

Alice-Mary Talbot's wide-ranging work on Byzantine saints and their miracles has dealt with texts from almost every century of the middle and late Byzantine periods.¹ It is therefore a pleasure on this occasion to be able to add a further miracle cycle to the corpus, even if this particular one, the posthumous miracles of St. Eustratios, is narrated entirely in images and their captions.

St. Eustratios and his four companions, known collectively as the Five Martyrs of Sebasteia, hail from an area of Asia Minor that produced a number of illustrious martyrs in the time of Diocletian: the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia (modern Sivas) (*BHG* 1201–1208n); St. Eustratios and his companions, of "Armenia" (actually Nikopolis and Sebasteia) (*BHG* 646–646e), and St. Eugenios and his three companions, of Trebizond (*BHG* 608y–613d). The story of the Forty Martyrs and of their relics is a well-known one, recounted in a large number of texts in a variety of genres; the image of the half-nude saints huddled together in the frozen lake was also a popular theme in church decoration throughout the Byzantine Empire. Even the story of the reclamation of their relics was illustrated in both wall painting and manuscripts.² For St. Eugenios of Trebizond, there are both *Passio* texts and miracle collections and strong evidence of local veneration, if sparser evidence that the saint was venerated much outside of Trebizond until the thirteenth century.³ For Eustratios and the Holy Five, the situation is quite different: their textual tradition is limited to a single *Passio* and a couple of encomia, and the precise location of their original cult site has not been determined. Nevertheless they

¹ I cite only her comprehensive recent study: Talbot (2002).

² On the Forty Martyrs, see *ODB* 2: 799–800, with references.

³ On St. Eugenios, see Rosenqvist (1996); Rosenqvist (2002); Bryer and Winfield (1985) 166–69.

were venerated throughout the Empire, and their images can be found in dozens of churches of the middle Byzantine period.⁴

In this context, then, the survival of a twelfth-century templon beam on Mount Sinai that depicts ten posthumous miracles of St. Eustratios, plus one involving the combined forces of the Holy Five, is of particular interest (plates 1–2).⁵ It adds to the “hagiographic dossier” of the saints (no Greek text recounting any miracles performed by the Holy Five has survived), it potentially sheds light on the cult site, provides insight into the types of maladies treated at that site, and raises the question of where the beam was painted.⁶ The beam has been included in various recent exhibitions of Byzantine art,⁷ but the issues it raises warrant further exploration—even if the scholar best equipped to solve the riddles it poses, namely Alice-Mary Talbot, is the very person who could not in this case be consulted.

THE CONTENT OF THE SCENES

The technical description of the Eustratios beam is provided in two exhibition catalogues, and will not be repeated here.⁸ Located roughly

⁴ On images of the Holy Five, see Weitzmann (1979); Chatzidakis-Bacharas (1982) 74–81; Mouriki (1985) 1: 67–69, 143–47. See also the section on Orestes and the Five in Walter (2003) 219–21.

⁵ On this templon beam, see Soteriou (1956, 1958) 1: figs. 103–11; 2: 109–10 (dated to the late 11th–early 12th century); Weitzmann (1975) esp. 52–53 and pl. 20; (in repr. 1982: IX, esp. 250–51) (first half 12th century); Weitzmann (1979) 108–110, figs. 28–29; Weitzmann (1984) esp. 67–68; Manafis (1990) 106, 385 note 29 (D. Mouriki) figs. 20–22 (second half 12th century); Vokotopoulos (1995) nos. 38–40 (second to third quarter 12th century). For recent exhibition catalogues, see note 7 below. My warm thanks to Father Justin Sinaites for taking detailed photographs for me of the beam’s inscriptions.

⁶ There is an Arabic manuscript on Mount Sinai (ar. 411, a. 1287) that contains the “miracles of St. Eustratios” on fols. 203f (Atiya [1955], 11). I had hoped this text might prove to be an Arabic version of a lost Greek miracle collection for the Holy Five, but these miracles were performed by a Syrian hermit during his lifetime. I thank Kevin Reinhart for very kindly helping me with the Arabic text, and for sharing my disappointment that this was not the text I had hoped to find. There is still the possibility that references to the cult and even to the miracles may be contained in two unpublished encomia (*BHG* 646b–646c): I have not been able to consult the manuscripts. There are three epigrams by John Geometres, and more by Christopher of Mitylene, devoted to the Holy Five in Paris, B. N. suppl. gr. 690, fols. 118r and 185r–185v. On the manuscript itself, which dates from the 12th century, see Lauxtermann (2003), 297–301, 329–33.

⁷ Piatnitsky et al. (2000) no. S 61 (12th century); Nelson and Collins (2006) no. 21 (second to third quarter 12th century). See also Chatterjee (2009) 45.

⁸ See the previous note. The beam consists of two boards, both painted on the back with red and black wavy lines. Together the boards make a beam just under

in the center of the beam, between scene 5 and scene 7, is a representation of the Deesis. The identification of the other scenes is derived from their fragmentary captions. The content of scene 8 is unclear, given that the caption is no longer legible: it could possibly be a sequel to the previous episode, scene 7. The miracles, from left to right, are then the following:

1. St. Eustratios curing the (woman) suffering from a persistent (“hectic”) fever. Ὁ ἄ(γίος) Εὐ(σ)τρατίος ἡόμενος τὴν ὑπο ἐκτικού πυρετοῦ κατεχωμενί(ν) (*color plate 3*)

The scene shows in fact *two* women asleep on beds. Eustratios gestures toward the woman on the left. In the center stands a man pointing to the second woman; he is perhaps the person who has brought the women in. He wears a rounded white cap, a red tunic with a high neck, and an overgarment with an open, V-shaped, embroidered collar.⁹ The women wear white turbans decorated with pairs of short black stripes, and they both wear hoop earrings with one large and one small hanging pearl.

2. St. Eustratios awakening the (...) in this church for the morning hymns. Ὁ ἄ(γίος) Εὐ(σ)τρατής ἐξιπνίζων τὸν [...] ἐν τῷ ναῷ τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἐοθινοὺς ὕμνους¹⁰ (*color plates 3 and 4*)

A man lying on a bed has presumably just been awoken by the saint. A young man in a long tunic stands behind the bed, and another youth wearing a shorter pink tunic, leggings and boots stands at the left, hand extended and pointing at the miracle. Eustratios addresses the man on the bed.

3. St. Eustratios healing the (man who was) mad and devouring his own flesh, through his relic here. Ὁ ἄ(γίος) Εὐ(σ)τρατίος θεραπεβὼν τὸν μενομε[νον] κε τὰς σαρκὰς αὐτοῦ κατεσθιοντῶν δια τῶν αὐτοῦ λιψάνων τὸν ἐνταυθα (*color plate 4*)

A man with unkempt hair, clad only in a loincloth, lurches toward the saint. The man’s hands are bound before him by a red rope which is grasped by a youth in a pink tunic; another young man looks on.

2.75m long. The scenes are framed individually by painted arches, and in the spandrels between the arches are gold disks, compass-drawn and polished.

⁹ This may be the lining of the coat folded back.

¹⁰ The Soterious reconstructed the missing word as ἀργυροπρατή(ν) (“money-changer”); Soteriou (1956, 1958) 2: 109.

An elderly man, clad in a white tunic with brown clavi and a dark brown mantle, holds an oblong gold box, apparently the container for the relic of Eustratios, and points to the madman. His robes suggest he is a monk or priest.

4. St. Eustratios curing the (woman) suffering from metritis (uterine infection), by his appearance. Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Εὐ(σ)τρατίος ἡόμενος τὴν ὑπομυτρίτεον κατεχόμενον διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐμφανίας (*color plate 4*)

A young woman lies on a bed, awake, pressing her hand to her head. At the head of her bed stand five people, foremost among them a woman in a white hat (perhaps a turban, but the paint here is rubbed), pearl earrings and perhaps a dark mantle, of which only traces survive. Her tunic, however, is stunningly beautiful: it is white, streaked with wave-like patches of pink and blue, and belted with a wide pink belt from which hang pink ribbons (?). The other figures are young men, clothed in plain long tunics. Eustratios gestures toward the bed-ridden woman from the left.

5. St. Eustratios curing the (man with) phrenitis (brain fever) through his relic. Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Εὐ(σ)τρατήος ἡόμενος τὸν φρενι(ιζ)οντ(α) διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λιψάνον (*color plate 5*)

A young man lies sleeping on a bed. An elderly man clad like the elder in scene 3 holds a book in one hand, and with the other the reliquary, on which the sleeping man's arm is resting. Behind him stand four young men. Eustratios gestures toward the sleeping man from the left.

6. Deesis: (The Virgin), Christ, St. John [IC] ΧC Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Ἰῶ(άννης) ὁ [πρόδρομος] (*color plate 5*)

The Virgin's robe is a purplish-brown color, with a thin gold border; her tunic is blue. Christ's robes are the opposite combination: a blue himation over a purplish-brown tunic. His himation is drawn up over his left knee in jagged pleats. John the Baptist at the right has long hair falling onto his far shoulder.

7. The youths (beating the) simandron....at the holy feast. Ἡ πεδεὲς σιμενωντ(ες) ἐνδο τοῦτο τῇ ἁγίᾳ εορτῇ (*color plate 6*)

A group of men at the left address a figure appearing on a high balcony at the right. The group is led by a youth holding a simandron and the mallet with which to strike it; he wears a short belted tunic, and a rounded white hat. In the group behind him are two men in white

hats, each hat having a pair of white ribbons hanging from it, marked with horizontal black stripes; they are either officials of some kind, or a specific ethnic group. One of them wears a blue overgarment like a kaftan, slit up to the knees, with an embroidered open collar, over a high-necked red tunic, plus a red belt; the other a plain tunic, belted, with a high gold neck. The man on the balcony is dressed like this man in the center of the group, in a white hat with ribbons, and a tan tunic with a high red neck. The edifice itself is puzzling: it consists of a tall wooden base of eight panels divided by crosses, and a pink marble balcony. It could possibly represent a tower over the massive entrance doors of a church, which are shut tight, or even a belltower: certainly some conflict has arisen here, perhaps between the use of bells and the use of the simandron to announce the services. The man on the balcony, however, does not seem to be an ecclesiastic of any kind.

8. Unidentified scene. ἄ(γιος) Εὐ(σ)τ[ράτιος...]ηνιοντες [...] οι [...] τουτου ερη (*color plates 6 and 7*)

Eustratios rides in from the left on a white horse, his foot in a stirrup; his horse has been shod, with each shoe attached to the hoof by a pair of nails. The saint addresses a man who stands at the right, hands open before his chest, clad in a red high-necked tunic and a tan kaftan with an embroidered open collar, and a red belt. This figure also wears a white hat, apparently with pearls hanging from it but no ribbons. In the background are three more men in long tunics.

9. St. Eustratios curing the daughter of Synkletike. Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Εὐ(σ)τράτης ἡόμενος την θιγάτερα της Σηνκλιτικης (*color plate 7*)

The young woman lies asleep on a bed at the left; she is wearing a turban, earrings and a high necked tunic. Behind her is another woman, presumably Synkletike, who also wears a turban, and has a gold collar on her tunic. Behind her is a young man in a plain tunic, who points at the action, and further back are two more figures, one staring out at the viewer. Eustratios now appears from the right, as this scene is on the right-hand beam: on this one, he is always shown gesturing toward the center of the templon.

10. St. Eustratios curing the [...] nun. [Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Εὐσ]τράτιος ηόμενος [...]ιαν μονάχη(ν) (*color plates 7 and 8*)

A nun lies on a bed, but is awake and apparently already cured, as she holds her hands out wide. She wears a maphorion fastened in the

front with two round buttons, and a dark turban which covers her chin as well. Behind her are five more nuns, similarly dressed; one points toward the saint. Eustratios addresses her from the right.

11. The Holy Five healing the mute and paralytic (woman). Η ἁγί(οι) πεντε θεράπεβόντες τὴν ἄφωνὸν κε ακίνητων (*color plates 7 and 8*)

A woman dressed in a plain red tunic with a gold collar, a white turban and earrings, is floating in the air at the left of the composition. Her belt has hanging tassels or pleats, as does the belt of the woman in scene 4. She is surrounded by four figures who raise her up with both hands. The figures to the left are apparently Eugenios and Mardarios, the latter in a short tunic and a red hat. To the right, then, are Auxentios and Orestes, both attired in regular tunic and chlamys. Eustratios gestures toward them all from the right.

12. St. Eustratios curing the (man) suffering from tetanus Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Εὐ(σ)τρατίος ἡόμενος τὸν ὑπο τετάνου ἐχομενὸν (*color plate 8*)

A young man sits on a stool at the left, looking toward Eustratios, while an elderly man (apparently the same figure as in scenes 3 and 5) reaches up to press the gold reliquary against the youth's head. Another elderly man behind the youth points to the miracle. Behind is still another male figure. All but the old man with the reliquary wear plain tunics without mantles or kaftans.

The healings are performed by St. Eustratios, a dark-bearded saint consistently clad in a bright red tunic and a deep blue, gold-hemmed cloak on which a tablion can sometimes be seen. In scene 1, his cloak is fastened on his chest by the triple clasp that is a sort of hallmark for this saint in Byzantine painting.¹¹ In some episodes his efficacy is reinforced by the application of a reliquary box, although it should be noted that the reliquary is brought out only for the male patients. The patients lie on beds, often asleep, attended by family or neighbors. The men here suffer from madness, brain fever and tetanus (scenes 3, 5, 12), the women from fever, uterine infection and paralysis (scenes 1,

¹¹ On the characteristic features of the five saints, and their individual modes of martyrdom, see the works cited in note 4 above. There are other Byzantine saints with the name Eustratios, but his physiognomy, and the presence of the Holy Five as a group in scene 11, proves beyond doubt that the St. Eustratios on the beam is the Eustratios of the Holy Five. On the Bithynian St. Eustratios of Augauros, see *BHG* 645; on a Syrian St. Eustratios, see note 6 above.

4, 11), and from two unidentified maladies (scenes 9, 10). The ailments are fairly routine, with perhaps a special emphasis on female maladies (there are five healings involving women, as opposed to three involving men). Most can be paralleled in the miraculous healings of other saints.¹² One, however, is rare: assuming my reading of the inscription for scene 4 is correct, the woman in this scene is suffering from metritis, an uterine disorder, not attested elsewhere.¹³ There are in addition two or possibly three miracles that seem to be connected more with the veneration of the saint (possibly involving a conflict with local officials?) than with healings (scenes 2, 7–8).

THE CULT OF THE HOLY FIVE

According to the *Passio* of the Holy Five, a text that is attested as early as the ninth century, three of the saints were martyred in Nikopolis, while Eustratios and Orestes were martyred in Sebasteia.¹⁴ Before his death Eustratios, a “skrinarios” or official record-keeper, of the town of Satala, made a will in which he stipulated that his remains, and those of his companions, be taken from Sebasteia to the town of his birth, Arauraka, specifically to the village of Analibozora; at the end of the *Passio* we learn that his wish was indeed carried out by the bishop of Sebasteia, at least with respect to Eustratios’ remains and those of Orestes (those of Auxentios may have already been collected and taken there).¹⁵ One would assume then that the cult place of Eustratios was in the region of Arauraka. But where exactly was that? The town has not been securely identified, and we have in fact little evidence for the existence of a thriving cult site for the Holy Five in this desolate part of Asia Minor; the devastation of the area by the Seljuks in the late eleventh century, and the rising cult of St. Eugenios in Trebizond are

¹² Delehay (1925) esp. 5–73. For a comprehensive list of editions of *Miracula*, see Déroche (1993) esp. 95 n. 1; Talbot (2002) *passim*.

¹³ For an easily accessible ancient text (2nd century AD) on female uterine disorders, see O. Temkin et al., *Soranus’ Gynecology* (Baltimore 1956) esp. 128–48, 155–74.

¹⁴ PG 116: 468–505. The Greek *Passio* text was being translated into Latin in Naples already by the last quarter of the ninth century: Devos (1958) esp. 151–57.

¹⁵ PG 116: 501B–C, 505D; for Auxentios, PG 116: 488D–489A. See also Halkin (1970) (= BHG 646a).

thought to have ended what cult there may have been, and destroyed all evidence for its location.¹⁶

There was no major Constantinopolitan sanctuary of the Holy Five, just a chapel of a St. Eustratios (of Sebasteia?) in the court of the monastery of the Virgin Pege.¹⁷ A relic of Eustratios is thought to have been brought to Rome in the eighth century under Pope Hadrian I (772–95) and housed in the now destroyed church of San Apollinare, and his head thought to have been given to the Lavra monastery on Mount Athos by emperor Basil II in 978.¹⁸ In neither of these places does the relic seem to have enjoyed particular prominence.

Yet the group of five martyrs was well-known by the mid-tenth century: Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus speaks of Eustratios as a famous megalomartyr from Arauraka.¹⁹ Later in this same century, the text of their *Passio* was introduced virtually unaltered by Symeon Metaphrastes into his Menologion (for December 13), and its inclusion in this influential corpus of saints' lives assured the *Passio*

¹⁶ Bryer and Winfield (1985) 169–70, 175–77, disagree among themselves: Bryer proposes that Arauraka be identified with Avarak, while Winfield argues for Asagi Akçali. Both sites are west of Satala on the Lycus River, off the road from Satala to Nikopolis. See also Honigsmann (1961), 70, 73, 76. The town is presumably τὴν Ἀραβρακηνῶν πόλιν τὴν τοῦ περιφανεστάτου καὶ μεγαλομάρτυρος Εὐστρατίου πατρίδα mentioned in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, ed. Pertusi (1952) 74 (10:7). Given the scarcity of written and of archaeological evidence, it is puzzling to read the statement of Bryer and Winfield (1985) 166, echoed by Rosenqvist (2002) 194, that Arauraka was “one of the great (or ‘most frequented’) pilgrim centers of Anatolia.” But on the cultural activity in Sebasteia earlier, in the mid 11th century, see Dedeyan (1975) 93–95. On Cappadocia in this period, see Hild and Restle (1981) esp. 84–111.

¹⁷ Janin (1969), 119. The synaxis of the saints was celebrated in the church of St. John the Evangelist of the Diippeion near St. Sophia: *SynaxCP*, 305–6. Sergei Ivanov has found in an Old Slavonic Menaion a text involving the miraculous appearance of the Holy Five at the Olympiou monastery in Constantinople. I wish to thank Dr. Ivanov for sending me this precious information. The only other miracle I know involves the appearance of the Holy Five to a priest celebrating their feastday in a remote chapel dedicated to Eustratios on the island of Chios; the author, Nicholas Malaxos, wrote in the 16th century: Photeinos (1865) 72–75, 113. Neither miracle corresponds to any scene on the templon beam.

¹⁸ The entry on Eustratios in the *Bibliotheca sanctorum* (1961–1970), 5: 313, refers loosely to the *Liber Pontificalis*, but I have been unable to find the reference there. The cult of Eustratios and the Holy Five in the West is otherwise little known. On the Athonite head, see Guillou, Lemerle et al. (1970) 46, 114. A monastery of St. Eustratios is attested on Athos in 1045, when its abbot signed Constantine Monomachos' typikon for Athos: Thomas and Hero (2000) 1: 291. A reliquary of the 11th century in the monastery contains the relics of various saints, among them Eustratios: Frolow (1961) no. 233.

¹⁹ See note 16 above.

wide circulation and constant liturgical use from then on. That the Holy Five were popular in monastic circles is further indicated by the fact that the monastic Hours include a prayer of St. Eustratios (drawn from his final prayer in the *Passio*), prescribed for mesonyktikon on Saturdays, as well as a prayer of St. Mardarios, also from the *Passio*, for mesonyktikon, for the Third Hour during Lent, and for Great Apodeipnon.²⁰ How and why these prayers entered the office of the Hours has not yet been explored; suffice it to say that that of Eustratios is attested as early as the tenth century.²¹

Portraits of the saints begin to appear in the tenth century, and are especially common in monumental painting of the eleventh and twelfth centuries everywhere from Palermo to Cappadocia.²² Always readily recognizable due to the consistency of their iconographic types, their five portraits, in bust or standing, often formed a sort of protective ring around the church or one particular area of it.²³ Some eleventh-century manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion illustrate their individual martyrdoms, as well as their portraits.²⁴ There is also a curious twelfth-century codex in Turin that contains nothing beyond the text of their *Passio* accompanied by an extensive series of miniatures; this Weitzmann, in his study of the Holy Five, calls a “libellum” on the Western model.²⁵

²⁰ The prayers of St. Eustratios (*BHG* 646e = *PG* 116: 505B–C) and Mardarios (*PG* 116: 481A) appear in the printed *Horologia*. The prayer of St. Eustratios is found in Harvard University’s *Psalter/Horologion* Houghton 3, dated 1101 (fol. 257v), though not attached to a particular Hour; that of St. Auxentios in this manuscript (fol. 110v), derives not from the *Passio* of the Holy Five but from the vita of the 5th-century Bithynian saint Auxentios.

²¹ Symeon Eulabes, the spiritual father of Symeon the New Theologian, refers to the prayer of Eustratios: “In the hours of vigil it is useful for you to recite some two hours, and to pray two hours in compunction with tears; and then [read] a canon, whichever you want, and twelve psalms, if you want, and ‘the undefiled’ (the Amomos), and the prayer of St. Eustratios. This is when nights are long.” Alfeyev and Neyrand (2001) 102, §24; Alfeyev (2000) 105.

²² The earliest images are the famous ivory triptychs of the 10th–11th century: e.g. Evans and Wixom (1997) nos. 79–80; of the Five Martyrs, only Eustratios is depicted. For a wide selection of images of the Holy Five, see Weitzmann (1979) and the other works cited in note 4 above.

²³ See the works cited in note 4 above.

²⁴ Ševčenko (1990) 109, 131–32. So too does the collection of Metaphrastic texts contained in the *Panegyrikon* Athos Esphigmenou 14 (fols. 343r–343v): Pelekanides et al., (1974–1991) 2: figs. 340–41.

²⁵ Weitzmann (1979) esp. 103–7; figs. 12–27. The codex is Turin, University Library B II 4 (gr. 89).

Though these martyrs were evidently viewed as effective protectors, their miraculous healing powers are nowhere mentioned, with one exception: an Epilogue by a certain Eusebios of Sebasteia, which is attached to the *Passio* of the Holy Five in a number of manuscripts.²⁶ Eusebios says that he learned by chance of the presence of the martyrion of the saints in Arauraka (there were no relics of Eustratios in Sebasteia), and this prompted him to dig into his files and draw out an account of their *Passio* for the benefit of the residents of Arauraka who, he was told, had no information (ὑπομνήματα) about the saints. The young man who informed Eusebios about the existence of the martyrion at Arauraka claimed that the place had healing powers (δυνάμεις ἱαμάτων γίνονται).²⁷ This Epilogue, though attached to the Greek *Passio* by the ninth century, is somewhat suspicious, in that it appears almost exclusively in South Italian manuscripts, and uses the word *martyrologion* which is rare in Greek.²⁸ Eusebios' ignorance of the martyrion at Arauraka even though he was living in Sebasteia increases the possibility that this Epilogue does not represent a strictly Byzantine tradition.

In short we have a popular group of saints, whose *Passio* was frequently copied and even illustrated, whose portraits were familiar and readily identifiable but whose cult site remains elusive. The Sinai templon beam, on which are depicted miracles at what is clearly a sanctuary devoted to the saint, could conceivably help us round out a picture of the cult of Eustratios and the Holy Five.

EVIDENCE FOR THE SANCTUARY OF ST. EUSTRATIOS OFFERED BY THE TEMPLON BEAM

That there was a sanctuary somewhere housing relics of St. Eustratios is made very clear by the beam. The architectural setting remains roughly the same for all the healings; an attendant always holds the same gold reliquary, and the captions speak of "the relic here" and

²⁶ Halkin (1970).

²⁷ Halkin (1970) 282–83. The epilogue is already appended to the Latin translation done in the ninth century.

²⁸ Halkin cautions against making any generalizations about a South Italian origin for the Epilogue text on the basis of its manuscript tradition, but it is something that should be noted, and he does call attention to the word *martyrologion*, noting its rarity in Greek, but not its more common use in the West: Halkin (1970) 280.

“in this church” and “this holy feast”. The fact that for the most part Eustratios is working alone, and that the relics are his alone, suggests that perhaps this sanctuary is devoted exclusively to him, not to the Five as a group.

The healings evidently took place through a form of incubation: at least the startlingly large figure of Eustratios is appearing, probably in dreams, to patients asleep on beds.²⁹ Family members or the equivalent bring in the patient, and are there to witness the cure. The cures are effected through Eustratios’ commanding gesture, which echoes that of Christ, plus, in some cases, the administration of his relic in its reliquary. The application of the relic is somewhat unusual: in Byzantine written miracle collections, the patient is more likely to camp out near a tomb, to rub against it or embrace it, to apply or drink the oil or water that had been in contact with the saints’ relics, or the oil from lamps hanging above the tomb.³⁰ Here there is no tomb, just the relics: as in the case of St. Photeine, for example, the healings are achieved by a combination of the saint’s appearance, his authoritative gesture *and* the box of relics applied to the patient’s body.³¹

The sanctuary seems to have its own personnel: an old man who administers the relics, and a young assistant or two. It is unclear whether it is a monastery: the old man seems to be dressed as a monk, but his white tunic is unusual, and he is the only figure of his type. In scene 3 he carries a book, so he may be a priest as well. The fact that the relics are presented only to the men and not to the women may be sheer coincidence, or may suggest that perhaps it was a male monastery that possessed the relic, and that the women were visited at home by the appearance of the saint at their bedside. The clientele is evidently very well off. The women, both the patients and their families, wear long, belted robes and buttoned cloaks, large pearl earrings, and a headdress that is clearly a turban rather than a hat or maphorion. All this finery suggests a sanctuary operating in or near a settled urban center. The men wear long tunics with a high tight neck, and several of them an outer kaftan that has a slit on the front reaching to the knees, and a white hat that may have a pair of white ribbons hanging down from it on one side of the head.

²⁹ The patients are not always asleep: those in scenes 4 and 10 are awake.

³⁰ Delehayé (1925); Talbot (2002) sp. 159–61. See also *ODB*, s.v. Healing.

³¹ Talbot (1994). Talbot dates these *Miracula* to the 11th–12th century.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TEMPLON BEAM

According to Weitzmann, the beam was painted by a Cypriot artist working on Sinai in the first half of the twelfth century; he says that it was painted on site for a chapel of the Five Martyrs in the monastery, and the cycle was based on that in a lost illuminated manuscript from the saints' sanctuary in Sebasteia.³² Yuri Piatnitsky agrees with Weitzmann that the artist was Cypriot, but stresses the influence of Constantinople on his art.³³ In theory a case could also be made for other locations as well: for Mount Athos (which had the head of the saint), for Rome (which had another head), and for Sebasteia/Arauraka.

Here it is crucial to consider whether miracles and beam are roughly contemporary, or whether the beam is reproducing events that took place elsewhere, perhaps centuries earlier. There is unfortunately nothing about their content that would point to an early date, or disqualify a later one. The use of the portable reliquary instead of a fixed tomb, and the captions' stress on the role of the relic in the healing process, does, however, suggest that the miracles are taking place at a distance from the saint's original place of burial. The carefully observed details of contemporary costume and architecture are not all likely to be embellishments on the part of the artist, ancient stories retold in modern dress: some, especially those involving the white-capped officials, would seem intrinsic to the events themselves. So, though none of this is actual proof that the beam is not based on some distant cycle, as Weitzmann proposed, I will nevertheless proceed on the assumption that the area where this beam was painted was roughly the area where the miracles took place.

Of the several possibilities, Mount Athos is unlikely, given the nature of the ailments and the female patients; Rome is also unlikely given the Byzantine painting style of the beam and its Greek captions. As for Mount Sinai, Weitzmann cites a chapel dedicated to the Holy Five within the monastery as the place for which the beam was

³² Weitzmann (1975), 52–53, 60; (1979) 110. Weitzmann connects it to Cyprus on the basis of its stylistic similarity to another templon beam on Sinai, the so-called Twelve Feasts beam, which he associates with the frescoes of the church of Asinou on Cyprus, dated 1106. For the Twelve Feasts beam, attributed to Cyprus, see Nelson and Collins (2006) no. 20.

³³ Piatnitsky (2000) S 61.

painted, although the date of the chapel (or the date of its dedication) is uncertain.³⁴ Relics of the Holy Five are not attested in the monastery (though other relics are), and the urban society reflected here would anyway not be characteristic of Sinai itself. As for Cyprus, there is no compelling evidence, other than the stylistic comparisons to Asinou, to attach the Eustratios beam to an artist from the island.

The most logical place of origin would be the area of Sebasteia or Arauraka. But, as was noted above, by the time the beam was painted, this area of Anatolia had been devastated and was under the control of the Seljuks, whereas the beam conveys the impression of an efficient sanctuary visited by the elite of a flourishing urban center replete with local officials. Trebizond did remain secure, for the most part, defended by members of the Gabras family.³⁵ It could be the center we seek, but we know too little about the art of Trebizond in the twelfth century, to be able to make any valid comparisons with the beam.³⁶

Given these difficulties, it is worth taking a closer look at the details of the costumes of the participants in these miracle scenes, and at the architectural and decorative vocabulary. The kaftan of the male figures, though found in various forms elsewhere, including Constantinople itself, was particularly associated with the "borderland" areas of Cappadocia, Armenia and Georgia.³⁷ The exact attire, kaftan with embroidered lapels, the high-necked tunic, and ribboned white cap, is sometimes worn by the tax collector of Nazianzus, Julian, and always by his record keepers, in illustrations to the seventh liturgical Homily of Gregory of Nazianzus.³⁸ The fact that this particular costume is

³⁴ Rabino (1938) 34 mentions only a chapel of the "Holy Martyrs" in his list of chapels within the monastery. Nor, apparently, do any pilgrims refer to such a chapel: Braun (1975).

³⁵ On the Gabras family, see Bryer (1979).

³⁶ A chapel of St. Eustratios just South of Trebizond is attested in 1223: Janin (1975), 270; Bryer and Winfield (1985) 225.

³⁷ Ball (2005), 62–69. It is also the costume worn by the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in Yilanli kilise (11th century): Thierry (1963) 98–100; pls. 45–48 and color pl. III. According to Ball, the kaftan was worn by men and women both, which is not the case on the beam. See also Bernardini (1993).

³⁸ Galavaris (1969), esp. 42–46 and the relevant plates. For color, see Galavaris (1995) pl. 148 (Sinai gr. 339, fol. 341), and Pelekanides et al. (1974–91) 2: fig. 304 (Athos, Panteleimon 6, fol. 77v). The hat of the woman in scene 4 on the beam can be compared to that worn by Eirene Gabras in the frontispiece miniature to a Gospel book dated 1067, commissioned by her husband Theodore Gabras; the Gospel is now on Mount Sinai: Theodore's kaftan too is comparable to that worn by some male figures on the beam. Sinai gr. 172: Weitzmann and Galavaris (1990), no. 29.

not found in other contexts makes it hard to determine whether the costume has geographical/ethnic meaning (Nazianzus, where Julian served, is in Cappadocia), or whether it constitutes a specific official costume.³⁹

Many of these elements of costume are perhaps too widespread to provide reliable clues to their origin. But there are differences that should be noted. The women's robes on the beam lack the geometric or figural designs, and the jewelled collars and hems, that are so characteristic of Constantinopolitan dress; none of the male garments depicted on the beam has the embroidered patterns or gold armbands usual for such dress. And there are unusual details to be found in the attire of some of the women: the soft turbans worn by the female patients in scenes 1, 9 and 11, the deep black turbans worn by the nuns in scene 10, the buttons that close their maphoria, the high necklines of their under-tunics, and above all the exquisite long dress worn by the woman standing watch over the bed in scene 4 (*color plate 9*). This garment is made of white cotton or linen woven with rippling streaks of pink and blue. It is belted with a wide red belt from which fall tassels or pleats. It has no counterpart, that I know, in Constantinopolitan dress, or, for that matter, "borderland" dress.

A very similar garment appears, however, in a twelfth-century Sinai manuscript of the *Heavenly Ladder* (Sinai gr. 418): the miniature on fol. 279r illustrates John Klimakos' 29th Logos on Tranquillity (*apatheia*) with, at the right, four lay figures, two women and two men (*color plate 10*).⁴⁰ Both women wear white hats (probably too stiff to be turbans), and cloaks closed over their chest with a pair of buttons, like the nuns on the beam. Most importantly, one of the women wears a long white tunic streaked with pink, a fabric almost exactly the same as that worn by the woman in scene 4 on the beam. In addition, the architecture that divides the scenes on the beam, consisting of columns

For a fine color plate of the pair of miniatures (which are now in St. Petersburg: National Public Library gr. 291, fols. 2v–3r), see Cutler and Spieser (1996) 328–29 figs. 258–59. On Theodore Gabras, see Bryer (1979) 175. For headdresses, see also Emmanuel (1993–94).

³⁹ Parani (2003) 97 prefers to see it as an official costume, and I would agree. At Elmali kilise in Cappadocia, for example, Eustratios himself wears the ribboned hat, presumably in his related capacity as *skrinarios*.

⁴⁰ Weitzmann and Galavaris (1990) 153–62, esp. 160 and fig. 629. For a color plate of this miniature, see Galey (1980) fig. 155. On the lay presence in this manuscript, see Ševčenko (2009), 58–60.

decorated with roundels containing small crosses, is paralleled in the frontispiece to the Sinai Klimakos manuscript (fol. 2r), as well as on the Twelve Feasts icon.⁴¹

The Sinai Klimakos manuscript and its relative, the Homilies of Gregory manuscript in Paris (B.N. gr. 550), have recently been attributed by Alexander Saminsky to the region of Antioch, on the basis of similarities with Georgian manuscripts known for sure to have been produced there.⁴² While there is little stylistic connection between our beam and these manuscripts, some details that they share make the Antioch possibility one worth pursuing.

Antioch was a sophisticated urban center with a population of Greeks, Armenians and Syrians in addition to the Norman overlords or returning Byzantines, and surrounding the city were a number of Greek, Syrian, Georgian, Armenian and Latin monasteries.⁴³ The orientalizing elements of the costumes—kaftans, turbans, the buttons and the special hats of the men—make sense in that milieu.⁴⁴ The row of gold circles adorning the hem of Eustratios' tunic looks very much like that used in a Greek Lectionary of Antiochene origin: Athos Kutlumis 61.⁴⁵ The uppermost course of the background wall in scene 3, with its

⁴¹ Weitzmann and Galavaris (1990) 153 and fig. 587. On the beam: Nelson and Collins (2006), no. 20.

⁴² Saminsky (2006); Saminsky (2007). The scribe of the Sinai and Paris manuscripts has been discussed by D'Aiuto (1997) esp. 7–25. D'Aiuto adds a manuscript of the Homilies of Basil in Venice (Bibl. Marciana gr. Z 57) to the oeuvre of this scribe, whom he dates to the second half of the 12th century, provenance unknown. For other manuscripts surely from the Antioch area, see also Brock (1990). It is perhaps worth noting that the unusual illustrated manuscript of the *Passio* of the Holy Five now in Turin (see p. 275 above) was purchased in 1437 in Alexandretta near Antioch.

⁴³ Cahen (1940) 333–35, 527–60; Todt (2004) 171–90; Ciggaar and Metcalf (2006); Dagron (1976) esp. 205–8; Runciman (1956). According to Todt (182 and 186), the Arabic-speaking Greek-Orthodox Melkites were the dominant group in Antioch at this time. Norman influence has been postulated for the frontispiece page of the Sinai Klimakos manuscript (fol. 2r), with its heraldic lions (see note 40 above); Weitzmann and Galavaris (1990) 27–28.

⁴⁴ There was a silk workshop near the cathedral church of St. Peter in Antioch, and Antioch was apparently known for its moiré silk: Cahen (1940) 475, with sources. The white tunic depicted on the beam and in the manuscript is not, however, moiré, at least as the term is understood today. From Mme. Sophie Desrosiers I learned, thanks to the kind intercession of David Jacoby, that “lampas brochés d'or” were woven in Antioch in the 12th century (email), but our fabric is intriguing for its very lack of gold, and for its watery design (see the discussion below).

⁴⁵ Pelekanides et al. (1974–91) 1: figs. 300–304; Saminsky (2006) 23 and figs. 19–22. Saminsky argues for the miniatures in the Kutlumis Lectionary being integral to the manuscript and thus of the same date (1065–70).

dramatic black/white design, is reminiscent of some decorative tiles from Syria, contemporary in date to the beam.⁴⁶

Yet there is no record of a sanctuary dedicated to Eustratios or to the Holy Five in this region, and at present an attribution to Antioch can be no more than one hypothesis among several. Perhaps the striking female dress with its streaks of color, which is found both on the beam and in the Sinai manuscript, could serve to guide us further. The material, not depicted in other Byzantine works of art, could conceivably be “ikat”, a way of dyeing yarn before it is woven—rather like tie-dyeing—that produces a fabric characterized by watery, arrow-like streaks. Ikat textiles were produced in cotton in Yemen in the tenth century (*color plate 11*), and the technique seems to have spread within the Islamic world and to have been imitated in Egypt in linen.⁴⁷ But the surviving Egyptian textiles of the later Fatimid period tend to be strongly striped and/or adorned with figured tapestry roundels in the Coptic manner: no Egyptian specimen seems to resemble the fabric depicted on the iconostasis beam and the manuscript as closely as do the early Yemenite examples.⁴⁸ It is impossible, therefore, to narrow down the origin of the beam any further on the basis of this detail alone: the most we can say at present is that the fabric suggests a milieu familiar with an Islamic weaving technique that is quite unlike that of regular Byzantine or Byzantinizing textiles.⁴⁹ Perhaps the publication of more eleventh–twelfth-century Islamic textiles of lesser rank, not just those adorned with tiraz bands and roundels, will lead to further clarification as to the origin of these lovely garments.⁵⁰

The Sinai templon beam is unusual, perhaps unique, on several counts. First, it is our only known painted hagiographic cycle devoted exclusively to posthumous miracles. Second, the form of the cycle is unique, painted as it is on a templon beam: only one other surviving

⁴⁶ Evans and Wixom (1997) no. 256 (tile in the Metropolitan Museum, New York).

⁴⁷ Lamm (1937), esp. 144–56; Golombek and Gervers (1977). I wish to thank Annemarie Weyl Carr for steering me toward the technique of ikat.

⁴⁸ Golombek and Gervers (1977) 83–84, and 121 note 23 where there is a list of Egyptian ikat textiles from Fustat. See also Contadini (1998) 39–58; pl. 15.

⁴⁹ The second woman in the miniature in Sinai 418 wears a more conventional silk dress with large circular brocade designs in the Byzantine style.

⁵⁰ For literary sources regarding the places of production of Islamic textiles in the medieval period, and for a discussion of terms, see Serjeant (1972).

templon has hagiographic scenes, and none of these are miracles.⁵¹ Relatively rarely in Byzantine literature (and the same is true for Byzantine art) are a saint's posthumous miracles transmitted independent of the saint's vita: they are customarily bound to the vita text, or, when painted on icons or in fresco, are simply woven into the general narrative of his or her life.⁵² Here the focus is strictly on the miracles themselves.

It remains to consider for a moment how this illustrated miracle cycle differs from a written *miracula* text. The events are of course similar in content, as is the recounting of the miracles one after the other, almost without break (on the beam the Deesis briefly interrupts the sequence like an inserted prayer), with a positive value given to repetitiveness, sign of repeated success. But while the miracle accounts were read aloud at a sanctuary over a period of time, and were dependent on someone being there to read them to the public, the beam is able to present the miracles directly to the observer, without intermediary. Furthermore, in its proper location, crowning the columns of the templon screen, the templon beam acts in space instead of time: in conjunction with the sanctuary walls, it becomes part of a protective container for the relic itself, closing it off from the rest of the church but revealing, through its painted program, the power of the relic that lies inside.⁵³ With the miracles on this beam separated by arches painted to look like enamel or metalwork, and the golden disks adorning the spandrels and frame like gems, the beam can be seen to act as one face of a large and precious reliquary.

Many of the questions raised by this work of art remain unresolved: much as we would like to think that we can rely entirely on internal

⁵¹ A templon beam on Mount Sinai contains 3 scenes from the life of St. Nicholas (no posthumous miracles) in addition to feast scenes and saints: Ševčenko (1983) 31–32 no. 5; Weitzmann (1984) 68–69, fig. 3; Weitzmann (1992) 704–12, esp. 710–11, pl. 390. Others, such as that of John the Baptist, are known from only from texts: see Ševčenko (1992) esp. 57–61.

⁵² There are some fresco cycles that separate the miracles from the rest of the saint's life, e.g. those of George, and of Kosmas and Damian, in the Anargyroi church in Kastoria (late 12th century): see the plan in Pelekanides and Chatzidakis (1985) 24–25 (nos. 102–5, 121–24). For an illustrated set of miracles of Kosmas and Damian in a manuscript contemporary with these frescoes, see Athos Panteleimon 2, fol. 197r: Pelekanides et al. (1974–91) 2: fig. 278. For a useful list of hagiographic cycles, though without discussion of miracles cycles per se, see Gouma-Peterson (1985).

⁵³ On many interesting aspects of the templon, see Gerstel (1999), and Gerstel (2006).

evidence, the fact is that to understand this painted cycle properly we still need a text. We can only hope that one day a written account of the *Miracula* of St. Eustratios will emerge, perhaps in Armenian, Georgian, Syriac or Arabic, to explain the unidentified scenes on the beam, and to give us a clearer idea where these miracles took place and who was their audience, and where the beam itself may have been painted. Until then, this miracle cycle, however compelling, floats without a historical context.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Alfeyev, H. and Neyrand, L. eds. 2001. *Symeon le Studite, Discours ascétique*. Sources Chrétiennes 460. Paris.
- Guillou, A., Lemerle, P. et al. 1970. *Actes de Lavra I. Des origines à 1204*. Paris.
- Halkin, F. 1970. "L'épilogue d'Eusèbe de Sébastée à la Passion de S. Eustrate et de ses compagnons." *AB* 88: 279–83.
- Lauxtermann, M. D. 2003. *Byzantine poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and contexts*. Vienna.
- Rosenqvist, J. O. 1996. *The hagiographic dossier of St. Eugenios of Trebizond in Codex Athous Dionysiou 154*. Uppsala.
- Talbot, A. M. 1994. "The posthumous miracles of St. Photeine." *AB* 112: 85–104.
- Temkin, O. et al., eds. 1956. *Soranus' Gynecology*. Baltimore.
- Thomas, J. and Hero, A. C., eds. 2000. *Byzantine monastic foundation documents*. 5 vols. Washington DC.

Secondary Literature

- Alfeyev, H. 2000. *St. Symeon the New Theologian and orthodox tradition*. Oxford.
- Atiya, A. S. 1955. *The Arabic manuscripts of Mount Sinai. A hand-list of the Arabic manuscripts and scrolls microfilmed at the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai*. Baltimore.
- Ball, J. 2005. *Byzantine dress: Representations of secular dress in eighth–twelfth-century painting*. New York, Basingstoke.
- Bernardini, L. 1993. "Les donateurs des églises de Cappadoce," *Byzantion* 62: 118–40. *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 1961–1970. Rome.
- Braun, J. M. 1975. *St. Catherine's monastery church, Mount Sinai: Literary sources from the fourth through the nineteenth centuries*. PhD Thesis, University of Michigan.
- Brock, S. 1990. "Syriac manuscripts copied on the Black Mountain, near Antioch." In *Lingua restituta Orientalis. Festgabe für Julius Assfalg*. Ed. R. Schulz and M. Görg, 59–67. Wiesbaden.
- Bryer, A. and Winfield, D. 1985. *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontus*. Washington, DC.
- Bryer, A. 1979. "A Byzantine family: The Gabrades, c. 979–c.1653." *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12: 164–87. Repr. 1980 in his *The empire of Trebizond and the Pontus III*. London.
- Cahen, C. 1940. *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*. Paris.

- Chatzidakis-Bacharas, Th. 1982. *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales*. Athens.
- Ciggaar, K. and Metcalf, M. 2006. *East and west in the medieval eastern Mediterranean I. Antioch from the Byzantine reconquest until the end of the Crusader principality*. Louvain, Paris, Dudley Mass.
- Chatterjee, P. 2009. "Icon and relic on the Eustratios beam," *The Thirty-fifth annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Florida State University, November 5–8, 2009. Abstracts*: 45.
- Contadini, C. 1998. *Fatimid art at the Victoria and Albert Museum*. London.
- Cutler, A. and Spieser, J.-M. 1996. *Byzance médiévale 700–1204*. Paris.
- Dagron, G. 1976. "Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'orient byzantin à la fin de X^e et au XI^e siècle: l'immigration syrienne." *Travaux et Mémoires* 6: 177–216.
- D'Aiuto, F. 1997. "Su alcuni copisti di codici miniati mediobizantini." *Byzantion* 67: 5–59.
- Dedeyan, G. 1975. "L'immigration arménienne en Cappadoce au XI^e siècle," *Byzantion* 45: 41–117.
- Delehay, H. 1925. "Les recueils antiques de miracles des saints," *AB* 43: 5–85.
- Déroche, V. 1993. "Pourquoi écrivait-on des recueils de miracles? L'exemple des miracles de Saint Artémios." In *Les saints et leur sanctuaire à Byzance: Textes, images et monuments*. Ed. C. Jolivet-Lévy, M. Kaplan and J.-P. Sordini, 95–116. Byzantina Sorbonensia 11. Paris.
- Devos, P. 1958. "L'oeuvre de Guarimpos, hagiographe napolitain." *AB* 76: 151–87.
- Emmanuel, M. 1993–94. "Hairstyles and headdresses of empresses, princesses, and ladies of the aristocracy in Byzantium." *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 4:17: 113–20.
- Evans, H. C. and Wixom, W. D. 1997. *Glory of Byzantium. Art and culture of the middle Byzantine era 843–1261*. An exhibition catalogue. New York.
- Frolow, A. 1961. *La relique de la Vraie Croix*. Paris.
- Galavaris, G. 1969. *The illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzenus*. Princeton.
- . 1995. *Ζωγραφική Βυζαντινῶν χειρογράφων*. Athens.
- Galey, J. 1980. *Sinai and the monastery of St. Catherine*. Garden City, NY.
- Gerstel, S. E. J. 1999. *Beholding the sacred mysteries. Programs of the Byzantine sanctuary*. Seattle/London.
- , ed. 2006. *Thresholds of the sacred. Architectural, art historical, liturgical, and theological perspectives on religious screens, East and West*. Washington, DC.
- Golombek, L. and Gervers, V. 1977. "Tiraz fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum." In *Studies in Textile History. In Memory of Harold B. Burnham*. Ed. V. Gervers, 82–125. Toronto.
- Gouma-Peterson, T. 1985. "Narrative cycles of saints' lives in Byzantine churches from the tenth to the mid-fourteenth century." *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30: 31–44.
- Hild, F. and Restle, M. 1981. *Kappadokien. Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 2. Vienna.
- Honigmann, E. 1961. *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*. Brussels.
- Janin, R. 1969. *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, III. Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed. Paris.
- . 1975. *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*. Paris.
- Lamm, C. J. 1937. *Cotton in medieval textiles of the Near East*. Paris.
- Manafis, K. A. ed. 1990. *Sinai: Treasures of the monastery of Saint Catherine*. Athens.
- Mouriki, D. 1985. *The mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios*. 2 vols. Athens.
- Nelson, R. S. and Collins, K. M. eds. 2006. *Holy image, hallowed ground. Icons from Sinai*. exh. cat. Los Angeles.

- Parani, M. G. 2003. *Reconstructing the reality of images. Byzantine material culture and religious iconography (11th–15th Century)*. Leiden/Boston.
- Pelekanides, S. M. et al., 1974–1991. *The treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated manuscripts*. 4 vols. Athens.
- Pelekanides, S. M. and Chatzidakis, M. 1985. *Kastoria*. Athens.
- Pertusi, A. ed. 1952. *Costantino Porfirogenito, De Thematribus*. Vatican City.
- Photeinos, G. 1865. *Tà Neaμονήσια*. Chios.
- Piatnitsky, Y. et al. eds. 2000. *Sinai, Byzantium, Russia. Orthodox art from the sixth to the twentieth century*, exh. cat. London.
- Rabino, M. H. L. 1938. *Le monastère de Sainte-Catherine du Mont Sinai*. Cairo.
- Rocheftort, G. 1950. "Une anthologie grecque du XI^e siècle: le *Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 690*." *Scriptorium* 4: 3–17.
- Rosenqvist, J. O. 2002. "Local worshippers, imperial patrons: Pilgrimage to St. Eugenios of Trebizond." *DOP* 56: 193–212.
- Runciman, S. 1956. "The Greeks in Antioch at the time of the Crusades." *Acts of the Ninth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Hellenika suppl.* 9.2, 583–91. Athens.
- Saminsky, A. 2006. "Georgian and Greek illuminated manuscripts from Antioch." In *East and west in the medieval eastern Mediterranean I. Antioch from the Byzantine reconquest until the end of the Crusader principality*. Ed. K. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf, 17–32. Louvain, Paris, Dudley Mass.
- . 2007. "Illuminated manuscripts from Antioch." In *Interactions. Artistic interchange between the eastern and western worlds in the medieval period*. Ed. C. Hourihane, 188–208. Princeton.
- Serjeant, R. B. 1972. *Islamic textiles: Material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*. Beirut.
- Ševčenko, N. P. 1990. *Illustrated manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion*. Chicago.
- . 1983. *The Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine art*. Turin.
- . 1992. "Vita icons and 'decorated' icons of the Komnenian period." In *Four icons in the Menil Collection*. Ed. B. Davezac, 57–69. Houston.
- . 2009. "Monastic challenges: Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Heavenly Ladder," In *Byzantine Art: Recent Studies. Essays in honor of Lois Drewer*. Ed. C. Hourihane, 39–62. Princeton and Tempe, Arizona.
- Soteriou, G. and M. 1956, 1958. *Εἰκόνες τῆς μονῆς Σινᾶ*, 2 vols. Athens.
- Talbot, A. M. 2002. "Pilgrimage to healing shrines: The evidence of miracle accounts." *DOP* 56: 153–73.
- Thierry, N. and M. 1963. *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce. Région de Hasan Dagi*. Paris.
- Todt, K.-P. 2004. "Antioch in the middle Byzantine period (969–1084): The reconstruction of the city as an administrative, military, economic and ecclesiastical center." In *Antioche de Syrie: histoire, images et trace de la ville antique. Colloque... Maison d'Orient*. Ed. B. Cabouret and P.-L. Gatier, 171–90. Lyon.
- Vokotopoulos, P. 1995. *Βυζαντινὲς Εἰκόνες*. Athens.
- Walter, C. 2003. *The warrior saints in Byzantine art and tradition*. Aldershot.
- Weitzmann, K. 1975. "A group of early twelfth-century Sinai icons attributed to Cyprus." In *Studies in memory of David Talbot Rice*. Eds. G. Robertson, G. Henderson, 47–63. Edinburgh. Repr. 1982 in his *Studies in the arts at Sinai*, IX. Princeton.
- Weitzmann, K. 1979. "Illustrations to the lives of the five martyrs of Sebaste." *DOP* 33: 97–112.
- Weitzmann, K. 1984. "Icon programs of the 12th and 13th centuries at Sinai." *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 4: 12: 63–116.

- Weitzmann, K. 1992. "An ivory plaque with two of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, PA." In *Εὐφροσύνη. Αφιέρωμα στὸν Μανόλη Χατζηδάκι*. Ed. E. Kypraiou, 704–12. Athens.
- Weitzmann, K. and Galavaris, G. 1990. *The monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai: The illuminated Greek manuscripts. Vol. 1: From the ninth to the twelfth century*. Princeton.

TEXTS, PRACTICES, SPACES

HAGIOGRAPHY AND THE CULT OF SAINTS IN THE LIGHT OF EPIGRAPHY AND ACCLAMATIONS

Claudia Rapp

Late antiquity plays a pivotal role as a period of experimentation and formulation of new cultural expressions that are indebted in form and function to the classical tradition, but often infused with novel meaning and content by the Christian religion. Scholarship on this period represents a continuing effort to measure the relative weight of ancient tradition and Christian innovation and to determine the precise formula of their admixture. With regard to hagiography and the cult of saints, there is now an established consensus about two notions: that the cult of saints has its origin in the cult of the martyrs and thus ultimately in the Roman cult of the dead, and that hagiography represents a new form of specifically Christian writing, albeit with antecedents in Greco-Roman funerary orations, panegyrics and biography. Both these notions stand in need of correction, however, if the public discourse of the fourth to seventh centuries is taken into consideration. In the following, I will suggest that a closer look at the reflection of inscriptions and acclamations in hagiographical writing shows that this form of Christian literature owes a large debt to the rhetorical forms of adulation bestowed on prominent figures not after their death, but already during their lifetime.

The origins of hagiographical writing in funerary practices have been sought on the basis of similarities between saints' *vitae* or sermons on the anniversary of a saint's death with funerary eulogies or panegyrics in the classical vein. This emphasis on the funerary aspect not only positioned Christian practices within the context of the ritual traditions of paganism, it also made it possible to postulate a continuum from the cult of martyrs directly to the cult of saints. This kind of inquiry was pioneered by Jean Bolland (1596–1665) and his followers, the Bollandists, a group of Belgian Jesuits who since the counter-Reformation devoted themselves to legitimizing the cult of saints by placing it on a solid scholarly foundation. They applied philological and historical methods in order to strip away all external accretions of the pious popular imagination so that the kernel of truth in the legends

of the saints could be properly isolated and identified. The Bollandists' monumental publication of the *Acta sanctorum* in the original Latin or Greek began with the month of January (published in two volumes in 1643); more than 350 years later, the December volume is still in preparation.¹ Especially relevant are the studies by Hippolyte Delehaye, the most prominent Bollandist of the 20th century. His seminal work *Les origines du culte des martyrs* aims to show how Roman funerary rituals, including the annual commemoration at the tomb, were applied to Christian martyrs and argues that this practice was the direct antecedent of the cult of saints.² Other studies have shown how in the commemoration of ancestors of high-status Romans, the display of the *imago* (wax mask) of the deceased, the eulogy and the funerary inscription were all closely linked in their purpose of combining praise for the dead with inspiration for the living.³ Once Christianity had reached the higher levels of society, at the close of the fourth century, this extended also to high-status Christians, many of whom became bishops.⁴ Thus it became possible to postulate a direct line of continuity from the Roman *laudatio funebris* to the Latin *vitae* of bishops of the 5th and 6th with regard to purpose, authors, and audience.⁵

Assuming a straight line of continuity between the cult of martyrs and the cult of saints is not without problems, however. Here it is helpful to employ the distinction that Anglophone scholarship, influenced by the work of Peter Brown, has made between living "holy men" and dead "saints." As I have argued elsewhere, it is worth considering that the primary phenomenon that gives rise to the cult of saints is not the regular commemoration at the tomb in the hope of receiving miraculous assistance from an intercessor in heaven, but the context

¹ Peeters (1961); Weilandt (1993). I am most grateful to Peter Thonemann and Jason Moralee for their feedback, bibliographic suggestions and valuable comments on the subject of hagiography and epigraphy in the context of late antique city life. This material was first presented at the Deutscher Historikertag, Konstanz, September 2006, in a session organized by the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Munich, and I would like to register my gratitude to Christoph Schuler and the other participants for their encouragement to pursue this topic.

² Delehaye (1933) 27–49. On funerary inscriptions or graffiti, and dedicatory inscriptions as material evidence for the cult of saints, see Delehaye (1927b) 135–54. On the role of panegyrics in the cult of saints, see Delehaye (1966a) 132–69.

³ Badel (2005) 92–93, 134, 190–99.

⁴ Lepelley (1997) 335–52.

⁵ Heinzelmann (1973).

of spiritual guidance, especially within the nascent ascetic movement, offered by a “father” (or “holy man”) to his “sons” and “daughters” who would constitute his followers in a family-like community bound by mutual prayer, with miracles playing only a minor role, if at all.⁶ A closer look at the use and appropriation of epigraphy in the context of hagiography can offer further corroboration.

In the late Roman Empire, when the “epigraphic habit” was at its height, inscriptions served a variety of functions: publication of imperial decrees, dedication of monuments and buildings, vows and prayers to the deities, honor and recognition of benefactors, and commemoration of the dead. In their evocation of or reference to epigraphy, classical authors and Christian hagiographers as well as modern scholars have been motivated by a variety of purposes. At the most basic level, inscriptions, whether real or imagined, can constitute an integral part of the narrative.⁷ A classic example occurs in Petronius’ *Satyricon*, where the nouveau-riche Trimalchio, a former slave, plans his own extravagant funerary monument, complete with an inscription, to the great amusement of his dinner guests.⁸ By this exercise in bad taste, Trimalchio displays his boastful naiveté and reinforces a sense of the distance between the self-deceit of the character in the story and the cognizant reader’s accurate appreciation of the former’s disposition. That same interpretive distance is also at play in the narrative of the Gospel of John, which records the inscription that Pontius Pilate had affixed on the Cross on Golgatha: “Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews” (Jn 19:17–22, cf. Mt 27:37, Mk 15:26, Lk 23:38). Here, it is the Roman authority that makes a display of the claim of Jesus’ followers. What was intended to result in ridicule within the narrative, however, would be interpreted as a prophetic gesture by the faithful audience of the Gospel text. A more straightforward narrative function is displayed by the hypothetical inscription that might have been placed on the tomb of the Maccabean martyrs (4 Macc. 17:8–10):

Indeed it would have been proper to inscribe upon their tomb these words as a reminder to the people of our nation: “Here lie buried an aged priest and an aged woman and seven sons, because of the violence of the tyrant who wished to destroy the way of life of the Hebrews. They

⁶ Rapp (1999); Rapp (2007).

⁷ Stein (1931).

⁸ Petronius, *Satyricon* 71.

vindicated their nation, looking to God and enduring torture even to death.”

This evocation of a potential funerary monument is a fitting conclusion to a story of heroic death in the face of oppression.

Actual inscriptions on tangible objects are accessible to viewers within the narrative, but also offer convincing proof for the veracity of that narrative to the audience of the text. This was a common authorial strategy throughout antiquity. The practice of invoking epigraphy reaches back to the origins of Greek historiography. Already Herodotus referred to more than twenty inscriptions, some of them still extant, in Greek and in Oriental languages. He adduced them in support of a historical argument or as a stylistic adornment, but only rarely as a source in their own right.⁹ Within the context of biographical narratives, epigraphy was used to great effect by Plutarch who provided verbatim quotes from inscriptions in his *Parallel Lives* (especially the *Life of Aristides*) and frequently referred to monuments, inscriptions and continuing customs to validate his account.¹⁰ Like other ancient authors, Christian writers applied this method either to lend credibility to their narrative, or simply in order to provide further illustration for a point they are making. The earliest example in Christian writing occurs in the *Acts of the Apostles*, where Paul preaches in Athens, on the Areopagus, and refers his audience to an altar bearing the inscription “To the unknown god” (Acts 17:22–23). Much later, Eusebius of Caesarea quoted the inscription on the statue of Constantine that was erected in Rome after the victory over Maxentius, adorned with the addition of the victorious cross.¹¹ Eusebius’ aim was to emphasize the power of the Christian symbol and to demonstrate the popularity of Constantine’s new religious allegiance among the citizens of Rome. The *vita* of a pagan holy man quotes his funerary epigram in a similarly demonstrative and almost apologetic fashion: Marinus’ *Life of Proclus* affirms the closeness of his protagonist to Syrianus, his predecessor

⁹ West (1985). The tradition was resumed in Athenian historiography of the fifth century BCE: Pownall (2008).

¹⁰ Buckler (1992) 4794–99; Desideri (1992) 4562–66.

¹¹ Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 9.9.11, ed. Schwartz (1908) 832, cf. *Vita Constantini* 1.40.1–2, ed. Winkelmann (1975) 36–37. Compare Eusebius’ reference to Constantine’s portraiture on coins and statues, where his heavenward glance illustrates his piety: *Vita Constantini* 4.15–16, ed. Winkelmann (1975) 125–26.

as head of the Neoplatonic school in Athens, by explaining his burial arrangement and tomb inscription: Proclus was buried

in the eastern suburbs of the city [of Athens] by Lycabettus, where the body of his mentor Syrianus also lies. For this is what Syrianus enjoined upon him while still alive, and for that reason he had the depository of the tomb made double. There were times after his death when Proclus, in his outstanding piety, was concerned that this might be improper; then he seemed to see the same dream threatening him, simply on account of this one thought. On the tomb is inscribed the following four-line epigram, which he himself wrote for himself:

Proclus I was, by race a man of Lycia, whom Syrianus
Fostered here to become the successor to his own school.
This is the common tomb which received the bodies of both men;
Oh may a single Place be a portion of both their souls.¹²

In Christian biographical writing, the most prominent example for the inclusion of a funerary inscription in a narration is Jerome's *Epitaphium Paulae* (Letter 108), which is often hailed as one of the earliest works of Latin hagiography. In the last two chapters of this text, Jerome explains that he composed the epigrams for Paula's tomb, and then quotes them in full, first the five verses of his *titulus* of her tomb, then the inscription in six verses outside the cave. This is followed by the exact date of Paula's death, the date of her burial, the number of years she lived "in sancto proposito" in Rome and in Bethlehem, and her exact age at the time of death.¹³ In this instance, the author of the inscription is identical with the hagiographer, actively promoting her commemoration at the tomb.

That the epigraphic record can serve as proof becomes a valuable tool in the identification of newly found relics. When Ambrose of Milan discovered the relics of Gervasius and Protasius, their identity as martyrs was not only proved by the arrangement of their skeletons and the blood that still stained the tomb, but also because: "Old men now repeat that they once heard the names of these martyrs and had read their titles (*tituli*)."¹⁴ The idea of proof by written documentation in the *inventio* of martyrs' relics eventually became a hagiographical trope. According to a later legend that forms a pre-quel to Ambrose's

¹² Marinus, *Life of Proclus* 36, ed. Marsullo (1985) 92, trans. Edwards (2000) 113. This epigram is also preserved in the *Anthologia palatina* 7. 341, ed. Waltz (1928–) 4: 199.

¹³ Jerome, *Epistula* 108. 33–34, ed. Hilberg (1996) 350–51.

¹⁴ Ambrose, *Epistula* 77. 12, ed. Zelzer (1988) 134.

spectacular action, Sirus, the first bishop of Pavia and missionary in north Italy in the apostolic era, instructed the people of Milan on the proper burial of Protasius and Gervasius, along with Nazarius and Celsus, after they had suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Nero:

Let the dear bodies of our brothers Nazarius and Celsus, whose blood has been spilt in the name of Christ, receive the burial they deserve, one of the highest honours, and be sure to place in their tomb an epitaph upon which their struggle is written in sacred letters (*epitaphium certaminis eorum sacris apicibus conscribentes*). As for those most worthy confessors, Protasius and Gervasius, who are currently being held in prison by that pestiferous ruler [Nero], when they too shall have been crowned with martyrdom for their Christian faith, bury them with due and deserved honour, and compose for them a little book recording their passion (*certaminis eorum libellum*) and place it next to their heads for the future praise of our Lord Jesus Christ and for their glory. For it has been predestined by God that the bodies of these saints will be revealed to men of faith at a time when their faith needs to be confirmed.¹⁵

As Nicholas Everett has argued, the earliest known copy of the *Vita Siri* is preserved in a manuscript produced in the Italian monastery of Bobbio, most likely in the second half of the ninth century (Vat. Lat. 5771), but the text itself may have been redacted earlier, perhaps in the early eighth century.¹⁶ In this charming story, the hagiographer displays his acute awareness of the importance of contemporary written documentation—epigraphic and otherwise—for the authentication of relics by later generations.

The same method of authentication through recourse to inscriptions was championed in scholarship by the Bollandists. Where better to look for that tangible kernel of truth about a saint that remained unaffected by the formation of later legends than in inscriptions, which were composed close to his lifetime and provide rock-solid confirmation of a saint's existence? More recently, scholars have examined the location of inscriptions commemorating a saint especially at the various resting places of his or her relics, as well as pilgrim graffiti, in order to trace the geographical distribution of cults—evidence that is particularly valuable when narrative sources, including hagiography,

¹⁵ *Vita Siri* 5, ed. Everett (2002) 926. The story continues by explaining that this advice came too late, as Nazarius and Celsus had already been buried. I am grateful to Nicholas Everett for drawing my attention to this passage.

¹⁶ Everett (2002) 890 and 899–900.

are either silent or narrowly focused on one locale.¹⁷ Recourse to epigraphy has also served to rehabilitate some works of hagiography as valuable sources for ancient history. The study of the *Martyrdom of Pionius* by Louis Robert, the great Greek epigraphist, for instance, draws on parallels in inscriptions, papyri and contemporary texts in order to establish this text as an authentic document of its time.¹⁸ It is not difficult to find texts that are comparable in their vivid detail and accurate terminology about offices, priesthoods, the judicial process, and other details of late antique city life. The martyrdom account of Theodotus of Ancyra would repay similar detailed study.¹⁹ Stephen Mitchell has already been able to identify, on the basis of inscriptions, the original resting place of the relics of Theodotus in the small town known by its ancient name as Malos (Turkish: Kalecik) 40 km north east of Ankara.²⁰

It is significant for the present argument that not only funerary epigraphy finds its way into the hagiographical record, but that dedicatory inscriptions, too, are mentioned. A good example is the epigram in six distichs on the column of Daniel the Stylite (409–93), who lived near Constantinople in imitation of the pillar-dwelling lifestyle made famous by Symeon the Stylite near Antioch.

Standing twixt earth and heaven a man you see
 Who fears no gales that all about him fret;
 Daniel his name. Great Simeon's rival he
 Upon a double column firm his feet are set;
 Ambrosial hunger, bloodless thirst support his frame
 And thus the Virgin Mother's Son he doth proclaim.
 These verses are still inscribed on the column and thus preserve the
 memory of the man in whose honour they were written.

The epigram appears in the *Life of Daniel the Stylite* (composed either shortly after his death in 493 or as late as ca. 600, as Beck²¹ suggests) and is also part of the *Anthologia palatina*, a Byzantine collection of inscribed and literary epigrams compiled no later than the tenth

¹⁷ To mention but two relevant studies: this has been shown for early medieval Spain and Gaul by Handley (2000) and Handley (2003) 142–165; and for late antique Egypt by Papaconstantinou (2001). See also the general remarks by Aigrain (1953) 109–116, and by Papaconstantinou (2006) 333.

¹⁸ Robert (1994).

¹⁹ Franchi de'Cavalieri (1901).

²⁰ Mitchell (1982).

²¹ Beck (1977) 411.

century.²² The original epigram was composed, probably in 462, by a certain Cyrus in gratitude for the healing of his daughter from a demon. Cyrus was not only a devoted follower of Daniel, but a very prominent man: City Prefect of Constantinople on two occasions and Praefectus Praetorio per Orientem from 439 to 441, he later took honorary retirement as bishop of Cotyaeum. In addition to his political career, he was highly regarded for his poetry.²³ The text of the epigram itself and the fact that it was in verse, combined with the mention of its prominent author, provided an instant social pedigree for Daniel—befitting a holy man in close proximity to the imperial capital.

Epigraphy does not only serve as authentication of a cult, or rehabilitation of the source value of hagiography, it can also prompt the genesis of a cult. Funerary inscriptions could easily be misread, or over-interpreted, as designating a martyr's tomb, leading to the creation of a legend. Hippolyte Delehaye assembled several examples: the abbreviation B M for *Bonae Memoriae* was misread as *Beati Martyres*, the epitaph of a young woman described as *digna et merita* was interpreted as the burial place of two women saints by the names of Digna and Merita, and the common epithet *sanctus* in funerary inscriptions of bishops was taken to indicate a claim to sainthood and led to the invention of many bishop martyrs and saints.²⁴ Modern archaeologists have sometimes been guilty of similar enthusiasm.²⁵

The unique case of a funerary inscription inspiring the composition and content of a work of hagiography is that of Aberkios. All that was known for a long time was a curious hagiographical text, the *Vita of Aberkios*, a prominent preacher and leadership figure. At the end of the *Vita*, the hagiographer describes how Aberkios, after receiving a divine premonition of his imminent death, composed an inscription in 22 hexameters for his tomb. The hagiographer then includes the full text of this inscription.²⁶ The *Vita* was believed to be largely legendary until epigraphic confirmation came to light in the late 19th century. In 1882, William Ramsay found in Kelenderes, near Synnada in Phrygia Salutaris, the funerary inscription of a certain Alexander,

²² *Vita Danielis* 36, ed. Delehaye (1923) 34; trans. Dawes and Baynes (1977) 28. Cf. *Anthologia graeca* 1 99, ed. Waltz (1928–) 38–39.

²³ Delehaye (1896/1966b) 117–124. See also Martindale (1980) 336–39.

²⁴ Delehaye (1927a) 77–82; Halkin (1951), Halkin (1952), Halkin (1953).

²⁵ Halkin (1949) 88–96.

²⁶ *S. Abercii Vita*, ed. Nissen (1912) 53.

dated 216, who borrowed the first three and the last three verses of the Aberkios inscription and applied them to himself. In the following year, Ramsay discovered in the nearby town of Kochisar nine verses of the original text, partially preserved in an inscription from the late second century.

According to the inscription, Aberkios had led an interesting life and had every reason to list his accomplishments with pride. He begins by introducing himself as “the citizen of an outstanding city,” then identifies himself as “the disciple of a pure shepherd,” mentions his travels to Rome, throughout Syria and to Nisibis in conjunction with his teaching, and makes opaque references to a “fish from the well” (one of the earliest literary references to Christian fish symbolism) and a “chaste virgin.” The meaning of this obscure inscription has generated much scholarly debate, but its Christian content now seems generally accepted. Wolfgang Wischmeyer (1980) has convincingly demonstrated that Aberkios employed expressions and phrases that were common in pagan and Christian epigraphy. Peter Thonemann has identified no less than three inscriptions, ranging in date from the mid-first to the late second century, that must have been available to the hagiographer in his quest to create a Christian past for his city of Hierapolis in Phrygia.²⁷ On the basis of this inscription, it seems, a local author of the fourth century, probably writing after the death of the Emperor Julian in 363, composed a *Vita of Aberkios* which enjoyed great popularity in the Byzantine period.²⁸

In addition to the hagiographical invention of new saints on the basis of misinterpretations of funerary epigraphy, there are also instances where an existing inscription prompted the hagiographer to embellish an episode within a larger treatise. This is the case with a inscription of thanksgiving on the shrine of Cyrus and John in Alexandria:

I, John, came from the city of Rome, having been blind for eight years. And after having persevered in this spot, I was able to see again through the power of saints Cyrus and John.²⁹

²⁷ Thonemann (2010). I am grateful to Peter Thonemann for sharing his work in pre-publication format with me.

²⁸ Wischmeyer (1980). On the epigram and its relation to the *Vita*, see Merkelbach (1997). The most recent treatments of the inscription, including up-to-date bibliography, are Hirschmann (2003) and Mitchell (2008).

²⁹ *Miracles of Cyrus and John* 69, PG 87/3: 3664A: Ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης, πόλεως τῆς Ῥώμης ὁρμώμενος, τυφλὸς ὀκτὼ χρόνους γενόμενος, ἐνθάδε διὰ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων Κύρου καὶ Ἰωάννου δυνάμειος προσκατερήσας ἀνέβλεψα.

This inscription was all the material available to Sophronius of Jerusalem when he composed the *Miracula Cyri et Ioannis* in the early seventh century. As Hippolyte Delehayé has observed, Sophronius misread the inscription, and made John not blind for eight years, but had him wait at the shrine for eight years until he received healing. And, since the inscription was affixed outside of the building, the hagiographer took the Greek word *enthade* literally, and thus made John dwell outside the church, exposed to the harsh weather, until he was cured.³⁰

These observations, cursory as they are, are sufficient to suggest two important points. First, just like their pagan colleagues, Christian authors, including hagiographers, used inscriptions as part of their narrative or invoked them as proof. The original impetus for the inscription—whether funerary, dedicatory, or commemorative—was irrelevant for these purposes. Second, inscriptions could also serve as the foundation of a new cult, and only in this context was their funerary origin essential.

If we move away from inscriptions as textual objects and their impact on the narrative structure and creation of hagiography and turn to the actual wording and phrases they contain, a further feature emerges: certain expressions of praise are common to epigraphy and hagiography. The funerary context loses all relevance here, as the focus shifts to public actions to honor the living, especially public benefactors and provincial governors.

There is a striking preponderance of short declarative statements of praise in the description of holy men and bishops, not only in hagiography, but also in other kinds of writing. They have the ring of common expressions that might be found in inscriptions or, as we shall see, acclamations. A few examples may suffice. During his public interrogation in the stadium, Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna is acclaimed by pagans and Jews as “Teacher of Asia, father of the Christians, destroyer of our gods, who teaches many neither to sacrifice nor to worship.”³¹ Basil of Caesarea employs a series of epithets in honor of the deceased bishop Musonius in a letter of consolation to the church of Neocaesarea:

³⁰ Delehayé (1925) 21–25.

³¹ Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4. 15. 26, ed. Schwartz (1903) 346: ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν.

A bulwark of his native land, an ornament of the churches, a pillar and foundation of the truth, a firm support of the faith of Christ, a steadfast helper for his friends, a most formidable foe for his enemies, a guardian of the ordinances of the Fathers, an enemy of innovation.³²

Epiphanius of Salamis is praised with similar slogans in his *Vita* which was probably composed in the third quarter of the fifth century: “glory of the Romans” and “a wall for the Cypriots.”³³ To cite a Latin example, Jerome in a letter to Oceanus identifies the recently deceased Fabiola as “the praise of Christians, miracle of the gentiles, light for the poor, and comfort to the monks.”³⁴ These brief declarative statements suggest a connection to epigraphic language. A fragmentary funerary epitaph of an otherwise unidentified bishop (his name ended in -ios) at Drymos (Drymaia) in Epiros calls him *dikaïos*, *asketes*, *orthodoxos*, *apostolikos*, and it is easy to imagine how a skilled hagiographer would turn these adjectives into a suitable enumeration as part of his narrative.³⁵ Indeed, the language of epigraphy often finds its way into written texts. Jason Moralee has recently drawn attention to the praise for St. Theodore and St. George for their triumph over paganism that appears in inscriptions at Gerasa and nearby Zorava, but also surfaces in Theodoret of Cyrrhus’ *Historia religiosa*.³⁶ A Latin example for the close association of inscriptions with hagiographic commemoration is the cult of Martin of Tours. The so-called *Martinellus* is a collection of twenty-one epigrams, partly in prose, partly in verse, relating to the *loci* of veneration of St. Martin. The epigrams were all inscribed (fragments of text have been recovered on stone) and date from the late fifth century. The authors of two of them are known, Sidonius Apollinaris and Paulinus of Perigueux, the rest are anonymous. The earliest manuscripts containing this collection date from the ninth century. The *Martinellus* constitutes the oldest collection of epigrams

³² Basil, *Epistula* 28, trans. Deferrari (1950) 160–61: ἔρεισμα πατρίδος, ἐκκλησιῶν κόσμος, στῦλος καὶ ἐδραῖωμα τῆς ἀληθείας, στερέωμα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως, οἰκείους ἀσφάλεια, δυσμαχώτατος τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, φύλαξ πατρῶων θεσμῶν, νεωτεροποιίας ἐχθρός.

³³ *Vita Epiphani*, PG 41: 45B: δόξα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, 113A: τεῖχος τῶν Κυπρίων.

³⁴ Jerome, *Epistula* 77. 2, ed. Hilberg (1996) 37: 16–18: “laudem Christianorum, miraculum gentilium, luctum pauperum, solacium monachorum.”

³⁵ Robert and Robert (1972) 413.

³⁶ Moralee (2006) 210–11.

in the West, and is preserved as an appendix to about a quarter of all the manuscripts of Martin's hagiographer Sulpicius Severus.³⁷

A fine example for the incorporation of elements of epigraphy in hagiographic writing is the Greek *Passio of Ariadne*. It describes the death of a young slave girl who was denounced as a Christian, but succeeded in escaping her persecutors by running off to the mountains where she was miraculously enveloped by a rock. Her martyrdom supposedly occurred during the reign of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, but her *Passio* was composed in the fourth or fifth century, probably based on earlier material, according to its editor, Pio Franchi de'Cavalieri.³⁸ Her master Tertullus, accused of harboring a Christian, was acquitted because of his well-known piety towards the gods and the emperor, and because of his many benefactions to the city of Prymnessos in Phrygia Salutaris. It is interesting to note that the list of Tertullus' accomplishments in the *Passio* corresponds closely to phrases and expressions that are common in honorific inscriptions from Asia Minor.³⁹ The text displays a remarkable degree of accuracy and detail in describing the various offices within the city, the mechanisms of communication and the administration of justice. For instance, it makes reference to the collective heckling by crowds of citizens that was so loud that the houses seemed to reverberate with their voices, in order to sway the *archon* to refrain from subjecting her to judicial torture: "Unjust is your judgment, unjustly do you (order us to) torture her, you act against the laws."⁴⁰

The *Passio of Ariadne* suggests that, when it comes to actual turns of phrase or short expressions, it is the language of honorific inscriptions that is shared by Christian authors, including hagiographers. Funerary inscriptions, by contrast, have an impact on hagiography largely as intact texts, by their very existence. Hagiographers were no strangers to the rhetoric of praise which was bestowed not only on the dead, but also and especially on the living. Louis Robert was the first

³⁷ Pietri (1984) is a thorough review article of Gilardi (1983), which was not available to me. The epigrams by Sidonius Apollinaris and Paulinus of Perigueux are also transmitted in manuscripts containing their own writings; see Zarini (2002).

³⁸ Franchi de'Cavalieri (1901) 118.

³⁹ Franchi de'Cavalieri (1901) 91–133. The epigraphic parallels are discussed by Robert (1980) 244–56. He argues further, but less convincingly, that the hagiographer was inspired by one specific inscription, not an amalgam of well-known and much used honorific expressions.

⁴⁰ Franchi de'Cavalieri (1901) 129 B.

to remark on a significant shift in honorific epigraphy. While in the early Roman Empire, inscriptions for provincial governors noted their *cursus honorum*, and thus offer valuable prosopographical information to the historian,⁴¹ in the later Roman Empire their virtues and benefactions were recorded in an elaborate way that lacks concrete details. The grateful citizens offered these inscriptions while the governor was alive, and did so in the accustomed language of praise. This development coincides with a preference for the use of verse, where florid language obscures precise meaning. The same tendency towards a noticeable emphasis on qualities of character and personal accomplishments, rather than a listing of titles, has been observed in the funerary inscriptions for Christian clergymen in the region of Laodikeia Kekaumene. These inscriptions date from the fourth and fifth centuries and use the same language of public praise for priests and bishops as for public officials.⁴²

The pervasiveness of the language of praise in late antiquity entailed a blurring of the boundaries between funerary and honorific epigraphy, and indeed between epigraphy and other forms of expression. An interesting case study for the parallels in language and thought between honorific epigraphy and other kinds of writing, including letters and panegyrics, aptly summed up under the heading “adulatory prose,” is Ihor Ševčenko’s discussion of the following epigram of the late fourth or early fifth century from Aphrodisias honoring Oikoumenios, the *praeses* of Caria.

The devoted City-Council of the Aphrodisians set you up here, Oikoumenios, the famous governor, <you who,> replete with the <knowledge of> Laws, hast mixed the Italic Muse with the sweet-spoken honey of the Attic one. For a man of pure mind and unsullied hand can find no honor greater than a good remembrance for himself.⁴³

Much of this adulatory prose originated not at the author’s desk, but on public occasions, when a rhetor delivered panegyrics, or when the crowds chanted acclamations. As Charlotte Roueché observed: “Acclamatory formulae, which were already regularly found in private, funerary inscriptions, came gradually to be considered appropriate for

⁴¹ Robert (1948). For a concise overview of the biographical elements in inscriptions, see Alföldi (2005) and Beard (1998). See also most recently Slootjes (2006).

⁴² Hübner (2005) 190–93, 203–204, 247–52.

⁴³ Ševčenko (1968).

inclusion in public honorific inscriptions.”⁴⁴ When Church Fathers such as John Chrysostom or Basil of Caesarea discussed acclamations, they mentioned the same honorific buzz words that are found in inscriptions.⁴⁵ Acclamations were public displays of approval (occasionally also of criticism) through the repeated shouting of short phrases. They greeted the emperor in the hippodrome, or the provincial governor when he visited a city. They were performed at civic and ecclesiastical gatherings, political assemblies and public entertainments. An important ingredient in the political discourse of late antiquity, acclamations were interpreted as spontaneous displays of unanimity, even if they were prompted or rehearsed.

John Chrysostom reminded his audience in Antioch about the excesses of flattery that a hypothetical benefactor might expect when he sponsored a public spectacle:

Then, as the ambitious man who has brought them together [in the theater which is packed with people] enters in the sight of all, they stand up and as from a single mouth cry out. All with one voice call him protector (κηδεμόνα) and ruler of their common city (προστάτην τῆς κοινῆς πόλεως) and stretch out their hands in salutation. Next, betweenwhiles they liken him to the greatest of rivers, comparing his grand and lavish munificence to the copious waters of the Nile; and they call him the Nile of gifts (Νεῖλον τῶν δωρεῶν). Others, flattering him still more and thinking the simile of the Nile too mean, reject rivers and seas; and they instance the Ocean and say that he in his lavish gifts is what Ocean is among the waters, and they leave not a word of praise unsaid.⁴⁶

It is easy to imagine phrases such as “protector,” “ruler of their common city,” or “Nile of gifts” to surface in an epigram or an oration.

In her magisterial study of acclamations in late antiquity, Charlotte Roueché notes that there seems to have been “a steady increase in recording and reporting acclamations verbatim” in official documents since the later second century CE with a further peak in the fifth century.⁴⁷ From the third century onwards, acclamations to honor

⁴⁴ Roueché (1984) 185 and Roueché (1997). See also Klauser (1950), Cabrol (1907). This last article contains an extensive discussion of the proximity of acclamations to invocations in congregational prayer. On the rhetorical aspect of epigraphy, see Judge (2001).

⁴⁵ Robert (1960) 569–76.

⁴⁶ John Chrysostom, *On Vainglory* 4, ed. Malingrey (1972), trans. Laistner (1951) 87–88. See also the comments by Peterson (1929).

⁴⁷ Roueché (1984) 184.

benefactors were also increasingly captured in inscriptions. In a law of the year 331, the emperor Constantine specifically encouraged provincial assemblies not only to perform acclamations for the governor, but also to report them back to the capital in writing.⁴⁸ A later law even granted permission to use the *cursus publicus*, the imperial post, to the messengers who transmitted these acclamations.⁴⁹ Christian congregations are also reported as breaking into such repeated collective shouts, whether during sermons, at church councils or in the process of episcopal elections. Augustine describes the acclamations on the occasion of the appointment of his successor Heraclius as bishop of Hippo in 426.⁵⁰ Not much later, in Alexandria, approving shouts interrupted the sermons of bishop Paul of Emesa when he preached on the birth of Christ on 25 December 432 and on the incarnation of Christ on 1 January 433, both times in the presence of bishop Cyril. In the Christological debates of this time, this was potentially incendiary subject matter, and the crowds registered their pleasure that Paul's preaching supported the orthodoxy of their bishop Cyril. It is not just the shouting that is remarkable, but the fact that it is recorded within the text of the sermon: "Welcome, orthodox bishop. The worthy for the worthy. The Christians say: [you are] a gift of God, O orthodox Cyril." And during the second sermon: "[You are] a gift of God, O Cyril. Lord, preserve the father of the bishops. Welcome, orthodox bishop, educator of the *oikoumene*. . . . [You are] a great bringer of praise for a great teacher."⁵¹

As has been shown, the adulatory prose that was common to acclamations and epigraphy, whether funerary or honorific, was also employed by Christians.⁵² Early Byzantine authors, including hagiographers, were no strangers to the language of acclamations. The inhabitants of late antique cities and towns must have been familiar with shouting acclamations on many civic and religious occasions, and it is only natural to assume that the Christians and those on the brink of

⁴⁸ *Codex theodosianus* 1. 16. 6, ed. Mommsen (1905).

⁴⁹ *Codex theodosianus* 8. 5. 32, ed. Mommsen (1905).

⁵⁰ Augustine, *Epistula* 213, ed. Goldbacher (1911).

⁵¹ ACO 1 1. 4. 124. 4, ed. Schwartz (1928) 10: καλῶς ἦλθες, ὀρθόδοξε ἐπίσκοπε. Ὁ ἄξιος τῷ ἁλίῳ Χριστιανοὶ λέγουσιν, θεοῦ δῶρον Κύριλλε ὀρθόδοξε. And 125. 2, ed. Schwartz (1928) 12: θεοῦ δῶρον Κύριλλε. Τῶν ἐπισκόπων τὸν πατέρα, κύριε, σώσον. Καλῶς ἦλθες, ἐπίσκοπε ὀρθόδοξε, τῆς οἰκουμένης παιδευτὰ...μεγάλου διδασκάλου μέγας ἐπαινήτης.

⁵² See also Lepelley (1997) 346–47.

conversion would also do so to honor a local holy man in his role as a public benefactor.⁵³ In the absence of further evidence, it is impossible to say whether the hagiographers recorded acclamations that were actually performed, or whether they simply employed acclamatory expressions as part of their rhetorical repertoire, perhaps even in the expectation that these would be repeated on the occasion of the public recital of their work. On a larger scale, it is worth considering that the shift from accurate detail to florid expressions and from prose to poetry in late antique epigraphy may have facilitated the shared language of praise that we have attempted to trace in hagiography, epigraphy and acclamations.

These observations raise interesting questions that would deserve further study of a much more systematic kind than could be attempted here. To what degree did social background or status in the ecclesiastical hierarchy determine the length, level of style and actual execution by the stonecutter of funerary epitaphs? A first glance at the evidence suggests that bishops were the recipients of longer and more detailed funerary inscriptions than priests or deacons, for example. Yet, the middle and lower classes in general were able to afford and eager to display funerary epitaphs, at least until the seventh century when this practice seems to go into abeyance.⁵⁴ Furthermore, during the later Roman Empire, high-status individuals, including bishops, tended to receive epigrams in verse. Poetry functioned as a status symbol, also within the context of the Christian church. This was true even in the provinces. For example, the six lines of elegiac couplets that a certain Eusebios set up for his father, bishop Pientios, near the city of Amorium in the fourth or fifth century, cannot have been cheap. They are encased in a *tabula* with moulded, rectangular frame, written in carefully executed rectangular letters and displayed with a perfect *mise-en-page* that observes indents for the second line of each verse.

The heavenly halls hold in spirit the wise arch-priest Pientios within their gates, but this small tomb guards the remains of his flesh until he tastes the food of the resurrection. Little Eusebios has set up this small

⁵³ That they did so to acknowledge their belief in the one (Christian) god, both in acclamations and in the parallel epigraphic formulae, was demonstrated by Peterson (1926).

⁵⁴ Mango (1986) and Mango (1991).

memorial in honour of his father, repaying a little of his immeasurable kindness.⁵⁵

These scattered examples make no claim to an exhaustive treatment, but they suffice to point out that there was a rich repertoire of expressions of praise that was employed for the benefit of the living and the dead, and that made its way from epigraphy and acclamations to Christian narratives and hagiography. It is one of the great contributions of Alice-Mary Talbot's oeuvre to have brought Byzantine hagiography to the mainstream of scholarly research. The evidence presented here transposes this observation to the formative period of hagiographical writing. It suggests that late antique hagiographers shared the same language with their contemporaries and were themselves active participants in the literary mainstream and public discourse of their time.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Dawes, E. and N. H. Baynes, trans. 1977. *Three Byzantine saints: contemporary biographies of St. Daniel the Stylite, St. Theodore of Sykeon and St. John the Almsgiver*. 1st ed. 1948. London.
- Deferrari, R. J., trans. 1950. *Saint Basil, The Letters*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, MA.
- Delehay, H. 1923. *Les saints stylites*. Subsidia hagiographica 14. Brussels.
- Edwards, M., trans. 2000. *Neoplatonic saints: The lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their students*. Liverpool.
- Franchi de'Cavalieri, P. 1901. *I martirii die s. Teodoto e di s.Ariadne*. Studi e testi 6. Rome.
- Goldbacher, A., ed. 1911. *Augustinus Epistulae 185–270*. Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 57. Vienna.
- Hilberg, I., ed. 1996. *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*. Vol. 2. Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 55. Vienna.
- Malingrey, A.-M., ed. 1972. *Jean Chrystostome. Sur la vaine gloire et l'éducation des enfants*. Sources chrétiennes 188. Paris.
- Marsullo, R., ed. 1985. *Marino di Neapoli, Vita di Proclo*. Naples.
- Mommsen, Th., ed. 1905. *Codex Theodosianus*. Berlin.
- Nissen, Th., ed. 1912. *S. Abercii Vita*. Leipzig.
- Robert, L., with G. W. Bowersock and C. P. Jones, eds. 1994. *Le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne*. Washington, DC.

⁵⁵ Lightfoot, Ivison et al. (1995) 136–37 and plate 20 b. The inscription is now built into the wall of the mosque at Agilcik. See also Mango (1991) 238–39 and the reproduction in vol. 2. 121, plate 5.

- Schwartz, E. 1903. *Eusebius, Kirchengeschichte, Bücher 1–5. Eusebius Werke*. Vol. 2. 1. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte 9.1. Leipzig.
- , ed. 1908. *Eusebius, Kirchengeschichte. Bücher 6–10. Eusebius Werke*. Vol. 2. 2. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte 9. 2. Leipzig.
- , ed. 1928. *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*. Vol. 1. 4. Berlin and Leipzig.
- Waltz, P., ed. 1928–. *Anthologie grecque*. Vol. 1–. Paris.
- Winkelman, F., ed. 1975. *Eusebius, Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin. Eusebius Werke* 1. 1. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte. Berlin.
- Zelzer, M. and G. Banterle, eds. 1988. *Sancti Ambrosii episcopi mediolanensis opera* 21, *Epistulae* 3. Milan and Rome.

Secondary Literature

- Aigrain, R. 1953. *L'hagiographie, ses sources, ses methods, son histoire*. Brussels.
- Alföldi, G. 2005. "Inschriften und Biographie in der römischen Welt." In *Biographie und Prosopographie: Internationales Kolloquium zum 65. Geburtstag von Anthony R. Birley*. Ed. K. Vössing, 29–52. Stuttgart.
- Badel, C. 2005. *La noblesse de l'empire romain. Les masques et la vertu*. Seyssel.
- Beard, M. 1998. "Vita inscripta." In *La biographie antique*. Ed. W. W. Ehlers. Fondation Hardt, Entretiens 44. Geneva.
- Beck, H.-G. 1977. *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*. 2nd ed. Munich.
- Buckler, J. 1992. "Plutarch and autopsy." In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2. 33. 6. 4788–4830. Berlin and New York.
- Cabrol, F. 1907. "Acclamations." *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 1: 240–65. Paris.
- Dawes, E. and N. H. Baynes, trans. 1977. *Three Byzantine saints: contemporary biographies of St. Daniel the Stylite, St. Theodore of Sykeon and St. John the Almsgiver*. 1st ed. 1948. London.
- Deferrari, R. J., trans. 1950. *Saint Basil, The Letters*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, MA.
- Delehay, H. 1896/1966b. "Une épigramme de l'Anthologie grecque." *Revue des études grecques* 9: 216–24; revised version reprinted in Delehay (1966).
- . 1923. *Les saints stylites*. Subsidia hagiographica 14. Brussels.
- . 1925. "Les recueils antiques des miracles des saints." *AB* 43: 5–85.
- . 1927a. *Les legendes hagiographiques*, 3rd rev. ed. Subsidia hagiographica 18. Brussels. English trans. D. Attwater. 1998. *The legends of the saints*. Dublin.
- . 1927b. *Sanctus. Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité*, Subsidia hagiographica 17. Brussels.
- . 1933. *Les origines du culte des martyrs*. Subsidia hagiographica 20. Brussels.
- . 1966a. *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*. 2nd improved ed. Subsidia hagiographica 13B. Brussels.
- . 1966b. *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine*, Subsidia hagiographica 42. Brussels.
- Desideri, P. 1992. "I documenti di Plutarco." In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2. 33. 6. 4536–67. Berlin and New York.
- Edwards, M., trans. 2000. *Neoplatonic saints: The lives of Plotinus and Proclus by their students*. Liverpool.
- Everett, N. 2002. "The earliest recension of the Life of S. Sirus of Pavia (Vat. lat. 5771)." *Studi Medievali* 43: 857–957.
- Franchi de'Cavalieri, P. 1901. *I martirii die s. Teodoto e di s. Ariadne*. Studi e testi 6. Rome.
- Gilardi, F. J. 1983. *The Sylloge Epigraphica Turonensis de S. Martino*, Dissertation Catholic University of America. Washington, DC.

- Goldbacher, A., ed. 1911. *Augustinus Epistulae 185–270*. Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 57. Vienna.
- Halkin, F. 1949. "Inscriptions grecques relatives à l'hagiographie." *AB* 67: 87–108. Repr. in Halkin (1973).
- . 1951. "Inscriptions grecques relatives à l'hagiographie." *AB* 69: 67–76. Repr. in Halkin (1973).
- . 1952. "Inscriptions grecques relatives à l'hagiographie." *AB* 70: 116–37 and 306–11. Repr. in Halkin (1973).
- . 1953. "Inscriptions grecques relatives à l'hagiographie." *AB* 71: 74–99 and 326–58. Repr. in Halkin (1973).
- . 1973. *Études d'épigraphie grecque et hagiographie byzantine*. London.
- Handley, M. A. 2000. "Beyond hagiography. Epigraphic commemoration and the cult of saints in late antique Trier." In *Society and culture in late antique Gaul: Revisiting the sources*. Ed. R. W. Mathisen and D. Shanzer, 187–200. Aldershot.
- . 2003. *Death, society and culture: inscriptions and epitaphs in Gaul and Spain, AD 300–750*. BAR International Series 1135. Oxford.
- Heinzelmann, M. 1973. "Neue Aspekte der biographischen und hagiographischen Literatur in der lateinischen Welt (1.–6. Jahrhundert)." *Francia* 1: 27–44.
- Hilberg, I., ed. 1996. *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*. Vol. 2. Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum 55. Vienna.
- Hirschmann, V. 2003. "Ungelöste Rätsel? Nochmals zur Grabinschrift des Aberkios." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 145: 133–39.
- Hübner, S. 2005. *Der Klerus in der Gesellschaft Kleinasien*. Stuttgart.
- Judge, E. A. 2001. "The rhetoric of inscriptions." In *Handbook of classical rhetoric in the Hellenistic period (330 B.C.–A.D. 400)*. Ed. S. E. Porter, 807–28. Boston and Leiden.
- Klauser, Th. 1950. "Akklamation." *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 1: 216–33. Stuttgart.
- Laistner, M. L., trans. 1951. *Christianity and pagan culture in the later Roman Empire*. Ithaca, NY.
- Lepelletier, C. 1997. "Évergétisme et épigraphie dans l'antiquité tardive: les provinces de langue latine." In *Actes du X^e congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine. Nîmes, 4–9 octobre 1992*. 335–52. Ed. M. Christol and O. Masson. Paris.
- Lightfoot, C., E. Ivison, et al. 1995. "Amorium excavations 1994: The seventh preliminary report." *Anatolian Studies* 45: 105–38.
- Malingrey, A.-M., ed. 1972. *Jean Chrystostome. Sur la vaine gloire et l'éducation des enfants*. Sources chrétiennes 188. Paris.
- Mango, C. 1986. "Epigrammes honorifiques, statues et portraits à Byzance." In *Aphieroma ston Niko Sborono*. Ed. B. Kremmydas et al. Vol. 1. 23–35. Rethymno.
- . 1991. "Byzantine epigraphy (4th to 10th centuries)." In *Paleografia e codicologia greca*. Vol. 1. Ed. D. Harlfinger and G. Prato, 235–49. Alessandria.
- Marsullo, R., ed. 1985. *Marino di Neapoli, Vita di Proclo*. Naples.
- Martindale, J. R., ed. 1980. *The prosopography of the later Roman Empire*. Vol. 2. Cambridge.
- Merkelbach, R. 1997. "Grabepigramm und Vita des Bischofs Aberkios von Hierapolis." *Epigraphica Anatolica* 28: 125–39.
- Mitchell, M. 2008. "Looking for Abercius: reimagining contexts of interpretation of the 'earliest Christian inscription'." In *Commemorating the dead. Texts and artifacts in context. Studies of Roman, Jewish and Christian burials*. Ed. L. Brink and D. Green, 303–39. Berlin and New York.
- Mitchell, S. 1982. "The Life of saint Theodotus of Ancyra." *Anatolian Studies* 32: 93–113.
- Mommsen, Th., ed. 1905. *Codex Theodosianus*. Berlin.

- Moralee, J. 2006. "The stones of St. Theodore: disfiguring the pagan past in Christian Gerasa." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 14.2: 183–215.
- Nissen, Th., ed. 1912. *S. Abercii Vita*. Leipzig.
- Papaconstantinou, A. 2001. *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des papyrus et des inscriptions grecs et coptes*. Paris.
- . 2006. "Au-delà de l'hagiographie: réflexions sur les sources de l'histoire du culte des saints à Byzance." In *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'antiquité et le moyen âge. Mélanges offerts à Pierre Maraval*. Ed. B. Caseau, J.-C. Cheynet, and V. Déroche, 329–40. Collège de France-CNRS. Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance. Monographies 23. Paris.
- Peeters, P. 1961. *L'oeuvre des Bollandistes*. 2nd ed. Brussels.
- Peterson, E. 1926. *Eis theos. Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. Göttingen.
- . 1929. "Die Bedeutung der Okeane-Akklation." *Rheinisches Museum* 78: 221–23.
- Pietri, L. 1984. "Une nouvelle édition de la Sylloge Martinienne de Tours." *Francia* 12: 621–31.
- Pownall, F. 2008. "Theopompos and the public documentation of fifth-century Athens." In *Epigraphy and the Greek historian*. Ed. C. Cooper, 119–28. Phoenix Supplementary Volume 47. Toronto and Buffalo.
- Rapp, C. 1999. "'For next to God, you are my salvation': reflections on the rise of the holy man in late antiquity." In *The cult of saints in late antiquity and the early middle ages. Essays on the contribution of Peter Brown*. Ed. J. Howard-Johnston and P. A. Hayward, 63–81. Oxford.
- . 2007. "Saints and holy men." In *Cambridge History of Christianity*. Vol. 2, *Constantine to ca. 600*. Ed. A. Casiday and F. W. Norris, 548–566. Cambridge.
- Robert, J., Robert, L. 1972. "Bulletin épigraphique." *Revue des études grecques* 85: 364–526.
- Robert, L. 1948. "Épigrammes relatives à des gouverneurs." *Hellenica* 4: 35–114.
- . 1960. *Hellenica* 11–12: 569–76.
- . 1980. *A travers l'Asie Mineure*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 239. Athens and Rome.
- , with G. W. Bowersock and C. P. Jones, eds. 1994. *Le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne*. Washington, DC.
- Rouché, C. 1984. "Acclamations in the later Roman Empire: new evidence from Aphrodisias." *Journal of Roman Studies* 74: 181–99.
- . 1997. "Benefactors in the late Roman period: the eastern empire." In *Actes du X^e congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine. Nîmes, 4–9 octobre 1992*. Ed. M. Christol and O. Masson, 353–68. Paris.
- Schwartz, E., ed. 1903. *Eusebius, Kirchengeschichte, Bücher 1–5. Eusebius Werke*. Vol. 2. 1. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte 9.1. Leipzig.
- . 1908. *Eusebius, Kirchengeschichte. Bücher 6–10. Eusebius Werke*. Vol. 2. 2. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte 9. 2. Leipzig.
- . 1928. *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*. Vol. 1. 4. Berlin and Leipzig.
- Ševčenko, I. 1968. "A late antique epigram and the so-called Elder Magistrate from Aphrodisias." In *Synthronon. Art et archéologie de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge*. Ed. A. Grabar, 20–41. Paris.
- Slootjes, D. 2006. *The governor and his subjects in the later Roman Empire*. Mnemosyne Suppl. 275. Leiden and Boston.
- Stein, A. 1931. *Römische Inschriften in der antiken Literatur*. Prague.
- Thonemann, P. 2010. "Abercius of Hierapolis: Christianization and social memory in late antique Asia Minor." *Historical and religious memory in the ancient world. Essays in honour of Simon Price*. Eds. B. Dignas, R. R. Smith. Oxford.
- Waltz, P., ed. 1928–. *Anthologie grecque*. Vol. 1–. Paris.

- Weilandt, G. 1993. "Ansichten über das Mittelalter. Zur Bewertung hagiographischer Texte in der neuzeitlichen Geschichtsforschung," In *Hagiographie und Kunst. Der Heiligenkult in Schrift, Bild und Architektur*. Ed. G. Kerscher, 32–40. Berlin.
- West, S. 1985. "Herodotus' epigraphical interests." *Classical Quarterly* 35.2: 278–305.
- Winkelman, F., ed. 1975. *Eusebius, Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin. Eusebius Werke* 1. 1. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte. Berlin.
- Wischmeyer, W. 1980. "Die Aberkiosinschrift als Grabepigramm." *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 23: 22–47.
- Zarini, V. 2002. "A la plus grande gloire de Martin? Deux *epigrammata* de la basilique de Tours au v^{ème} siècle." In *L'épigramme de l'antiquité au xvii^e siècle*. Ed. J. Dion. 247–62. Paris.
- Zelzer, M. and G. Banterle, eds. 1988. *Sancti Ambrosii episcopi mediolanensis opera* 21, *Epistulae* 3. Milan and Rome.

THE JEWISH BOY LEGEND AND THE 'WESTERN TWIST'

John Duffy*

In the realm of Byzantine religious tales few stories have had as rich and varied a career as the account of the Jewish boy who, in punishment for having eaten Christian communion breads, was thrown alive into a furnace by his father and left to die. The boy, however, was miraculously saved by the Virgin Mary, and as a result both he and his mother were converted to Christianity.

We have no idea when or where the legend first arose, but the oldest surviving version is preserved in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius Scholasticus (ca. 536–post 594) and already in his lifetime it had made its way to the West, showing up in the *Miracles in Eight Books* of Gregory of Tours (ca. 540–94). After the sixth century it spread out over Europe, at first in Latin and eventually in several vernaculars; by the fifteenth century (if not before) it had traveled as far as Ireland, and a version of the tale was still being copied in Gaelic manuscripts as late as the nineteenth century.¹

As a foundation for the present discussion it might be most useful to begin by citing the story in the version of Evagrius. It is reported as a miracle that occurred during the patriarchate of Menas (536–52), in the reign of Justinian, and is set in Constantinople:

Ancient custom in the imperial city has it that when a substantial quantity of the holy parts of the immaculate body of Christ our God remain

* I wish to thank warmly a good friend and colleague, Bertrand Bouvier, for several astute and helpful comments on this contribution.

¹ In Wortley (1991) it is assigned the number W488; in the *BHG* it comes under 1076k.

Textually, the story was most fully explored by Wolter (1879). Apart from Greek, Latin and French, Wolter cites (without further discussion) versions in Spanish, German, Arabic and Ethiopian. In the West the tale circulated mostly either in *Miracles of the Virgin* collections, or in general *exempla* developed by the preaching orders. The Irish versions are extant in some ten copies in various European libraries. The most recent edition appears as story no. 30 in Ní Uallacháin (2004), based on a seventeenth-century manuscript in Brussels. There is also a tradition of illustration for the Jewish Boy Legend, but to the best of my knowledge, it has never been systematically studied.

For Evagrius and Gregory the bibliographic references are respectively: Bidez (1898/1964) 4: 36 and Arndt and Krusch (1885) 494.

over, uncorrupted boys are sent for from among those who attend an elementary teacher, and they eat these. (On one of the occasions) when this took place, the son of a glass-worker, a Jew by belief, went along with the boys. When his parents enquired the reason for his lateness, he declared what had happened, and what it was that he had consumed together with the other boys. And his father, in fury and wrath, put the boy in the furnace of coals where he shaped the glass, after setting light to it. Now the mother, looking for the boy but unable to find him, went all over the city, wailing and shrieking piercingly. And on the third day, when standing by the door of her husband's workshop, convulsed with lamentations, she was calling out the boy's name. And he, recognizing the voice of his mother, answered her back from the furnace. And she, on breaking through the doors and going inside, saw the boy standing in the midst of the coals, untouched by the fire. When he was asked how he had remained unharmed, he said that a woman wearing a purple robe had visited him frequently and proffered water, and with this he had quenched the coals that were near him; and that she fed him whenever he was hungry. When this was reported to Justinian, he had the boy and his mother appointed to church ministries, after they had been enlightened with the bath of rebirth. As for the father, who refused to be numbered among Christians, he had him impaled in Sycae as murderer of his child.²

As told by Gregory of Tours, in its Latin garb, the main developments of the storyline remain the same, though there are some significant differences in detail. For example, specific indicators of geography and time are no longer in evidence: the location is *in oriente* without further precision, there is no mention of a patriarch or an emperor, and the church in question is a *basilica Beatae Mariae*, where the Jewish boy happens to attend Mass with his Christian schoolmates. If it were not for the phrase *in oriente*, one could say that the account has already been fully 'westernized.' But the outstanding distinguishing feature in Gregory's version would seem to be the fact that the father of the boy is punished, at the insistence of the crowd, by being thrown in his own furnace, where he is completely consumed by the fire.³

In light of this striking detail, there always seemed to be a clear divergence between the Greek accounts on the one hand and those in Latin and other western languages on the other. The published Greek texts

² The translation (with some slight modifications) is taken from Whitby (2000) 241–42.

³ Gregory's words are: *Conclamant etiam, ut auctorem hujus sceleris in ipsas projicerent flammis. Projectum autem ita totum ignis absorbuit, ut vix de ossibus ejus parvum quodammodo relinqueretur indicium*, Arndt and Krusch (1885) 494.

of the story invariably have the Jew executed on a cross of some kind, while in the other tradition he is burned to death. That distinction led me some years ago to correct an interesting Greek form of the legend that had been published by Elpidio Mioni in the 1950's.⁴ Essentially the Italian scholar, working with a text that is damaged at a crucial point in the narrative, had understood the manuscript to read that the emperor ordered the man to be "cast in the furnace" (κελεύει αὐτὸν φουρνισθῆναι). My examination of the passage in question, however, revealed that what the scribe wrote was actually φουρκισθῆναι ("to be hung on a *furca*," i.e. a gibbet or cross), a verb that in any case has much better credentials than the otherwise unattested φουρνίζω. On the strength of this restoration and in the context of the various available Latin and Greek versions I offered the following observation,

The other distinctive element, which becomes universal in the Latin accounts, is that the father is punished by being himself thrown into the same furnace as his son and burned to a cinder. This difference between Eastern and Western versions is so consistent that it may be expressed simply in the formula: in Greek the father is executed by some form of hanging, in Latin he is burned in the furnace.⁵

One point left unexplored in that study had to do with the apparent anomaly presented by an eleventh-century translation of the eastern form of the tale. John the Monk, originally from Amalfi but resident in Constantinople, was active as a translator, and his output included a Latin version of some forty-two Byzantine Greek religious tales of the kind found in monastic *paterika*; more than half of his stories originated in the *Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschus. In John of Amalfi's rendition of the Jewish Boy Legend, however, contrary to expectation, we are confronted with the report that the Jewish glassblower is executed, by order of the emperor, in the same furnace that he had used for the attempt on his son's life. At the time the best I could do was to suggest that John presented a contaminated version, "with a Western ending attached to an Eastern form of the story."⁶

⁴ Mioni (1951) 61–94.

⁵ My comments on the Mioni piece formed the first part of a contribution to a Festschrift for Ihor Ševčenko (Duffy [2002] 54–56).

⁶ Huber (1913) 46–47. Our story is miracle no. 5, *De quodam iudeo*. The full text is given below in Appendix B, and the section in question reads: *Quod intinatum est imperatori; et iussit ut in eundem caminum in quem filium suum miserat precipitaretur. Quod ut factum est, statim miser conbustus et ad nichilum redactus et presentem vitam perdidit et eternam.*

On this occasion, thanks to new evidence, it will be possible not only to solve the small puzzle of the dénouement in John the Monk, but also to put to rest the whole idea of an exclusively ‘western twist’ on the ending of the Jewish Boy Legend. That evidence comes from yet another telling of the tale in Greek and one that has not been published before. It is found in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and runs as follows:

- Ἦν τις Ἰουδαῖος ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ὑαλοπὸς τῇ τέχνῃ ἔχων γαμετὴν πάνυ ἐλεήμονα, καὶ εἶχεν ἓνα υἱὸν μανθάνοντα γράμματα πλησίον τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας. συνέβη δὲ τὸν κειμηλιάρχην ἔχειν μερίδας λειψάνων τῆς ἀγίας τραπέζης πολλὰς καὶ διὰ τὸ δαπανηθῆναι αὐτὰς ἐξελθὼν πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον εἶπεν αὐτῷ, “πέμπσον τὰ παιδία τὰ ὀφείλοντα μεταλαβεῖν.” οὕτως γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἔθος. τοῦ δὲ διδασκάλου εἰρηκότες τοῖς παιδίοις ὅτι, “ὅστις ἐστὶ νῆστις ἀπέλθι,” συναπῆλθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου παιδίον καὶ μετέλαβε μετ’ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ κειμηλιαρχεῖον.
- Ὁ δὲ διδάσκαλος τῇ τακτῇ ὥρᾳ ἀπέλυσε τὸ σχολεῖον καὶ ἕκαστος ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου παιδίον ἀπῆλθε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ εἰς τὸ ὑαλοψεῖον· ἦν γὰρ τὴν κάμινον καίων καὶ κάμνων. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ, “διὰ τί ἐβράδυνας σήμερον, τέκνον, ὑπὲρ τὰς ἄλλας ἡμέρας;” ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, “ὄντως, κύριέ μου, ἔφαγον σήμερον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν παιδίων πολὺ καλῶς.” ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, “τί ἔφαγες;” λέγει αὐτῷ, “ὁ παπᾶς ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ψωμία ἄσπρα πολλὰ καὶ ἐφάγομεν ὅλοι.” λέγει αὐτῷ μετ’ ὀργῆς, “μετὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπῆλθες μεταλαβεῖν;” καὶ κρατήσας αὐτὸν ἐν θυμῷ ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός, καὶ κλείσας αὐτὴν ἀνεχώρησεν.
- Ὁ δὲ μαθητὴς ὁ συγκάμνων αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ ὑελουργεῖν εἰδὼς τὸ γεγονὸς δραμὼν ἀπήγγειλε τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ παιδίου τὸ συμβάν. καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὴν ταῦτα, διωκομένη ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων σπλάγχχνων, βρύχουσα καὶ κλαυθμῷ βιαίῳ καὶ ὀλοφυρμοῖς, γέγονεν ἅμα τῷ μαθητῇ καὶ γείτοσι καὶ ὄχλου πολλοῦ μεμαθηκότος τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν αὐτῷ συμβάντων ἐν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ· καὶ στρέψασα τὴν θύραν, εἰσελθοῦσα ἤνοιξε τὸ καμίνιν καὶ τῇ σκέπῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρακύψασα εὗρε τὸ παιδίον ὑγιὲ καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, “τέκνον μου καλόν, τί ποιεῖς ὧδε;” ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῇ, “ὁ πατήρ μου ἔρριπέ με ὧδε, κυρία μου, ὅτι ἀπῆλθον μετὰ τῶν παιδίων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν καὶ μετέλαβον μετ’ αὐτῶν.” καὶ ἐξελθὼν τὸ παιδίον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ἐρωτηθὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας μητρός, “πῶς οὐ κατεκάης, τέκνον;” εἶπεν ὅτι “γυνὴ πορφυροφόρος κατέχεεν ἐπ’ ἐμὲ ὕδωρ λέγουσα <<μὴ φοβοῦ>>.”
- Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ λαβοῦσα τὸ τέκνον αὐτῆς ἔδραμε πρὸς Μηνᾶν τὸν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν πατριάρχην, κατακολουθοῦντος τοῦ ὄχλου. καὶ μαθὼν ὁ πατριάρχης τὸ θαῦμα ἀνήγαγε τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰουστινιανῷ· καὶ μεταστειλάμενος τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναγγέλλουσα τὸ θαῦμα σὺν τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῆς, δεομένη ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου βαπτίσματος. ἥτις χάριτι Χριστοῦ καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα ἅμα τῷ αὐτῆς

40 υἱῷ. προτραπέντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, ὥστε μετανοήσαντα καὶ αὐτὸν βαπτισθῆναι, οὐκ ἠβουλήθη· ὅθεν πολλάκις νουθετηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου οὐ κατεδέξατο. δῆλον δὲ ἀπὸ κελεύσεως βασιλικῆς ἐβλήθη εἰς τὴν κάμινον ἐνθα ἔβαλε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κάκει ἀνηλώθη παραχρήμα.

45 Πάντες οὖν οἱ παρατετυχότες τὸ θαῦμα ἔδωκαν αἶνον τῷ θεῷ τῷ ποιοῦντι θαυμάσια μεγάλα πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἡμῶν· δόξα δὲ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.⁷

7 ἀπέλθει cod. || 18 αὐτὴν] -ῶ cod. || 19 leg. ὑελοουργεῖον ? | εἰδῶς] leg. ἰδὼν ? (*cum vidisset* Johannes Monachus) || 23 ὄχλου—μεμαθηκότος] sic cod. | αὐτῷ] -η cod. || 24 καμίνην cod. || 25 ὑγιῇ] sic cod. || 30 κατεκάεις cod. || 42 παρὰ χρήμα cod.

Once more, as is fully typical of the whole genre of edifying tales, while the basic structure and outline remain the same, there are variations in a number of points. It turns out that, of the Greek versions known to date, the Parisian is closest to the one published by Mioni, but even those two, for all of their similarities, diverge considerably in several elements. On the one hand, in contrast to Evagrius, they share the following: they specify the role of the sacristan of Hagia Sophia, they contain several similar snatches of dramatic dialogue (entirely absent in the more sober 'historical' narrative of Evagrius), and they fill out the part played by Patriarch Menas in bringing an edifying resolution to the drama. On the other hand, the Paris version has at least two features that not only differ from the Mioni text but indeed have not been found in any of the Greek texts known to us up to this point in time. These elements are: a) the cameo appearance of an apprentice to the glassmaker whose function is to relay to the boy's mother the horrifying news of what took place in the workshop, and b) the completely surprising announcement of the father's punishment, "Accordingly, by command of the emperor, he was cast into the furnace in which he had thrown his own son and was consumed there in no time."

⁷ Paris. gr. 1596 (parchment, 11th c.), pp. 423–25. The general title of this section in the ms. (beginning p. 404) is Διηγήματα καὶ παραινήσεις ψυχοφελεῖς ἀγίων πατέρων. There is the usual brief description in Omont (1888/2000) 2: 101. A much fuller account is available in Clugnet (1902–3).

Personal inspection of this ms. in March 2009 was greatly facilitated by Dr. Christian Förstel of the Bibliothèque Nationale, whom I thank warmly for his help.

For my translation of this Paris version see Appendix A below.

How are we to explain this unexpected turn of events? The simplest answer would be to conclude that already in the Greek tradition there were different endings to the legend and that, when in the sixth century the Gregory of Tours version had the boy's father punished in the furnace, this was nothing more than a direct reflection of a variant in the eastern form of the tale. Otherwise we would have to argue that somehow the Paris 1596 copy represented a version that had been influenced from the West. But such a theory is much more difficult to support. For one thing it would go contrary to everything we have been led by experience to expect. Some Byzantine tales almost certainly originated further east, e.g. in Syrian or Coptic *milieux*, but so far, to my knowledge, we cannot point to any examples of purely western religious tales of this kind making their way into Greek in the Early or Middle Byzantine periods. A second, and perhaps equally cogent point, is the fact that the version made by John of Amalfi in the eleventh century is based on a Greek text which was extremely close to, though not identical with, Paris 1596. Mioni was of the opinion (which ended up misleading him) that John "followed faithfully" the redaction of the Marciana codex that he (Mioni) was publishing,⁸ but he was quite far off the mark. On the other hand, the closeness between John of Amalfi and Paris 1596 is highlighted instantly by the occurrence in both of the two special features already discussed, namely, the appearance of the glassmaker's apprentice and, of course the 'final act' showing the father punished in the furnace. A comparison between Paris 1596 and the full text of John of Amalfi reveals that they present in all major points the identical tale, though there are enough minute differences to exclude the possibility that the translator had that particular manuscript in front of him. It may well be that, when the under-researched field of *paterika* collections is explored further, someone may yet be able to identify the Greek manuscript(s) used by John of Amalfi as the basis for his translations of Byzantine edifying tales.

For the issues at hand in this paper we may sum up the results in the following way. For a long time the much traveled and frequently tailored tale of the Jewish boy in the furnace seemed to have a transmission that separated neatly into eastern and western branches. The

⁸ Mioni (1951) 79: "La vers. lat. in Joh. Mon. 5, pp. 44–45 segue fedelmente la redazione del Marciano e non i testi presentati da E. Wolter (*Der Judenknabe*, pp. 36–38), come crede l'Huber."

pivotal difference was the manner of the punishment meted out to the boy's father. However, it now emerges, thanks to the evidence of a Paris manuscript, that the ending, in which the man is executed by being thrown into his own furnace, rather than representing a western twist to the story, is a genuine variant of the eastern tradition and quite possibly reflects the original version of the tale.

APPENDIX A

(Translation of Paris. gr. 1596, pp. 423–25)

There was a Jew in Constantinople, a glassmaker by trade, who had a very charitable wife and an only son attending elementary school next to Hagia Sophia. It happened that the sacristan had a considerable amount of breads left over from the Holy Eucharist, and in order to have them used up, he went to the teacher and said, "Send the boys who are fit to take communion,"⁹ for that was the custom. And when the teacher announced to the boys, "Anyone who has fasted may go," the son of the Jew went too and ate the Communion breads in the sacristy along with the boys.

At the scheduled time the teacher let the class out and each pupil returned home. Similarly the Jewish boy went off to his father at the workshop, where he was firing the furnace and engaged in his work. And the father said to him, "What kept you later today, boy, than other days?" His reply was, "Actually, Sir, today I had a good meal at the Church with the boys." And when the father asked him, "What did you eat?" he answered, "The priest gave us a whole lot of white breads and we all ate them." And the father said to him angrily, "You mean to say you went and took Communion with the Christians?" Raging he grabbed him, threw him into the burning furnace, closed it, and left.

⁹ It would appear that the term *κειμηλιάρχης* in this text is being used as an exact synonym of *σκευοφύλαξ*. John the Monk translates the man's function as *custos sanctorum vasorum*, but the place as *scenofilatium* (sic); Mioni's text has *σκευοφύλαξ*.

I have chosen to translate τὰ ὀφείλοντα by "who are fit," in view of the teacher's instructions that only those who were "fasting" could go. We seem to know little about the prerequisites for receiving Communion in the East; perhaps this text reflects the custom of the 11th century? It is of interest to point out that the ecclesiastical historian Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (13th/14th c.), when he more or less reproduces the account of Evagrius, adds on the personal detail that he himself often had the same experience as a young boy; *Historia ecclesiastica* 17. 25 (PG 147: 280 C–D): "Ἐθὼς κεκράτηκεν ἐκ πολλοῦ τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων, ὡς ἐπειδὴν πολὺ τι τῶν μερίδων τοῦ ἀχράντου καὶ θείου σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐναπολειφθεῖν, μεταστέλλεσθαι τοὺς ἱερέας παῖδας ἀφθόρους ἐκ τῶν ἐς χαμαιιδασκάλου φοιτῶντων, καὶ ταύτας νήστεις ἐσθίειν. Ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐμοὶ πολλάκις νεωτέρῳ κομιδῇ γε ὄντι ἐπισυνέβη γενέσθαι, μάλιστα θεοῖς τεμένεισι διατρίβειν ἐκ νέου πεποιημένῳ σπουδῇ. To be noted too is his addition of νήστεις, which is not in Evagrius.

But the apprentice who was assisting him in the work, realizing what had happened, ran off to tell the boy's mother. As soon as she heard this, driven by her own maternal feelings and roaring with violent wailing and lamentation, she made her way to the workshop along with the apprentice, her neighbors, and a great crowd of people who had heard what had happened to the boy.¹⁰ Breaking down the door and entering she opened the furnace, and putting her head inside with Christ's protection she found the boy safe. She said to him, "My good son, what are you doing here?" And he told her, "My father threw me in here, Ma'am, because I went with the boys to the Christian Church and had a meal with them." When the boy emerged he was questioned by the crowd and by his mother, "How come you were not consumed by the fire, child?" He answered, "A lady dressed in purple poured water over me and told me not to be afraid."¹¹

So the mother took her son and, followed by the crowd, hurried to Menas, the patriarch at the time. Upon learning of the miracle the patriarch had it reported to Emperor Justinian. And when Menas sent for the woman, she came to him along with her son, recounted the miracle, and requested that they be deemed worthy of holy baptism. So by the grace of Christ she, together with her son, received the seal of baptism in Christ. Her husband, on the other hand, despite being urged to repent and to be baptized himself, was not willing, and even after repeated admonishing by the patriarch he refused. Accordingly, by command of the emperor, he was cast into the furnace in which he had thrown his own son and was consumed there in no time.

Thereupon all those who had witnessed the miracle gave praise to God who accomplishes great wonders for our salvation. Glory be to His name for the ages.

¹⁰ It deserves to be mentioned that, while in the versions of Evagrius and Mioni the mother acts on her own, the idea of the crowd is found already in Gregory of Tours. This is a further indication of divergences within the Greek tradition.

¹¹ The Jewish boy obviously does not realize the true identity of the regally dressed lady. In the spiritual ancestor of our story, the account of the Three Hebrews in Dan. 3, the boys are rescued from the fire of the furnace by an angel. That the Virgin should act in that capacity here is entirely appropriate. As B. Pentcheva pointed out to me some years ago in private communication, Byzantine art has a frequently used image of Mary (sometimes with the Christ Child) standing unaffected in the Burning Bush, i.e. in a prefiguration of her role as Theotokos. Though the scene becomes common only in the Palaeologan era, the concept itself in theological literature goes back at least to the fourth century. From the sixth century we can cite the explicit testimony of Romanos the Melode who, in stanza 11, lines 3–4 of the second canticum on the Person of Christ (Maas and Trypanis [1963] 14) has Mary say this about her son: "In the form of fire he inhabited my womb, yet it did not consume me" (πῦρ ὑπάρχων ὥκησέ μου τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ οὐ κατέφλεξεν ἐμέ). And in stanza 9, line 8 of the Marian hymn *par excellence*, the Akathistos (Trypanis [1968]) there is this intriguing salutation: "Hail, you who have put out the furnace of deceit" (χαίρε, τῆς ἀπάτης τὴν κάμινον παύσασα [var. lect. σβέσασα]).

APPENDIX B

(Joannes Monachus: Liber de miraculis, ed. Huber [1913] 44–45)

De quodam Iudeo

Fuit quidem vir iudeus in Constantinopoli arte vitrearius, habens uxorem pudicam et elemosinatricem et unum parvulum filium qui discebat litteras iuxta templum sancte Sophye.

Contigit autem ut superarent fragmenta corporis Domini in scenoflatio, sicut solitum est fieri. Hoc ut vidit custos sanctorum vasorum, accessit ad magistrum qui docebat pueros et dixit ei: Obsecro, mi domine, dimitte pueros ut veniant in ecclesiam et sumant que superaverunt fragmenta, ne pereant. Sic enim habebat usum. Precepit autem magister pueris dicens: Si quis est ieiunus, vadat etumat. Coniunctus vero ebreus puer cum christianis pueris intravit in sacrarium et sumpsit cum illis de sacris muneribus.

Hora autem constituta dimisit magister pueros ut irent in domos suas. Similiter vero dimissus est et hebreus puer et habiit in officinam, ubi vitrum operabatur pater suus. Erit enim fornax succensa nimis et laborabat quod illi visum erat. Cui dixit pater eius: Utquid demoratus es, fili, plus solito hodie? Qui respondit ei: Certe, domine mi pater, comedi hodie cum pueris in ecclesia multa bona. Dixitque ei pater: Quid comedisti? Respondit puer: Presbiter dedit nobis panes candidos multum nimis; et manducavimus omnes. Et iratus est pater eius et dixit ei: Cum christianis communicare presumpsisti?

Et apprehendens proiecit eum in caminum ignis ardentis et claudens caminum recessit. Discipulus autem qui operabatur cum eo, cum vidisset quod factum fuerat, cucurrit et nunciavit matri pueri quod acciderat. Que cum audisset talia—commota sunt enim omnia viscera eius pro his que acciderant puero—cucurrit ululans plorans simul cum discipulo et vicinis et turba multa populorum qui audierant que acciderant puero. Et confringentes ianuas introierunt domum aperientesque caminum invenerunt puerum illum Christi gratia favente.

Cui dixit mater: Karissime fili, quid hic agis? Respondit puer: Pater meus me misit hic, domina mea, pro eo quod abii cum pueris in ecclesiam christianorum et communicavi cum eis. Et exiens puer de camino illesus, interrogatus a populo et a propria matre quomodo non esset adustus, respondit: Femina quedam purpurata effundebat super me aquam dicens: Noli timere.

Tollens autem mater filium suum cucurrit ad venerabilem Mennam qui illis diebus tronum regebat Constantinopolitanum, cuncto populo sequente, narravit ei omnia que acciderant puero. Ut autem audivit patriarcha miraculum quod fuerat factum, studuit narrare imperatori Iustiniano. Et vocantes hebreum, venit et nunciavit miraculum una cum filio suo, deprecans ut donare sibi dignaretur sacrum baptismum. Quod et accepit cum filio suo faciente gratia Christi.

Advocantes et iudeum ortabantur eum ut penitentiam ageret de hoc quod egerat et ut baptismum susciperet. Sed ille perfidus nullatenus consentire voluit. Unde frequenter admonitus a patriarcha ut crederet, non adquevit. Quod intimatum est imperatori; et iussit ut in eundem caminum in quem

filum suum miserat precipitaretur. Quod ut factum est, statim miser conbus-tus et ad nichilum redactus et presentem vitam perdidit et eternam. Omnes qui viderant et audierant miraculum quod factum fuerat, dederunt pariter laudem Deo qui ad salvationem nostram facit mirabilia, cui est laus et Gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Arndt, W. and B. Krusch, eds. 1885. *Gregorii turonensis opera. Pars 2. Miracula et opera minora*. Vol. 1 of *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptorum rerum merovingicarum*. Hannover.
- Bidez, J. and L. Parmentier, eds. 1898/1964. *The ecclesiastical history of Evagrius with the scholia*. Repr. Amsterdam.
- Huber, M., ed. 1913. *Johannes Monachus: Liber de miraculis*. Heidelberg.
- Maas, P. and C. A. Trypanis, eds. 1963. *Sancti Romani melodi cantica: Cantica genuina*. Oxford.
- Mioni, E. 1951. "Il Pratum Spirituale di Giovanni Mosco: Gli episodi inediti del Cod. Marciano Greco II, 21." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 17: 61–94.
- Ní Uallacháin, Ide. 2004. *Exempla gaeilge: An cnuasach exempla gaeilge sa ls. 20978–9 i Leabharlann Rioga na Bruiseile*. Maynooth.
- Trypanis, C. A., ed. 1968. *Fourteen early Byzantine cantica*. Wiener byzantinistische Studien 5. Vienna.
- Whitby, M., trans. 2000. *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus*. Translated Texts for Historians 33. Liverpool.
- Wolter, E. 1879. *De puero judaeo. Der Judenknabe: 5 griechische, 14 lateinische und 8 französische Texte*. Bibliotheca normannica 2. Halle.

Secondary Literature

- Clugnet, L. 1902–3. "Analyse du manuscrit grec de Paris 1596." *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 7: 606–17 and 8: 91–100.
- Duffy, J. 2002. "Passing remarks on three Byzantine texts." In *Χρυσαῖ Πύλαι: Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his eightieth birthday by his colleagues and students*. Ed. P. Schreiner and O. Strakhov. *Palaeoslavica* 10.1: 54–64.
- Omont, H. 1888/2000. *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits du fonds grec de la Bibliothèque nationale*. 4 vols. Repr. Hildesheim.
- Wortley, J. 1991. *A repertoire of Byzantine Beneficial Tales (διηγήσεις ψυχωφελεῖς)*. <http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~wortley/main900-999.html>.

SAINTS AND SARACENS:
ON SOME MIRACLE ACCOUNTS OF THE
EARLY ARAB PERIOD

Arietta Papaconstantinou

Much of the literature produced by Christians in the first century after the Arab conquests is the product of a drive to come to terms with a new political and social situation. At the time, even though the state was Muslim, the Christians still formed the majority of the population. That Christian majority was still as divided as it had been during the last few centuries before the Arab conquests, but with the significant difference that now no faction was officially supported by the state. Thus one of the most important aspects of the new situation was a strong internal competition for legitimacy in the eyes of the new rulers. One group, the Chalcedonians, followed the Byzantine theological line, and their hearts beat on Byzantine rhythms¹—which with time earned them the name ‘Melkites.’ The non-Chalcedonians, themselves not entirely united but probably more numerous than the Chalcedonians, and well-established in the ever-more-powerful monastic world, were from the start preoccupied with reversing their initial handicap and obtaining precedence over the others in the new state.

I shall examine here two main themes that appear in the earliest miracle accounts, namely war captives and Muslim impiety, and argue that although at one level they can be understood straightforwardly as what they claim to be, they can also be read as partly covert intra-Christian polemics. Among the most important texts produced in the Near East in the immediate post-conquest decades are the works of Anastasius of Sinai, which are not hagiographical properly speaking, but do contain many miracle accounts, especially in the collection called the *Narrationes*.² The *Miracles of St George*, although collected

¹ See e.g., Meyendorff (1964) 117–18 on John of Damascus, but applicable to most Chalcedonian authors of the first century after the conquest.

² A new edition with French translation is being prepared by André Binggeli; in the meanwhile one can consult his doctoral thesis: Binggeli (2001). On the collection, see also Flusin (1991) and Caner (2010) 172–73. Like Caner, I have used the numbering of Binggeli’s edition.

at a late date from various sources, contain some very early narratives produced in the saint's shrine at Diospolis/Lydda. Much of what follows will be based—albeit not exclusively—on those two collections, which present some intriguing similarities.

WAR CAPTIVES

The theme that dominates in the earliest miracles is that of war captives, a theme that is not entirely unexpected. To be sure, Saracen attacks and raids had been part of the picture in the region since at least the fourth century, and formed a topos in Roman literature. As early as AD 291, a panegyrist of Maximian in Trier mentioned their 'invasion' and his victory over them.³ They are called the 'rebellious Saracens' by Pacatus in his panegyric of Theodosius delivered in Rome in 389.⁴ What made the conquests different at the local level was not the fact that they led to the establishment of a new political entity, arguably not their most obvious aspect at the time. The massive taking of prisoners of war was, however, unprecedented and must clearly have marked out the conquests precisely as conquests rather than as yet another series of raids. The size of this phenomenon is illustrated by an inscription found in the basilica of Soloi on the north-eastern coast of Cyprus.⁵

Thus at the time of the seventh indiction, in the year 365 of Diocletian [AD 649], the island's invasion that was caused by our sins took place. Many were killed, and about a hundred and twenty thousand prisoners were taken away. And once again, the following year [AD 650], the island suffered another, even more awful attack, during which more people died of the sword than the first time, and about fifty thousand prisoners were taken.

Even allowing for some exaggeration the numbers are impressive. The inscription also describes a fire that destroyed a number of buildings, which were re-erected by Bishop John in 655. This is also the *raison d'être* of this document: it is a dedicatory inscription commemorating

³ *Panegyrici latini* 11: 5.4 and 7.1, in Nixon and Rodgers (1994) 535, 536; transl. 89, 92; for the date see 76–79.

⁴ *Panegyrici latini* 2: 22.3, in Nixon and Rodgers (1994) 659; transl. 473–74; for the date see 443.

⁵ Gagniers-Tinh (1985) 116–19; see Feissel (2006) 171–72, no. 545.

the reconstruction of the damaged buildings. Without it we would never have known about this episode, which is not otherwise mentioned in our sources. It serves to corroborate accounts such as that of Sebeos, who mentions 35,000 captives taken from Dvin,⁶ and others who mention mass takings of prisoners without precisely recording the numbers.⁷ Thus it is not surprising that the theme should flourish in miracle literature from the late seventh century and as long as the Arab-Byzantine wars lasted.

Miracles involving captives are found in narratives from Asia Minor to Sicily. Mainly supplying the slave trade in later times, initially captives were massively used in the conquering armies⁸ and as a working force, especially in the building activities of the Arabs. It is presumably the end of the steady supply of such masses with the end of the conquests that actually prompted the development of the *corvée* system from the 660s onwards.

Anastasius's second collection of *Narrationes* is intended explicitly for those made captive by the Arabs.⁹ Many of the narratives actually concern individual captives, and although they do not all involve miracles, very often those captives received miraculous help in various forms.

The simplest of those miracles were in the form of very straightforward assistance to Christian captives so that they could continue their lifestyle and fulfill their religious obligations in the face of adversity. One such example is Euphemia, a middle-aged woman who had been bought by a cruel Saracen woman called Jezebel. Her mistress forbade her to go to church and take communion. The rules were clear: every time she took communion, Euphemia would receive two hundred lashes. Despite that terrible punishment, Euphemia went to church every Sunday, and every Sunday she bravely bore the whip immediately afterwards. One day, after the celebration of a special feast, the punishment imposed upon her was even harsher. When the friends who usually tended her wounds after the lashes went to her, they found the whip had left no marks whatsoever. Later, Euphemia was

⁶ Sebeos, 42/139, in Thomson (1999) 101.

⁷ See Crone (1980) 50 and 298, n. 366; Hoyland (1997) 596, n. 9; on captives in Byzantium in general, see Kollia-Dermizaki (2000).

⁸ See e.g., Crone (1980) 38, 264–65 n. 647.

⁹ Anastasius of Sinai, *Narrationes*, 2: 8; transl. Binggeli (2001) 540.

liberated by a Christian man 'by the grace of Christ.'¹⁰ We also read about the *corvée* workers at the naval construction site of Klysmā, who were prohibited by their Jewish overseer from attending the liturgy on the festival of the Theotokos. The overseer also called the Theotokos 'mother of man' and uttered some other insults. Then, as the workers were pulling the boats out of the water, a large wooden beam fell, and hurt no one except the impious Jew who died as a consequence, and everyone was able to attend the service.¹¹

The concern about the possibility for captives to follow Christian practice is very clear. It was very closely related to the fear that captive slaves would be forced (or tempted) to convert. However, the conversion stories told by Anastasius are ambivalent, probably because this was more a fear than a reality at that stage. The longest narrative is that of the conversion of the Christian Arabs (called 'Saracens') of Sinai,¹² who were forced to adopt the faith of their ethnic brothers and deny Christ—but this was precisely because they were Arabs, implying that the same tactics were not applied to other Christians. As for George the Black, one of the earliest neo-martyrs, he was made captive as a child and became a Muslim when he was eight.¹³ When he reached adolescence he recognised his error and returned to Christianity, was denounced, and killed after refusing to apostatize again.

Like George, it was mainly children who were most likely to be transformed into 'true' Muslims. On this question Christian accounts are naturally one-sided, but there was also the parallel phenomenon on the Byzantine side, as we can see from the mention of young Muslim captives being 'Christianized' at the Great Orphanotropheion at Constantinople.¹⁴ Thus the stakes were rather high around war captives. They were not only economic assets for those who possessed them: they also functioned as a cultural asset and were at the centre of an important cultural and religious contest. Ransoming or exchanging prisoners became common practices in which both sides invested heavily, often relying on private donations in order to obtain the necessary funds. This was already the case before the Arab conquests, for prisoners taken in raids of all sorts, and we even find provisions for

¹⁰ Anastasius of Sinai, *Narrationes*, 2: 21; transl. Binggeli (2001) 566.

¹¹ Anastasius of Sinai, *Narrationes*, 2: 9; transl. Binggeli (2001) 544.

¹² Anastasius of Sinai, *Narrationes*, 2: 8; transl. Binggeli (2001) 540–43.

¹³ Anastasius of Sinai, *Narrationes*, 2: 22; transl. Binggeli (2001) 567.

¹⁴ Miller (2003) 223–26.

ransoming prisoners in sixth-century wills,¹⁵ but it intensified in proportion with the scale of the phenomenon from the mid-seventh century onwards.¹⁶

With time, saving and bringing back captives became an important task of saints, and many miracle narratives contain stories of such lucky prisoners of war. The *Miracles of St. George*, a heterogeneous collection of texts from various areas and of different dates, contain some of the earliest stories of that type. The third miracle of the collection,¹⁷ for instance, concerns a young cleric of the saint's shrine in Paphlagonia who had been taken prisoner and was serving the chief of the Saracens who had captured him. He prayed daily to be released and one day St. George came by on horseback and took him back to the shrine. The ninth miracle also relates to a young man taken captive by the 'Hagarenes of Crete.'¹⁸ while others mention the various enemies of the northern frontier.¹⁹ One of the Latin miracles, collected in the late seventh century by the Western pilgrim Arculf, even concerns the protection of a soldier and of his horse during his time at the front,²⁰ in other words protection against being taken captive, showing a contextual immediacy not often found in later, more stereotyped accounts.

Although as we have seen the fear of apostasy appears quite clearly in the earliest texts, it only became a central concern about a century later. Only under Abbasid rule, in the second half of the eighth century, do accounts of large-scale 'apostasy' appear in Christian sources. Stories about neo-martyrs began sprouting in Syria and Palestine, while in Egypt there was a revival of martyrological writing, although it focused on imaginary Diocletianic martyrs rather than victims of the Muslims. Such stories probably all served the same purpose, namely to offer a form of heroic model of behaviour for Christians tempted by apostasy.

¹⁵ For example in the will *P.Cair.Masp.* 3: 67312 (of 567), Flavius Theodoros the *excaepor*, son of the most glorious Phoibammon the *scholastikos*, leaves his family house in Antinooupolis for the monastery of Apa Senouthios in the Panopolite, with its dependences and stables and the adjoining fields, and stipulates that they are to be sold by the monastery and the income used for the release of prisoners and other pious deeds.

¹⁶ Kollia-Dermitzaki (2000) 585–86 and *passim*.

¹⁷ Aufhauser (1913) 13–18; Festugière (1971) 276–78.

¹⁸ Aufhauser (1913) 100–103; Festugière (1971) 313–15.

¹⁹ Aufhauser (1913) 18–44 (mir. no. 4); Festugière (1971) 278–88.

²⁰ Adamnan, *De locis sanctis*, 3.4.14–31, in Meehan (1983) 114–17.

Soon the theme of conversion was appropriated and subverted by Christian writers, who began producing narratives mentioning the conversion of Muslims who were witnesses of saints' miracles. The eschatological theme of the conversion of the caliph himself also appeared during that time.²¹ This indicates that the Christians were not only overcoming the initial disruption and finding a new *modus vivendi* in the new order of things, but that they had mentally given up the hope that the caliph could be overthrown, so they were instead dreaming of converting him.

IMPIOUS MUSLIMS?

The process of conversion and retro-conversion one encounters among the captives as described by hagiographers reflects a phenomenon that recent research on religious identities in the Near East after the Arab conquests has highlighted, namely the fluidity of religious boundaries in that society—boundaries presented as watertight by many texts produced within the various religious groups. Many of those texts were the result of efforts by religious leaders to establish a redefined, specific religious profile for their respective communities. Among other things, it has been persuasively argued that most of the measures imposed by the Arabs on the non-Muslim populations were above all strategies of differentiation by the new Muslim community.²² This was clearly a necessity, as Islam initially seems to have been struck more by its similarity to Christianity and Judaism than by its difference from them. The other religious groups were naturally engaged in a parallel process, so that the early Islamic period produced a great number of texts aimed at defining identity and marking communal borders. Miracle stories participated in the general mood, and a great number of them are designed to highlight the impiety and improper behavior of the Arabs. This was not something new or reserved to the Arabs, however. Such narratives run parallel to stories about pagans, Jews or heretics in earlier hagiography. The main complaint of such narratives through time is that individuals from those 'other' groups had no respect for the divine and went about committing various forms of sacrilege. This is in great part because the groups in question did not

²¹ Binggeli (2010).

²² Noth (2004).

recognise the divine in the same symbols, and it is on those symbols that the miracles most often insist.

One of the earliest complaints about the Arabs is the profanation of images and sacred spaces by Muslims. The theme of images working miracles when they were attacked appeared before the conquest, and the first instance involving Muslims is once again in Anastasius' *Narrationes*. He tells the story of some Saracens who settled in a church of St. Theodore in the village of Karsatas near Damascus and polluted it by bringing along their wives, children and horses. One day, one of them shot an arrow at the saint's icon and made it bleed. The Saracens did not recognise the significance of the miracle and continued polluting the church, until within a few days all twenty-four families had suffered 'a cruel death.'²³

Very much the same story comes up in one of the earlier miracles of St George, which were produced in his main shrine at Lydda in Palestine between the sixth and the eighth century.²⁴ Some Saracens camping in Lydda got drunk and went to eat, sleep and gamble in the saint's church. Even though a prisoner warned them that St. George would punish them for being so wicked, one of the Saracens threw his lance at the saint's icon—but the weapon returned upon him and pierced his heart, and his companions were killed as they fled. Another miracle from the same collection mentions a Saracen who is shocked by the view of a priest "invoking a painted panel" (παρκαλεῖ τὴν σανίδα τὴν γεγραμμένην). After having shot an arrow at the icon that returned like a boomerang to pierce his hand, he asks the priest for an explanation of the icon's power, adopts the Christian faith and is consequently torn to pieces by his correligionists when they find out.²⁵

That the last of those stories is clearly related to the Iconoclastic controversy is indicated by such expressions as "invoking a painted panel" and by the long didactic passage where Iconodule doctrine is put into the priest's mouth. The story told by Anastasius, however, predates Iconoclasm even though it postdates the Arab conquest. Another miracle attributed to St. George and collected by the western pilgrim Arculf in the late seventh century also rehearses the theme of the icon punishing disrespect to it. "A hard-hearted wretch, an unbeliever"

²³ Anastasius of Sinai, *Narrationes*, B2/2: 2; Binggeli (2001) 532.

²⁴ Miracle 2, in Aufhauser (1913) 8–12; on the dating of the collection see Festugière (1971) 261–67, and of the specific miracle Hoyland (1997) 91.

²⁵ Miracle 7, in Aufhauser (1913) 90–93; transl. in Festugière (1971) 308–10.

entered the church “mounted on horseback” and threw his lance at a column bearing the image of St. George “who was bound to this column and flogged.”²⁶ The lance pierced the column, then the unbeliever’s horse died, and his hand got stuck inside the column until he repented. The “unbeliever” was probably not a Saracen but a Christian who doubted the power of images.

The theme of miraculous icons had begun circulating in the late sixth century around the stories of the images of Kamoulia, transferred to Constantinople from Syria in 574, and of Edessa, which was understood to have saved the city from the Persian attack of 544.²⁷ The latter became a contested item between Jacobites and Chalcedonians under Heraclius, and the story of the Jacobites giving the Chalcedonians a fake could not but have intensified the need to attest to an image’s authenticity.²⁸

Like the image of Edessa, that of George on the column was “not made by human hands” (ἀχειροποίητος): it was left as an imprint from the column’s contact with the saint. It has been argued that at that early stage, images were deemed sacred not because of the likeness with a sacred figure, but because they shared its substance, and thus functioned more like relics than the images of later periods.²⁹ Nowhere is this more striking than in the motif of the bleeding image used by Anastasius.³⁰

Another theme found in Anastasius and later used in the Iconoclastic controversy is that of the real presence in the eucharist. Anastasius relates the story of a stylite to whom communion is brought by a priest and sent up his column. Having heard bad rumors about the priest’s morality, the stylite is in doubt concerning the efficacy of his consecration of the communion. To dispel his doubts, God turns one of the pieces of bread into flesh dripping with blood, a miracle witnessed by all present.³¹ A particularly striking example of the same motif is the sixth *Miracle* of St. George. A Saracen, fleeing with his slaves and

²⁶ Adamnan, *De locis sanctis*, 3.4.1–13, in Meehan (1983) 112: ...*duricors et incredulus homuncio in equo sedens eandem intrasset domum*...; ...*qui ad hanc uinculatus et mastigatus est columnam*; transl. Meehan (1983) 113.

²⁷ On the invention of the image of Edessa and the siege of 544, Cameron (1980) 5–12.

²⁸ On the political appropriation of the image see Cameron (1983).

²⁹ Vikan (2007) 141.

³⁰ On the theme of bleeding images see Vassilaki (2003).

³¹ Anastasius of Sinai, *Narrationes*, 2: 1; transl. Binggeli (2001) 527–30.

camels from his uncle who wanted to give him command of an army unit, stopped for the night to camp in the church of St. George. From the *katechoumeneion* where he was sitting, he saw the priest perform the sacrifice, and actually saw him kill a baby, cut it up into pieces, put them in the chalice and distribute them to the faithful. Then the priest brought some of the consecrated pieces to the Saracen, who told him indignantly that he saw him perform ritual murder. The priest was filled with awe and explained the mystery to the Saracen, who then asked to be baptised, became a monk, and eventually a martyr after having provoked the Muslims. This story also appears, with some differences, in the guise of a 'historical sermon' (λόγος ιστορικός) attributed to Gregory Dekapolites (789/90–842). Daniel Sahas has argued that it was indeed written by Gregory as a piece of anti-Muslim polemic in the early ninth century, but at the same time was intended as a pamphlet against the Iconoclasts' notion that the only true image of Christ was the eucharist, itself based on the more generally admitted premise that the image and that which it represented were of the same essence.³²

Sahas's argument as to the relevance of this miracle to the Iconoclastic controversy is not entirely convincing, if only because the assertion that the eucharist is the only true icon is not a denial of the real presence. The story of the baby lying in the chalice and being cut up into small pieces seems to go back to the fifth century, when it appears in one of the narratives of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*.³³ Other versions of this miracle mention not a baby but a lamb being sacrificed and cut up in the chalice.³⁴ The Arabic *Life* of the neo-martyr Anthony Rawḥ, for example, describes how, while he was still a Muslim, the saint was present at a Christian service and saw a lamb on the altar, which was then cut into pieces and distributed to the priests. When the chalice was brought back to the altar, the lamb on it was untouched. The miracle incites him to convert, and he then dies a martyr, like the man in the narrative of the miracle of St. George.³⁵

To a certain extent, of course, stories about Saracens constitute a discourse on Saracens, and it is undeniable that they are generally

³² Sahas (1986) 64–65; on the eucharistic writings of the Iconoclasts see Gero (1975).

³³ *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Daniel 7, PG 65.156–60.

³⁴ On the various forms taken by this eucharistic miracle, see Congourdeau (2009).

³⁵ Dick (1961) 120–21, transl. 128–29. See also Binggeli (2010) 80–82.

presented in Christian literature as a religious and political 'other.' However, in many of those miracles, they also—and perhaps primarily—seem to work as proxies for the Iconoclasts, who seem to have been a major preoccupation of Chalcedonian authors in the Caliphate. This is not surprising, given that Islam is itself an aniconic faith, and that Iconoclasts were commonly called Σαρακηνόφρονες by the Iconodules.³⁶ What is rather intriguing is that the themes used in that context were already in use from the early years of Arab rule, and thus initially not related to the Iconoclastic controversy.

Could the discourse in defense of images among Christians have been prompted by 'Abd al-Malik's turn towards aniconism in the 690s, and especially his reform of the coinage to exclude all figural representation? Although it is clear that this last measure did not pass unnoticed, it is difficult to evaluate its impact in the first decade after its implementation and to presume such wide-ranging reaction to it. There is, however, another possibility. In the near eastern context of the time, insistence on such themes could also be making a point about the incarnation against the anti-Chalcedonians, the other *bête noire* of the Chalcedonian Iconophiles in the area. This would seem to be invalidated by the fact that the eucharistic theme of the cut-up lamb also appears in anti-Chalcedonian texts, such as the *Anonymous Chronicle of 813*,³⁷ where the episode from the *Life* of Anthony Rawḥ first appears, and later in the *Chronicles* of Michael the Syrian (d. 1199)³⁸ and Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286).³⁹ In fact the earliest anti-Chalcedonian mention of this miracle is in one of the stories told by the sixth-century author John Rufus, where it is clear that the eucharist was already contested space between the two camps and that belief in the real presence was one of the points at stake.⁴⁰

It is also clear that non-Chalcedonian churches were not Iconoclastic and made wide use of images.⁴¹ This does not mean, however, that the Chalcedonians did not accuse them of denying the incarnation and thus, by implication, the real presence during the eucharist and the possibility of essential representation in the form of a painted

³⁶ For ex. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. de Boor (1883) 405 and 414.

³⁷ *Anonymous Chronicle of 813*, Brooks (1905) 253–54; transl. in Brooks (1900) 225–26.

³⁸ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 12: 5, transl. Chabot (1905) 18.

³⁹ Budge (1932) 132.

⁴⁰ John Rufus, *Plerophorai* 10, ed. Nau (1912) 24.

⁴¹ On the non-Chalcedonian doctrine on images, see Brock (1977).

image.⁴² Concerning the eucharist, one does not need to look beyond Anastasius's own writings. In his dogmatic work, the *Hodegos*, he goes over a number of denominations he deems dogmatically unsound. "Nestorius should be anathematised in the first instance (...) he who does not confess that it is the body of God and the blood of God that we receive in communion."⁴³ The anti-Chalcedonians take up much more of his attention. On Timothy Ailouros, whose late fifth-century *Refutation of the Council of Chalcedon* circulated among the eastern churches and was translated into Syriac and Armenian, Anastasius writes:⁴⁴

...It is manifest that Timothy, like the Jews, is denying the sacrifice and the communion of the holy mysteries of the body and blood of Christ, and that he neither believes nor confesses that it is the true body and blood of Christ, visible, created and earthborn, that is distributed to the people by the priest with the words, "Body and blood of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ."

After making the point a second time, he adds, ironically, "Rather, he would need to tell the one receiving communion, 'Divinity only of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.'"⁴⁵ In chapter 23 of the same work, Anastasius stages a dialogue between an Orthodox and a Gaianite.⁴⁶ The Orthodox asks the Gaianite whether, given his belief that the body of Christ is incorruptible, he thinks that the eucharist is the real body and blood of Christ, or simply the bread one also eats at home and a mere image (ἀντίτυπον) of his body. The Gaianite's non-committal

⁴² An interesting example of double appropriation of a symbol by both opposing sides is the case of St. Euphemia of Chalcedon, considered by the imperial side to have chosen the 'Tome of Leo' (i.e. the Chalcedonian creed) at the end of the Council, who was also venerated by the anti-Chalcedonian churches, on the same day as Constantinople celebrated the 'miracle of the tome'; see Papaconstantinou (2001) 85–87.

⁴³ Anastasius of Sinai, *Hodegos* 3.2, Uthemann (1981) 80: Πρωτοτύπως χρη ἀναθεματίζειν Νεστόριον (...) τὸν μὴ ὁμολογοῦντα θεοῦ τὸ σῶμα καὶ θεοῦ τὸ αἶμα, ὃ μεταλαμβάνομεν.

⁴⁴ Anastasius of Sinai, *Hodegos* 13.2, Uthemann (1981) 216: πρόδηλός ἐστιν ὁ Τιμόθεος ἀρνούμενος, ὥσπερ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, τὴν θυσίαν καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ μὴ πιστεύων, μήτε ὁμολογῶν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ σῶμα καὶ αἶμα ὁρατὸν καὶ κτιστὸν καὶ γηγενὲς Χριστοῦ εἶναι, ὃ προσφέρων μεταδίδωσι τῷ λαῷ λέγων· «Σῶμα καὶ αἶμα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.»

⁴⁵ Ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτὸν μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν μεταλαμβάνοντα λέγειν· «Θεότης μόνη τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.»

⁴⁶ The Gaianites or Julianists were a dissident group among the anti-Chalcedonian party who followed Julian of Halicarnassus against Severus of Antioch.

answer prompts a long passage by the Orthodox on the error of the doctrine of incorruptibility, which he begins once again with the ironical remark that when Jesus “gave his disciples the life-giving bread, he said, ‘Take, eat: this is my body’; similarly, when he gave them the chalice, he said, ‘This is my blood.’ He did not say, ‘This is the image of my body and my blood.’”⁴⁷

Thus the accusation of not believing in the real presence was made both against Nestorians and against two currents of anti-Chalcedonians, in other words the main Christian denominations with whom Chalcedonians had to contend at that time. Some years before the Arab conquest, Sophronios was accusing the anti-Chalcedonians of preferring the holy oil of saints over the eucharist, presumably to avoid communion with the Chalcedonians.⁴⁸

One also finds the accusation that anti-Chalcedonians did not worship images—however blatantly wrong that accusation may be. At the Second Council of Nicea, various passages are quoted as evidence against them,⁴⁹ and in the Sixth Session the deacon Epiphanius makes the general statement, speaking of the Theopaschites, that “those who follow that heresy do not venture to accept the icon, just like the impious Severus, and Peter the Fuller, and Philoxenos of Hierapolis (Mabbug), and their entire many-headed and headless hydra.”⁵⁰ One of the texts quoted is the lost *Ecclesiastical History* of John Diakrinomenos. The *Epitome* of the latter indeed states that Philoxenos would not consent to hanging images of Christ or of angels in the church,⁵¹ which indicates that the accusation already circulated in the sixth century.

Thus to a great extent, many of the descriptions of impious Muslims in hagiography are not really about Muslims at all. They concern internal theological debates among the Christians, and by extension function as a reminder to the members of each group of where their loyalties should lie. In that sense, although as Sahas argued they are, at

⁴⁷ Anastasius of Sinai, *Hodegos* 23, Uthemann (1981) 307: μεταδιδούς αὐτοῖς τὸν ζωοποιὸν ἄρτον ἔλεγε· Λάβετε, φάγετε· τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα· ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον αὐτοῖς μεταδιδούς φησὶ· Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα. Οὐκ εἶπε· «Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ ἀντίτυπον τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματός μου.»

⁴⁸ *Miracles of Cyrus and John* 36, Fernandez Marcos (1975) 326.

⁴⁹ See Mansi (1767) 184 on Severus and 179–181 on Philoxenos of Mabbug, a passage extracted from the lost *Ecclesiastical history* of John Diakrinomenos.

⁵⁰ Mansi (1767) 317.

⁵¹ John Diakrinomenos, *Eccl. hist.* 7, Hansen (1995) 155: Ξεναΐας ὁ Φιλόξενος οὔτε Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ οὔτε ἀγγέλου εἰκόνας ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ συνεχώρει ἀνατίθεσθαι.

one level, to be counted among the texts of Christian-Muslim polemics, that was not their primary function. As many other texts of the period, they were intended to give the various Christian groups a sense of their legitimacy and righteousness as opposed, primarily, to the other Christian groups. These must have been much more dangerous than the Muslims in terms of inter-group fluidity, since by changing denomination, one did not technically apostatize—but depending on the local context one could obtain considerable advantages by doing precisely that.

This could in turn explain the rather surprising fact that protection against Arab attacks is not an important theme in the miracles of the early Arab period. Anastasius does mention the case of St. Epiphanius in Salamina, whose tomb started pouring holy oil at the moment of the attacks, but only to say that its smell was so good that it even attracted the Saracens who took it to perfume themselves.⁵² As for St. Therapon, not only did he not fend off the attacks of the Hagarenes, he even arranged for his relics to leave the island and be transported to the safety of Constantinople.⁵³

Such behavior from local saints is unfamiliar to the specialist in fifth- and sixth-century hagiography, where saints were essentially protectors and their bones were even built into city walls to make them impregnable. It is tempting to see here the first signs of a reorientation of the saint's role, from the locally entrenched character focused on a specific shrine that was common in late antiquity to a more universalizing and powerful figure who traveled widely and operated at many different shrines or even outside of them in order to support the Christians in times of need.

The powers of those saints were also quite different. Without disappearing, the healing saint, largely a figure of anti-pagan propaganda, was upstaged by the military one, and the likes of St. George and St. Theodore started dominating the scene. Their action was less localized as time went by, and in order to happen, many miracles did not require presence at the shrine, as they used to in the incubation cults. Protecting—and enforcing if need be—the integrity of the community, became a very important issue, and miracle stories hammered

⁵² Anastasius of Sinai, *Narrationes*, 2: 2; transl. Binggeli (2001) 531.

⁵³ *Laudatio Therapontis* 7, Deubner (1900) 123–24.

this theme into their audiences' heads, turning the saints into the principal heroes of this communal preservation.

The collection of *Miracles of St. George* is typical of this shift: while the early miracles are linked to the shrine in Lydda, which functions as the center towards which people come from as far away as Ireland, the later miracles have been collected from various areas, where they were produced initially as local stories. The time when the collection itself was put together is unknown, but its disparate nature and the origin of the stories show that at that point what mattered most was the saint as a universally powerful, but ultimately immaterial, figure and not the power of his relic which resided in his shrine.

Shrines were powerfully local. They were linked to a given city and its territory. The slow transformation from an empire based on autonomous and competing municipal entities to one that was controlled in a more central manner can partly account for this transformation of the structure of the cult of saints, both in Byzantium and in its former areas now under the Caliphate.⁵⁴ In the latter, the competition between rival Christian groups also instrumentalized saints and their powers. The religious plurality of the new state prompted religious leaders to produce innumerable pages of *discours identitaire* and to find criteria defining the borders of their respective religious groups. The saints were among the most potent symbols and efficient agents of that discourse.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Aufhauser, J. B. 1913. *Miracula sancti Georgii*. Leipzig.
- Binggeli, A. 2001. *Anastase le Sinaïte, Récits sur le Sinaï et Récits utiles à l'âme*. Edition, traduction et commentaire. PhD diss., Université Paris IV-Sorbonne.
- Boor, C. de. 1883. *Theophanis chronographia*. Leipzig.
- Brooks, E. W. 1900. "A Syriac fragment." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 54: 195–230.
- . 1905. *Chronica minora*, Vol. 3, *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium* Vols. 5–6, *Scriptores syri*. Louvain.
- Budge, E. A. W. 1932. *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l-Faraj 1225–1286*. London.
- Chabot, J.-B. 1905. *La Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*. Vol. III. Paris.
- Deubner, L. 1900. *De incubatione capita quattuor*. Leipzig.

⁵⁴ Papaconstantinou (2007); see also Haldon (1992) 125–29.

- Dick, I. 1961. "La passion arabe de s. Antoine Ruwah, néo-martyr de Damas (+ 25 déc. 799)." *Le Muséon* 74: 109–33.
- Fernandez-Marcos, N. 1975. *Los «Thaumata» de Sophronio. Contribución al estudio de la incubatio cristiana*. Madrid.
- Festugière, A.-J. 1971. *Collections grecques de miracles. Sainte Thècle, saints Côme et Damien, saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), saint Georges*. Paris.
- Hansen, G. C. 1995. *Theodoros Anagnostes. Kirchengeschichte*, 2nd ed. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte. Neue Folge 3. Berlin.
- Mansi, J. D. 1767. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Vol. 13. Florence.
- Meehan, D. 1983. *Adamnan's De locis sanctis*. Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 3. Dublin.
- Nau, F. 1912. "Jean Rufus, évêque de Maïouma.—Plérophories, c'est-à-dire témoignages et révélations (contre le concile de Chalcédoine)." *Patrologia orientalis* 8: 1–208. Paris.
- Nixon, C. E. V. and B. S. Rodgers 1994. *In praise of later Roman emperors: The Panegyrici latini*. The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 21. Berkeley.
- Uthemann, K.-H. 1981. *Anastasioi Sinaïtae viae dux*. Corpus christianorum. Series Graeca 8. Turnhout.

Secondary Literature

- Binggeli, A. 2010. "Converting the caliph: a legendary motif in Christian hagiography and historiography of the early Islamic period." In *Writing "true stories": historians and hagiographers in the late antique and medieval Near East*. Ed. A. Papaconstantinou, M. Debié and H. Kennedy, 77–103. Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 9. Turnhout.
- Brock, S. 1977. "Iconoclasm and the Monophysites." In *Iconoclasm: Papers given at the ninth spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1975*. Ed. A. Bryer and J. Herrin, 53–57. Birmingham.
- Cameron, A. 1980. "The sceptic and the shroud." An inaugural lecture in the Department of Classics and History delivered at King's College, London on 29 April 1980. London.
- . 1983. "The history of the image of Edessa: The telling of a story." In *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko = Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7. Ed. C. Mango and O. Pritsak, 80–94.
- Caner, D. et al. 2010. *History and hagiography from the late antique Sinai*. Translated Texts for Historians 53. Liverpool.
- Congourdeau, M.-H. 2009. "L'enfant immolé. Hyper-réalisme et symbolique sacrificielle." In *Pratiques de l'eucharistie dans les Églises d'Orient et d'Occident (Antiquité et Moyen Âge): actes du séminaire tenu à Paris, Institut catholique (1997–2004)*. Ed. N. Bériou, B. Caseau and D. Rigaux, 127–38. Paris.
- Crone, P. 1980. *Slaves on horses: The evolution of the Islamic polity*. Cambridge.
- Feissel, D. 2006. *Chroniques d'épigraphie byzantine, 1987–2004*. Paris.
- Flusin, B. 1991. "Démon et Sarrasins. L'auteur et le propos des *Diègèmata stèriktika* d'Anastase le Sinaïte." *Travaux et mémoires* 11: 381–409.
- Gagniers, J. de. and T. T. Tinh. 1985. *Soloi: dix campagnes de fouilles (1964–1974)*. Vol. 1. Sainte-Foy.
- Gero, S. 1975. "The eucharistic doctrine of the Byzantine Iconoclasts and its sources." *BZ* 68: 4–22.
- Haldon, J. 1992. "The works of Anastasius of Sinai." In *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East*, Vol. 1, *Problems in the literary source material*. Ed. A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad, 107–47. Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1. Princeton.
- Hoyland, R. G. 1997. *Seeing Islam as others saw it. A survey and evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian writings on early Islam*. Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 13. Princeton.

- Kollia-Dermitzaki, A. 2000. "Some remarks on the fate of prisoners of war in Byzantium (9th–10th centuries)." In *La liberazione dei 'cattivi' tra cristianità e islam. Oltre la crociata e il ḡhād: tolleranza e servizio umanitario*. Ed. G. Cipollone, 583–620. Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 46. Vatican City.
- Meyendorff, J. 1964. "Byzantine views of Islam." *DOP* 18: 113–32.
- Miller, T. S. 2003. *The orphans of Byzantium: Child welfare in the Christian empire*. Washington D.C.
- Noth, A. 2004. "Problems of differentiation between Muslims and non-Muslims: Re-reading the 'Ordinances of 'Umar' (*al-shurūt al-'umariyya*)" (translation of an article first published in German in 1987). In *Muslims and others in early Islamic society*. Ed. R. Hoyland, 103–24. Aldershot.
- Papaconstantinou, A. 2001. *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides. L'apport des sources papyrologiques et épigraphiques grecques et coptes*. Le monde byzantin. Paris.
- . 2007. "The cult of saints: A haven of continuity in a changing world?" In *Egypt in the Byzantine world, 300–700*. Ed. R. S. Bagnall, 350–67. Cambridge.
- Sahas, D. J. 1986. "What an infidel saw that a faithful did not: Gregory Dekapolites (d. 842) and Islam." *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 31: 47–67.
- Thomson, R. W. et al. 1999. *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos*. Translated Texts for Historians 31. Liverpool.
- Vassilaki, M. 2003. "Bleeding icons." In *Icon and word: The power of images in Byzantium*. Ed. A. Eastmond and L. James, 121–29. Aldershot.
- Vikan, G. 2007. "Sacred image, sacred power." In *Late antique and medieval art of the Mediterranean world*. Ed. E. R. Hoffman, 135–46. Oxford.

THE MONASTERY OF DIOMEDES

John W. Nesbitt

The church and monastery of St. Diomedes occupies a special place in the history of cult and piety at Constantinople. To be sure St. Diomedes was not as large or honored as some foundations, but it was a popular cult site, long-lived, and in different centuries, in varied ways, it had an impact on the capital's political and religious life. Despite numerous references to the establishment, unresolved issues remain regarding the number and types of buildings contained within St. Diomedes' precincts. Many researchers have discussed the layout of St. Diomedes, but troublesome aspects have often been lightly treated or ignored. It is our intent to re-examine sources describing the monastery's institutional life and to clarify certain doubtful points by adding new evidence from seals.

Let us begin with the simple question: who was St. Diomedes? According to hagiographical accounts, Diomedes was a citizen of Tarsos who practiced the profession of physician during the reign of Diocletian.¹ He eventually left Tarsos and went to Nicaea where "through Christ's summons he became a physician both of bodies and souls." In the role of a medical practitioner he gained entrance to prisons where his coreligionists were being held during Diocletian's persecution. He tended their wounds and comforted them. In the end Diocletian ordered that Diomedes be arrested and conveyed from Nicaea to Nicomedia. On route to Nicomedia Diomedes suddenly died and the soldiers who were escorting him cut off his head in order to show it to the emperor. Although they were at once deprived of their sight, they made their way to the emperor who, upon seeing how venerable the saint had looked in life, ordered the soldiers to return the head to the place where the body lay and reunite it with Diomedes' remains. Upon doing so, their sight was restored and they adopted Christianity. A certain lady named Febronia claimed the body and had it entombed in Nicaea "where up to the present day" the Lord permits

¹ Our description follows an 11th-century text edited by Westerink entitled *Μαρτύριον σύντομον τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Διομήδους*; Westerink (1966) 164–65.

wonders to be accomplished. We tend to agree with Westerink's conclusion that the saint's sudden and non-violent demise is so unlike most hagiographical stories that one is tempted to view Diomedes as an historical person.² We would only add that although Diomedes may have been a good man and a pious Christian it is difficult to perceive why a religious complex dedicated to his memory should have arisen at Constantinople.

The story that Constantine the Great founded Saint Diomedes³ is one of many legends that circulated at Byzantium regarding the early history of Constantinople. Although this claim may be dismissed, there can be no doubt that St. Diomedes existed before the middle of the sixth century. The chronicler John Malalas records for the year 541/42 a disturbance that arose in Constantinople when a woman, believed to have second sight, began spewing psychic babble in her home near the Golden Gate. Crowds were drawn to the area and people walked in procession to Saint Diomedes-in-Jerusalem (εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Διομήδην εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ). Persons took the woman from her home to the church of Saint Diomedes (εἰς τὴν ἐκκλήσιαν τοῦ ἁγίου Διομήδους), as she was saying that "in three days time the sea would rise and take everybody."⁴ From this account it is clear that St. Diomedes was located near the Golden Gate—and, more particularly, in a quarter called "Jerusalem."⁵ But the passage also hints that St. Diomedes' cult had a peculiar aspect. To appreciate it we need to join the passage in Malalas with one from the text of Theophanes Confessor. The latter observes that in 562/63 "because of a north wind ships could not reach Constantinople so Eutychios, the patriarch, ordered a litany to [the quarter] of Jerusalem, that is to St. Diomedes."⁶ It would appear that the cult of St. Diomedes enjoyed a certain popularity at the capital because the saint had a reputation as an intercessor with God for

² Westerink (1966) 161.

³ See *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum* 1. 246, ed. Preger (1901/1989): τὸν δὲ ἅγιον Διομήδην ἔκτισεν ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος.

⁴ The Greek text is to be found in Thurn (2000) 406: 90.4. The portion translated into English comes from Jeffreys and Scott (1986) 286.

⁵ The toponym is discussed in Janin (1964) 356. On the accompanying archaeological and topographical map (no. 1), Janin locates St. Diomedes slightly to the southeast of the Golden Gate, at modern Yedikule.

⁶ de Boor (1883/1980) 237. We have used a translation of the relevant text as it appears in Mango and Scott (1997) 349.

calming roiled and rising sea water and for blunting the force of adverse winds.⁷ How such fame should have evolved is unclear.

The fortunes of St. Diomedes-in-Jerusalem increased considerably during the reign of Basil I (867–86). The story goes that Basil came to Constantinople as an impoverished young man. Upon his arrival at the capital he proceeded through the Golden Gate and went to the nearby monastery (μοναστηρίῳ) of the holy martyr Diomedes, and fell asleep before the gateway. The saint appeared in a dream to the abbot of the monastery (καθηγουμένῳ μονῆς) and ordered him to go to the gates of the monastery, bring in a man named Basil, and feed him.⁸ Later, after Basil had become emperor, he remembered the monastery's kindness and enriched its treasury.⁹

Descriptions of St. Diomedes vary: in some sources it is called a "church" and in others a "monastery." Janin asserts that St. Diomedes existed as a monastery in 536. He cites a conciliar document of that year which a certain Peter signed πρεσβυτέρος καὶ ἡγούμενος μονῆς τῆς ἁγίας ἐνδόξου παρθένου καὶ θεοτόκου Μαρίας καὶ ἐνδόξου μάρτυρος Διομήδους ἐπὶ κλινῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ.¹⁰ We may be dealing, Janin notes, with one monastery, but a monastery known by two names. Still, the double name, he allows, may have come about because there was one monastery with two churches: one dedicated to the Virgin and the other to St. Diomedes. In order to understand the reference of 536 we need to examine it in the light of two texts. The first is the passage from Malalas. His chronicle states quite unambiguously that the lady prophesying a flood was taken "from her home" near the Golden Gate "to the church of Saint Diomedes." Let us now join to this description two notices in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* regarding

⁷ Janin (1969) 95 has already noted this speciality.

⁸ Theophanes Continuatus 316: 10–18, ed. Bekker (1838). The tenth-century chronicler Genesios (4.24) agrees with the Continuator and describes St. Diomedes as a monastery: "He [Basil] entered the Queen of Cities through the Golden Gate, and rested by a neighboring monastery (κατὰ μονήν)." We use here the translation printed in Kaldellis (1998) 95. Genesios erroneously declares that in the later ninth century the monastery where Basil fell asleep was dedicated to St. Diomedes, but in earlier times it had been dedicated to St. Elias. Curiously the twelfth-century historian Zonaras states that Basil, upon reaching Constantinople, proceeded through the Golden Gate and entered the capital "next to the church of St. Diomedes (παρὰ τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Διομήδους) (which was not yet a monastery)." See Bütner-Wobst (1897) 409: 10–11. Zonaras' usual source, Skylitzes, follows the Continuator and identifies the St. Diomedes of Basil's era as a monastery; see Thurn (1973) 120: 93.

⁹ Theophanes Continuatus 316: 21–22 and 317: 1–7, ed. Bekker (1838).

¹⁰ Janin (1969) 95.

St. Diomedes' feastday. According to one passage in the *Synaxarion*, his synaxis took place (August 16) in "his most holy martyrion, which is within the most revered sanctuary (οἶκου) of our all-holy, undefiled lady, the Theotokos, near the Golden Gate."¹¹ In another passage (this under August 19) the *Synaxarion* declares that "their synaxis [that is, Maximos and Diomedes] took place within the august sanctuary (οἶκου) of the Theotokos called Jerusalem and [situated] along the White River."¹² Based upon these several texts we would argue that there existed in 536 a monastery near the Golden Gate dedicated to the Virgin. The monastery existed in association with a church that was the center of a cult of St. Diomedes. It would appear that there was one monastery, dedicated to the Virgin, and one church, dedicated to the Virgin, but because the church was the focal point of St. Diomedes' fame as an intercessor, the monastery and its church were known under a double name. In the story that we summarized above about the emperor Basil's early encounter with St. Diomedes we note that the establishment is called a monastery. We know of no mention after the sixth century of a "monastery of the Virgin" where St. Diomedes-in-Jerusalem was sited, and it could be that over time the designation "St. Diomedes" became the customary appellation of the monastery. But memory of the monastery's double name may have not been totally forgotten, even by the 11th century. In support of this idea we publish here an unedited seal (*fig. 1*) from the collection at Dumbarton Oaks (DO 77.34.13).¹³ On the obverse we find a depiction of the Virgin Nikopoios enthroned and wearing a chiton and maphorion. She holds a medallion of Christ and is flanked by the usual sigla. Between a double border of dots appears a partially imprinted circular inscription: Σφραγὶς μονῆς πέφυκα...? The reverse is decorated with a representation of St. Diomedes standing to front, wearing a chiton and himation. He is shown as a beardless youth, seemingly holding a martyr's cross in the right hand. He is flanked at right and left by vertical inscriptions identifying him as: Ὁ ἅγιος Διομήδης. We are again confronted with a partially imprinted circular inscription between a double border of dots. The legible portion below and at l. reads:

¹¹ See *SynaxCP* 901: 26–29.

¹² *SynaxCP* 910: 17–22.

¹³ A parallel specimen is published in Leontiades (2006) no. 65.

[μάρ]τυρος Διομήδους. Prof. Leontiades has reasonably suggested that the whole reads: Σφραγὶς μονῆς πέφυκα σεμνῆς Παρθένου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Διομήδους. If this restoration is correct then this seal, which dates from the mid-eleventh century, attests that the complex known as St. Diomedes still bore the designation of “monastery of the Virgin.” This conclusion follows logically from the fact that on our seal the word “monastery” appears on the side bearing the depiction of the Virgin.

The description in the *Synaxarion* of the celebration of St. Diomedes’ feastday suggests that there were relics at the site where celebrants gathered. Such one might conclude from mention of the word “martyrion.” The notion that St. Diomedes possessed the saint’s relics is reflected in a Latin description of Constantinople, a text based upon a Greek original written before 1120. The relevant portion (section 57) reads: “near the Golden Gate is the grand monastery of St. Dionysios (*sic*: read Diomedes), martyr and physician. The architecture of its church resembles Sion. Here there is a congregation of monks. In this monastery are relics of St. Diomedes, both his head and the relics of other saints.”¹⁴ What the author may mean is that the saint’s head was to be found in the monastery’s church. Relics of St. Diomedes may not have survived the Latin occupation of the capital. We find no mention of the saint’s head in the account of a Russian pilgrim to Constantinople in the late fourteenth century. The passage of interest states that if one visits the church of St. Diomedes one will find there the table at which Christ supped with his disciples.¹⁵

The story of St. Diomedes-in-Jerusalem has taken us down many alleys of the devotional history of Constantinople. It illustrates the strange twists that a saint’s cult might take and how the cult of a particular saint might come to be interwoven with the empire’s political history, as well as with the religiosity of the capital’s population and the foreign pilgrims that visited its sanctuaries.

¹⁴ Ciggaar (1976) 262.

¹⁵ Majeska (1984) 147–49.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Bekker, I., ed. 1838. *Theophanes Continuatus*. Bonn.
- Bütner-Wobst, T., ed. 1897. *Ioannis Zonariae epitomae historiarum*. Vol. 3 of *Epitome historiarum*. Bonn.
- Ciggaar, K. 1976. "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 34: 211–67.
- de Boor, C., ed. 1883/1980. *Theophanis chronographia*. Repr. Hildesheim.
- Jeffreys, E., M. Jeffreys and R. Scott, translators. 1986. *The chronicle of John Malalas*. Melbourne.
- Kaldellis, A. 1998. *On the reigns of the emperors/Genesios: Translation and commentary*. Canberra.
- Mango, C. and R. Scott, translators. 1997. *The chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*. Oxford.
- Preger, T., ed. 1901/1989. *Scriptores originum constantinopolitanarum*. Repr. Leipzig.
- Thurn, I., ed. 1973. *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*. Berlin.
- . 2000. *Ioannis Malalae chronographia*. Berlin.
- Westerink, L. 1966. "Trois textes inédits sur saint Diomède de Nicée." *AB* 84.1–2: 161–227.

Secondary Literature

- Janin, R. 1964. *Constantinople byzantine*. 2nd ed. Paris.
- . 1969. *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, pt. 3: *Les églises et les monastères*. Vol. 1 of *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*. 2nd ed. Paris.
- Leontiades, I. 2006. *Μολυβδόβουλλα Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού Θεσσαλονίκης*. Thessalonika.
- Majeska, G. 1984. *Russian travelers to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*. Washington, DC.



Fig. 1. Seal. Obverse, the Virgin Nikopoios enthroned; reverse, St. Diomedes. (DO 77.34.13). Source: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks.

LES SAINTS D'ITALIE MÉRIDIONALE (IX^E-XII^E S.) ET LEUR RÔLE DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ LOCALE*

Stéphanos Efthymiades

Les récits hagiographiques dédiés à la vie et aux actions des saints de l'Italie méridionale constituent un cas unique dans la littérature méso-byzantine. Témoins de la floraison remarquable qui a caractérisé la sainteté monastique dans ce domaine provincial, ils nous ont transmis les images exceptionnelles d'un monde qui a vécu loin et hors du cœur de l'empire. De l'hagiographie de cette région située aux confins du monde byzantin et de l'Occident latin, Constantinople fut un animateur spirituel de distance, ne tenant pas, dans la majorité des cas, un rôle principal. Cela ne signifie pas que dans ces récits l'action se déroule exclusivement dans le domaine restreint de l'Italie du Sud et de la Sicile ou que c'est une littérature à consommer sur place, mais que cette hagiographie n'a pas pleinement respecté l'omnipotence de la Ville reine médiévale tant dans le domaine politique et religieux que du point de vue littéraire.

Sans négliger l'existence de quelques hagiographies écrites dans des régions comme la Pouille, on se limitera à la production siculo-calabraise, de loin la plus importante. En fait, dans le domaine de la Pouille les saints nouveaux sont rares, pas plus de six; parmi eux, un seul, Nicolas le Pèlerin, qui est devenu le saint patron de Trani, mais qui était originaire de la région de Phocide en Grèce, fut honoré d'une *Vie* ancienne dont une partie est réservée à ses aventures apuliennes¹. Par contraste avec la Pouille, la Calabre possède le privilège d'avoir hébergé un nombre de saints tel que l'on dirait qu'ils constituent une

* C'est au cours de mon séjour de recherche à Dumbarton Oaks sous la direction de Mme Alice-Mary Talbot et dans le cadre de l'Hagiography Project (*DOHP*) que j'ai entrepris l'étude de l'hagiographie italo-grecque. Que cet article, qui reprend et développe une communication présentée au séminaire de M. Kaplan (Université de Paris I-Panthéon Sorbonne) en janvier 2000, lui manifeste ma reconnaissance. Pour leur lecture critique de mon texte je suis redevable à M. J.-M. Martin (C.N.R.S.-Paris, France) et à M. Mario Re (Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici 'Bruno Lavagnini'-Palerme, Italie).

¹ Sur l'hagiographie apulienne écrite, à une exception près (*Vie* de saint Maur de Gallipoli) en latin voir Martin (1990) 78-79 et, plus généralement, Martin (2003); en particulier sur saint Nicolas de Trani voir Efthymiadis (2008).

file continue, fait qu'on n'observe ni en Asie Mineure ni en Grèce, régions qui pour la période du IX^e au XII^e siècle ont également connu un essor de la sainteté, notamment monastique. Cet aspect de continuité de la sainteté calabraise ne saute pas seulement aux yeux de l'historien d'aujourd'hui mais se reflète également chez les hagiographes de l'époque, qui souvent mettent l'accent sur cette course de relais qui passe d'un saint moine à l'autre. D'une part, donc, l'Italie méridionale se rattache à la tradition du Moyen Âge byzantin où monachisme et sainteté se confondent à peu près et, d'autre part, elle y met ses couleurs particulières, portant surtout sur ses structures différentes².

En général, à part leur marginalité, ce qui donne un intérêt spécial à ces documents, c'est qu'il s'agit d'une hagiographie historique³, où assez souvent les événements politiques ou militaires défilent au devant ou à l'arrière de la scène, exerçant une influence sur le héros central de ces textes. L'action se déroule essentiellement en un récit narratif et non statique. Autrement dit, bien que le récit veuille suivre le chemin spirituel du saint, qui souvent se place en dehors des perturbations du monde, au milieu d'un couvent ou du paysage de l'*hésychia* ascétique, il n'évite pas d'enregistrer les fluctuations et le climat d'instabilité de l'époque.

Dans une période dont les limites chronologiques sont l'expansion graduelle des Arabes en Sicile et les suites de la conquête normande⁴, l'hagiographie calabraise nous expose la biographie mouvementée d'un impressionnant cortège, d'une vingtaine, à peu près, de saints⁵. C'est un corpus riche qui permet d'acquérir, là où l'historiographie byzantine et les chroniques latines sont presque muettes ou trop sommaires, une large vision de la société, où les saints remplissent leur fonction. Leurs exploits sont décrits dans des *Vies*, longues ou brèves,

² Sur les parallèles entre le monachisme d'Italie méridionale et d'Asie Mineure pendant le Moyen Âge, voir Pertusi (1972) et Morini (1999). Sur le développement du monachisme en Italie du Sud voir Guillou (1963a) 79–88.

³ On tient évidemment compte des réserves exprimées sur l'usage de ce terme par Acconcia Longo (1999) 8–10.

⁴ Sur l'histoire politique de cette région voir Gay (1904); et von Falkenhausen (1978); sur la période normande Chalandon (1907). Sur l'histoire de l'Église grecque en Italie (v. 650–v. 1050) on consultera Jacob et Martin (1993).

⁵ Voir l'appendice avec une liste chronologique des *Vies* de saints d'Italie méridionale (IX^e–XII^e s.) traitées dans la présente étude. Il est à noter que les *Vies* ici-traitées ne constituent pas l'ensemble de l'hagiographie italo-grecque du Moyen Âge, qui d'ailleurs remonte au moins au début du IX^e siècle et qui comprend des *Passions* et des *Vies* de saints-martyrs, légendaires ou non, comme saint Pancrace de Taormine, et saint Maur de Gallipoli, d'ailleurs le seul saint apulien dont une *Vie* est conservée en grec; pour leurs *Vies* voir respectivement Acconcia Longo (2001) et Halkin (1988).

conservées en grec ou en traduction latine, ainsi que dans quelques notices du Synaxaire⁶, dans quelques témoins de l'hymnographie ou dans les notes marginales des manuscrits liturgiques⁷. Dans la majorité des cas les *Vies* ont été composées par des moines disciples et rédigées quelques années après le décès du saint⁸.

A vrai dire, ce pays où le culte des saints-moines a pu s'implanter très fermement et durer trois à quatre siècles était un domaine multinational et connu divers régimes successifs. Les premiers de ces saints-moines firent leur apparition vers la deuxième moitié du IX^e siècle, notamment lorsque la conquête de la Sicile par les Arabes était presque terminée et qu'une partie de la population chrétienne prenait le chemin de l'exode vers le continent voisin⁹. Pendant plus d'un siècle la Calabre, pays alors profondément hellénisé¹⁰ et territoire byzantin fragilisé par les incursions arabes, servit de refuge à un nombre plus ou moins grand de Siciliens et accueillit des moines fondateurs de nouveaux monastères, qui, on l'a signalé, « parfois naissaient et disparaissaient en l'espace de quelques décennies »¹¹. D'emblée, il importe ici de relever le caractère et le mode de vie des représentants principaux de ces moines, afin de prendre conscience tant du modèle de sainteté qu'ils proposent que de la réalité sociale qu'ils reflètent.

C'est durant les dernières décennies du IX^e siècle et vers la fin de sa vie qu'Élie le Jeune, né à Enna, en Sicile, autour de 823, mit un frein à une errance qui lui avait fait accomplir une série de voyages en Méditerranée, soit le pèlerinage aux lieux saints de la chrétienté, soit quelques pérégrinations dans les régions voisines de l'Italie, surtout dans le Péloponnèse et les environs de l'île de Corfou¹². Bien entendu,

⁶ Les saints siculo-calabrais du X^e siècle dont une courte biographie n'est conservée que dans le Synaxaire de Constantinople sont Luc de Taormine et Simon de Calabre (BHG 2300); voir *SynaxCP* col. 199–200 et 235–40.

⁷ Sur ces saints voir Follieri (1974) 84–85 et Follieri (1997a) 35–36. Sur quelques saints qui ont mené une activité monastique en Lucanie voir Acconcia Longo (1995–96).

⁸ Au point de vue littéraire ces hagiographes ne manquent pas de qualités: voir Garzya (1973); et Hester (1992) 148. Pourtant certaines compositions font souvent preuve d'un style élégant, comme les *Vies* de saint Nicodème de Kellarana et saint Barthélemy de Grottaferrata; mais elles se cantonnent parfois davantage dans le panegyrique, fournissant ainsi peu d'informations concrètes.

⁹ Cf. Ménager (1958) et (1959). L'idée de cet auteur et d'autres érudits, pour qui il s'est agi d'un exode massif, a été contestée par Guillou (1963b).

¹⁰ Cf. Charanis (1946); aussi Martin (1985–1986) et Martin (1999).

¹¹ Vitolo (1996) 108. Cf. aussi Morris (1995) 173–75.

¹² Pour un résumé de sa biographie voir Da Costa-Louillet (1959–1960) 95–109; aussi Hester (1992) 164–68 et Caruso (1999) 566–69. Sur les voyages de saint Élie

tous ces voyages furent pleins de dangers renouvelés et de mauvaises surprises. Lors de leur séjour à Butrinte en Épire ces moines étrangers qu'étaient le saint et son disciple Daniel, jeune homme noble originaire de Taormine, ont été pris pour des Arabes et arrêtés pour espionnage¹³. Libérés peu après, ils firent une halte à Corfou pour se rendre enfin en Calabre, plus précisément dans la région des Salines où ils fondèrent un monastère (entre 882 et 885). Selon sa biographie, le peu de temps qu'il vécut en Calabre, Élie opéra quelques miracles de guérison et délivra le pays d'une sécheresse qui durait depuis cinq mois¹⁴.

Cependant son rôle principal était autre. Élie vint s'établir dans une région qui se trouvait alors en pleine guerre entre les Arabes et les Byzantins. En fait, c'est ce conflit byzantino-arabe tourmentant durablement la Sicile et la Calabre qui marque le récit entier. Dans sa biographie, Élie ne se présente pas comme un simple observateur de ce conflit mais comme celui qui prédit une série de faits et de tournants qui ont marqué l'histoire de son pays. Ses prédictions et ses miracles sont comparés à ceux de figures bibliques¹⁵. Pendant le règne de Léon VI, le saint prédit la victoire à Reggio de la flotte byzantine menée par Basile Nasar contre les Arabes de Palerme. Ensuite il communique au pieux amiral Michel qu'il remportera la victoire contre les Agarènes¹⁶. Son monastère ne tarde pas à devenir un foyer pour ceux qui ont été libérés de la captivité des Ismaélites. Élie les exhorte à persévérer dans la patience. Plus tard, il prédit cette fois la défaite du stratège grec Barsakios à Taormine (en 881)¹⁷. Mais, selon le modèle biblique, son don de prophétie ne peut être qu'étroitement lié à une attitude moraliste. Vers la fin de sa vie, désirant vénérer la relique de saint Pancrace, Élie, accompagné de son disciple, se rendit à Taormine. Ce nouveau retour en Sicile lui donna l'occasion de pro-

voir Malamut (1993) 256–58. C'est cette errance extraordinaire qui fait de la première partie de cette *Vie* « un fantasioso romanzo agiografico », comme le prétend Pricoco (1989) 366 et Pricoco (1992) 285.

¹³ *Vie de saint Élie le Jeune*, c. 28, éd. Rossi Taibbi (1962) 42 : « σκληροῖς γὰρ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐχρήσατο λόγοις, Ἀγαρηνοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ βεβήλους ἀποκαλῶν καὶ κατασκόπους τῶν πόλεων ».

¹⁴ Ibid., c. 58, p. 90–92. Sur la région des Salines voir Caruso (2004a).

¹⁵ Comme les prophètes Élie (c. 3, 40 et 74–75, p. 6, 62 et 118–20), Jérémie (c. 50, p. 78), Abbakoum (c. 56, p. 86), enfin Joseph (c. 12, p. 16–18), Moïse (c. 43 et 63, p. 64 et 98) et Job (c. 45, p. 68–70). Son don de prédire les prises de villes est aussi attesté dans la *Vie de saint Élie le Spéléote* (BHG 581), AASS Sep. III, c. 31 (p. 860–61).

¹⁶ *Vie de saint Élie le Jeune*, c. 25 et 43, éd. Rossi Taibbi (1962) 36–38 et 64–66.

¹⁷ Sur ce stratège voir Vlysidou et al. (2008) 322.

phétiser l'imminente prise de la ville par l'Arabe Ibrahim. Dans son sermon, il exhorte le patrice Constantin et le peuple de Taormine à arrêter de vivre dans la débauche; mais ses paroles ne sont pas exaucées. Le saint quitte enfin la Sicile et se rend à Amalfi où il apprend la chute de Taormine (qui survint en 902). Sa clairvoyance fut fatalement considérée avec méfiance.

Dès son arrivée dans les Salines, Élie le Jeune se mêle une dernière fois à l'histoire locale en intervenant en faveur d'un certain Colombos qui s'était révolté contre Michel, taxiarque de Calabre, et qui ensuite fut arrêté et condamné à mort. Sept jours après avoir refusé la requête du saint d'accorder la grâce au rebelle, le taxiarque mourut. Sans être délivré de la prison, Colombos, lui, échappa à la mort. Alors, répondant à un appel de Léon VI, Élie partit pour Constantinople. En route vers la capitale, il prédit la prise de Thessalonique par les Agarènes (904); enfin il entre dans la ville où il meurt quelques jours après avoir vénéré le ciborium de S. Dèmétrios. Georges le Calabrais transporte le cercueil du saint d'abord à Rossano, puis dans le *kastron* de Bisignano; là un jeune possédé est guéri. Ensuite le cercueil est déposé dans le monastère des Salines que Léon VI a gratifié de propriétés et de sommes considérables. Ainsi naît le culte du premier saint moine calabrais, qui inaugure la série¹⁸.

Dans le cas du saint suivant, Élie le Spéléote (864–960), l'accent polémique et la tonalité cosmopolite de son homonyme cèdent la place à un esprit et à une vie terre à terre. À part les quelques aventures d'Élie en Sicile, à Rome et à Patras, l'hagiographe, le moine Kyriakos¹⁹, ne se préoccupe visiblement d'enregistrer que l'activité de son héros dans le microcosme d'une communauté de moines et des laïcs qui l'entourent²⁰. Il semble que les événements majeurs de son temps ne l'intéressent pas directement; c'est pourquoi, même s'il ne refuse pas à son maître le don de prophétie, il n'arrive pas à lui donner les dimensions qu'on a rencontrées chez son saint prédécesseur homonyme. En

¹⁸ Pour tous ces épisodes voir *Vie de saint Élie le Jeune*, c. 64–76, éd. Rossi Taibbi (1962) 100–122.

¹⁹ L'identité de l'auteur de la *Vie de saint Élie le Spéléote* est révélée dans l'épilogue de la traduction latine qui date de l'époque normande (XII^e s.): voir Strazzeri (1992) 86, v. 1505–7. Pour cette identification voir Efthymiadis (1996) 73–74. Pour un résumé et un commentaire de cette *Vie* voir Minasi (1892) 77–160; et plus récemment par Da Costa-Louillet (1959–1960) 113–24; Hester (1992) 168–72; et Caruso (1999) 569–72.

²⁰ Le caractère plus sédentaire de la *Vie de saint Élie le Spéléote* par rapport à celle de son homonyme a été noté par Acconcia Longo (1991) 221.

revanche, son récit, qui ne sacrifie jamais à la rhétorique et à la grandiloquence, constitue le document le plus riche et le plus pénétrant en ce qui concerne les rapports entre la société calabraise et les saints. À cet égard, la seule œuvre qui pourrait presque égaler ce texte est peut-être la Vie de saint Nil de Rossano.

Originaire de Reggio, Élie eut les doigts comprimés lors d'un accident d'enfance; la main maladroitement mise dans un étau par un docteur inexpérimenté, le saint reçut le surnom de manchot. À l'âge de dix-huit ans il entreprit un long voyage qui le conduisit notamment en Sicile et à Rome. C'est dans la Ville éternelle que le pèlerin s'adonna à l'ascèse. Rentré dans son pays natal, il s'attacha à l'anachorète Arsénios qui le revêtit de l'habit monastique. Disciple obéissant, Élie coupe du bois et apporte de l'eau en liant sa main gauche au bras avec une corde fine²¹. Alors que maître et disciple habitent le métoque de Sainte-Lucie, appelé Mindinon, ils s'opposent à un prêtre de la métropole de Reggio qui se prétend le détenteur d'un *proasteion*. L'affaire est jugée par le stratège du thème qui, après la remise d'un certain nombre de présents de la part du prêtre, non seulement ne donne pas raison aux deux moines, mais les fait fouetter. À leur retour, les deux ascètes demandent la punition de leur juge qui tombe sérieusement malade et perd la vie²². Le même sort attend un marchand du village d'Armo qui faisait du trafic de chair humaine avec les côtes d'Afrique. Sa femme leur donne un *nomisma* pour qu'ils célèbrent l'office mortuaire à la mémoire de son mari, mais les deux moines refusent²³. En revanche, Arsène n'a pas d'objection à le faire pour un pauvre du même village qui est mort. Peu après, les exactions des Ismaélites forcent les hommes à trouver refuge à Patras. La renommée dont ils jouissent ne leur permettant de vivre dans le calme, au bout de huit ans ils quittent la Grèce pour revenir en Calabre. Le décès d'Arsène fait venir Élie au monastère des Salines pour rencontrer saint Élie le Jeune. Ce dernier discerne les charismes de son homonyme, mais son disciple Daniel (qui lui succéda à l'higouménat) veut le soumettre à une épreuve en vue d'éprouver ses qualités d'ascète. Élie s'y distingue par sa mortification extrême²⁴.

²¹ *Vie de saint Élie le Spéléote* (BHG 581), AASS Sep. III, c. 13, p. 853: «δεσμεύων λεπτῷ σχοινίῳ τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ βραχίονι».

²² Ibid., c. 14, p. 853.

²³ Ibid., c. 14, p. 855.

²⁴ Une semblable épreuve de ses qualités d'ascète a été imposée par saint Luc de Demenna à saint Vital de Castronuovo: voir la *Vie* de ce dernier, AASS Mart. II, 26–34: c. 8, p. 28.

Ensuite le saint s'attache à l'hésychaste Cosmas qui est accompagné de son disciple Vital. On dit qu'une communauté monastique se forme, constituée de nobles et de notables (εὐγενεῖς καὶ περιφανεῖς) qui viennent du pays et des villages voisins. Ce seront les moines dont l'hagiographe nous parle ensuite avec une grande familiarité en nous révélant, entre autres, leurs noms et surnoms. Élie est prompt à se soumettre à la direction spirituelle de ce Cosmas, mais ce dernier, voyant en rêve que ce lieu se transformerait en couvent de cénobites, décide de s'en aller en compagnie de son disciple. Le saint refuse de se déplacer désormais et devient le guide d'un groupe de moines qui au début n'habitent qu'une petite caverne « qui », nous dit l'auteur, « se situe dans la porte, où est maintenant la cave du vin »²⁵.

Désormais l'hagiographe ne s'écartera plus des activités de cette communauté fondée près de Reggio, la ville natale du saint, à Melicuccà aux environs de Seminara (actuellement province de Reggio Calabria). Il nous expose toute une série d'épisodes de la vie des moines et des laïcs qui habitent les villages voisins. Bien entendu, dans la plupart des cas, il s'agit de miracles accomplis par le saint, qui furent confiés à l'hagiographe par ses disciples. C'est dans ce contexte que le rôle social du saint se manifeste pleinement. En premier lieu, sans se montrer hostile à l'anachorèse, Élie défend les idéaux de la vie cénobitique, sa mise en ordre qui implique également une lutte contre la nature sauvage. Comme le faisait autrefois leur maître, les moines s'engagent à couper du bois et à rouler des pierres arrachées à la montagne adjacente. Plus tard, quand le nombre et les besoins des moines se multiplient, la communauté se réjouit de voir des chauve-souris sortir d'un petit trou qui donnait sur une grande grotte. Un laïc expérimenté, nommé Cosmas, embauche des ouvriers qui élargissent le trou et font de cette caverne un habitat propre au nombre accru des membres de la communauté. Tonsuré ensuite moine, le même Cosmas se charge de la construction d'une saline et d'un moulin à blé. Quelque temps après, on bâtit une église dans la grotte, dédiée aux coryphées des apôtres; à son tour, Élie se charge de l'expulsion des esprits impurs qui abritaient dans la caverne. En fait, grâce à toute cette activité, d'une façon ou d'une autre, dans des conditions vraiment hostiles, le saint met de l'ordre dans une zone en friche et essaie d'organiser toute une vie rurale²⁶.

²⁵ *Vie de saint Élie le Spéléote* (BHG 581), AASS Sep. III, c. 38, p. 863.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 68, p. 876. Morini (1977) 356–57 suppose que les moines dormaient en petits groupes dans diverses grottes situées autour de la grotte principale.

C'est à partir de ce moment que le saint attira des pèlerins. Des hommes qui venaient le visiter du village de Seminara rencontrent un Éthiopien, un homme noir d'une taille énorme. C'était un démon mais qu'ils ont pris pour une personne réelle à laquelle il ressemblait, un certain Photis. Avant de comprendre son expulsion de son ancien domicile provoquée par Élie, dit le manchot, et de s'envoler vers la région de Messobiano (Messiano), le démon prononça maintes injures contre le saint. Tout en nous permettant d'entrevoir la diversité ethnique de la population calabraise, ce passage confirme la contribution du monachisme au développement matériel typique d'un pays médiéval comme la Calabre²⁷.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le saint ne désirait pas que l'afflux des pèlerins venus des environs s'accroisse aux dépens de la vie spirituelle. Ainsi, pour éviter les rassemblements des foules, il avertit son successeur Laurent de ne pas communiquer, tant que lui, Élie, est encore en vie, les qualités thérapeutiques de l'eau du rocher de la caverne²⁸. Est-ce pour la même raison que le saint apparaît rarement de son vivant comme un exorciste des malheurs collectifs ? Durant les raids des Agarènes il recherchait l'isolement dans des cachettes de la montagne ou bien il s'enfermait dans le *kastellion* avec les autres assiégés qu'il exhortait à s'abstenir du mal et à se repentir. L'hagiographe note que la seule présence du bon pasteur suffisait pour que les habitants ne souffrent point de l'agression des attaquants, aussi bien qu'il signale le fait qu'après sa dormition ceux qui se sont réfugiés dans le *kastellion* ayant comme guide un berger à gages (μετὰ μισθωτοῦ ποιμένος), qui n'était pas le pasteur apte à intercéder auprès de Dieu, ont éprouvé bien des malheurs²⁹. La même nation des Arabes voulut mettre le feu au monastère mais, lorsqu'ils furent près de la porte, ils s'enfuirent aussitôt.

Cette opposition au monde musulman se manifesta encore d'une façon différente. Un notable nommé Gaudiosus, harcelé par un démon, fréquentait les églises et vénérât les reliques des saints, en vain. Venu auprès d'Élie, il lui exprima son désir de se rendre à Palerme et d'obtenir sa guérison chez les médecins. Bien que le saint lui conseillât de patienter, Gaudiosus décida de s'embarquer pour la capitale de la Sicile.

²⁷ Ibid., c. 34, p. 861. Sur la présence des Arabes en Italie du Sud voir Efthymiadis (2006a).

²⁸ Ibid., c. 55, p. 870.

²⁹ Ibid., c. 69, p. 876. L'expression est une allusion à Jean 10.12: «μισθωτοὺς ποιμένας, τοὺς οὐ διὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ αὐτῶν χρειῶδες τὴν τοῦ ποιμαίνειν ἐξουσίαν λαβόντες».

Alors que le bateau naviguait au large de Mylae, l'homme s'endormit, puis se réveilla et demanda à débarquer. C'était Élie, le grand docteur, qui avait tiré de son ventre le cochon de lait (γαλαθηνὸν χοῖρον) et l'avait plongé au fond de la mer³⁰. En dépit de son imprécision, ce passage, remarquable aussi par l'emploi d'un mot homérique rare, est intéressant à plusieurs titres. On constate, par exemple, que pour obtenir sa guérison, Gaudiosus agit par procédé inverse. Par contraste avec le *topos* des miracles, cet homme au nom latin se montre d'abord déçu par les sanctuaires anciens, veut ensuite consulter les médecins, qu'on ne trouve pas dans les limites du monde chrétien, mais dans le centre urbain musulman qu'était alors Palerme. Évidemment, à un certain moment, le saint, comme sanctuaire vivant, intervient et, d'une façon ou d'une autre, met un frein à l'interdépendance étroite entre les deux mondes qui d'ailleurs doivent rester séparés. À cet égard, le saint fait encore preuve d'un souci semblable. Tout en critiquant l'action séparatiste du patrice Byzalon qui comptait apostasier et se tourner vers les infidèles (ἀποστασίαν εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μελετήσαντος) puis se retourner contre l'empereur, Élie prévoit son échec final et l'exécution du rebelle par ses familiers³¹. Une fois encore un saint calabrais se profile derrière une révolte contre le pouvoir impérial.

Le saint, on l'a noté, n'aime pas les foules, ne fait jamais la tournée des villages, mais pourtant il y est présent, bien que non physiquement. Il lutte contre la superstition des villageois quand il exorcise le prêtre Épiphánios qui jetait des sorts sur les hommes et les bêtes du village d'Asphaladéos³². Il lutte encore contre un désastre naturel quand il sauve un autre prêtre du village de Kabera qui risquait de perdre la vie à cause d'un incendie³³.

Quand Élie meurt à l'âge de quatre-vingt seize ans³⁴, il est enterré par tous ses moines et par Vital, évêque de Tauriana. Il fait l'objet

³⁰ Ibid., c. 59–60, p. 872. Sur cette histoire voir aussi von Falkenhausen (1991) 265–66 et Caruso (2004b) 150 et 153.

³¹ Ibid., c. 54, p. 870. Sur cette révolte qu'on peut dater en 921–922 on consultera von Falkenhausen (1978) 102 et Vlysidou et al. (2008) 362–63. Comme le signale Guillou (1974) 177, « apostatés » a le double sens de renégat et de rebelle, de même qu'hérétique.

³² Ibid., c. 57, p. 871: « μισθοτοῦ πολλὰς περιεργίας ποιῶν ἐγγράμματά τε καὶ ἐπάσματα γράφων ἐν τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ κτήνεσι... ». Voir le commentaire de Pertusi (1983) 22–24; et l'étude plus générale de de Martino (1963).

³³ Ibid., c. 65, p. 874.

³⁴ La chronologie de sa mort, traditionnellement placée en l'an 960, a été contestée par Follieri (1993) 99–110; avis contraire de Caruso (2000). Voir aussi Stelladoro (2006).

d'un culte instauré par les membres de sa communauté et des laïcs des villages voisins. Son biographe contribue à la diffusion iconographique de son culte en nous fournissant une description du portrait physique de son maître. Il nous dit précisément que son visage rayonnait, toujours souriant par la grâce divine. Bien souvent, Élie n'a pas pu se départir de ce sourire devant ceux qui, de son vivant, eurent recours à lui.

Tout au long du X^e siècle, en Calabre, nous retrouvons bien d'autres émules d'Élie le Spéléote. Des saints comme Léon-Luc de Corleone, Luc de Demenna, Vital de Castronuovo, Sabas de Collesano, son père Christophore et son frère Macaire, étaient tous des Siciliens, initiés à la vie monastique dans le monastère le plus célèbre de leur île, celui de Saint-Philippe d'Agira sur l'Etna; firent le pèlerinage à Rome pour vénérer les reliques des saints Pierre et Paul³⁵ et aboutirent en Calabre, où après une période consacrée à la vie érémitique ou cénobitique, ils fondèrent leur propre établissement. Nous revenons, plus ou moins, au même canevas hagiographique qu'auparavant, mais les personnages concrets qu'on a rencontrés dans la *Vie* que l'on vient de présenter nous manquent.

Après avoir prédit l'invasion des Sarrasins, Luc de Demenna, dit aussi d'Armento, quitte la grotte de saint Élie le Spéléote et arrive dans une ville (*oppidum*) appelée Noa et identifiable avec Noepoli (province de Potenza)³⁶. Après un séjour de sept ans près d'une basilique dédiée à saint Pierre, il se rend dans l'ancien monastère de Saint-Julien, près du fleuve Agri, qu'il transforme en un *thesaurus in agro deserto*³⁷. Nombreux sont ceux qui y reçoivent l'habit monastique et Luc opère une série de miracles³⁸. Son activité philanthropique dans la région de Marsa (actuellement Marsico), près du fleuve Agri aux confins de la Calabre et la Lucanie, rappelle, nous dit l'hagiographe, celle du célèbre Jean le Miséricordieux, patriarche d'Alexandrie. Aussi y affronte-t-il

³⁵ Stelladoro (1995) 74–80; et *Vie de saint Vital de Castronuovo*, AASS Mart. II, c. 2, p. 26. Sur ce pèlerinage en général, voir Luongo (1999); aussi l'étude plus spécifique de Sansterre (1985–86).

³⁶ *Vie de saint Luc de Demenna* (BHL 4978), AASS Oct. IV, c. 3–6, p. 337F–338C. Résumé de cette *Vie* par Da Costa-Louillet (1959–60) 142–46; et Hester (1992) 175–77. Pour une analyse de ses éléments historiques voir Caruso (1999) 578–81. Voir aussi Acconcia Longo (1995–96) et Kislinger (2001) 115–18.

³⁷ Ibid., c. 7, p. 338C.

³⁸ Sur cette activité miraculeuse voir Re (2008).

un seigneur local (*pagorum dominus*) qui s'appelle Landulphus et qui voulait usurper les possessions du monastère³⁹.

Par crainte des incursions d'Otton le Grand qui lors du règne de Nicéphore Phocas ravageait les villes des Grecs, la communauté de Luc fut contrainte à trouver refuge dans un château fortifié. Mais puisque pour ces moines il paraissait inconvenant de se mêler aux séculiers, leur abbé établit un nouveau monastère dans un lieu protégé par la nature, où, en plus, il érigea une basilique dédiée à la Vierge et à saint Pierre, près d'un précipice appelé dans la langue des Calabrais Armentum⁴⁰. Là il assuma de nouveau la fonction d'assistant et de médecin (*auxiliator et medicus*) pour tous les affligés. Désirant pourtant cacher sa sainteté et se protéger de la vaine gloire que pourrait lui accorder le peuple, il appliquait aux malades des cataplasmes d'herbes et des emplâtres, afin de leur faire croire que la guérison venait de la force thérapeutique des herbes, et non de son charisme. Mais un jour les Sarrasins arrivèrent, capturèrent une foule des gens et pillèrent l'église du monastère. Alors, Luc réfugié dans un lieu fortifié avec ses disciples, décida, le cœur contrit, de passer à l'action. Loin d'attendre passivement l'attaque, le saint exhorta les assiégés à quitter leur refuge et, à l'exemple de Gédéon et de Josué, à affronter les infidèles dans un combat (*contraque Agarenos dimisit*). A ce point-là, notons-le, l'hagiographe se montre assez prudent et présente le saint, non comme un guerrier les armes à la main, mais comme un prédicateur qui incite les fidèles à s'engager dans un combat qui est, certes, victorieux à la fin⁴¹.

Cette réaction de saint Luc, marquée d'un esprit héroïque contre le danger permanent des infidèles, est vraiment exceptionnelle. Dans toutes les autres mentions de raids arabes que contiennent les hagiographies qui nous concernent ici, les hagiographes mettent souvent l'accent sur les soucis que le saint partageait avec les paysans de Calabre et sur ses efforts pour relever le moral des populations chrétiennes face aux Sarrasins, sans le gratifier d'une puissance surnaturelle autre que la prédiction du mal. A vrai dire, le saint non seulement ne libère pas des prisonniers comme son homologue d'Asie Mineure au cours du IX^e siècle, mais n'entreprend pas même de conversions de musulmans⁴².

³⁹ *Vie de saint Luc de Demenna* (BHL 4978), AASS Oct. IV, c. 7–9, p. 338C–339A.

⁴⁰ Ibid., c. 9–10, p. 340A–C.

⁴¹ Ibid., c. 10–11, p. 340D–F.

⁴² Voir là-dessus Efthymiadis (2006b) 165 ; et Efthymiadis (2006a) 613–16.

Comme n'importe quel chrétien de la région, le saint cherche à sauver sa propre existence, tantôt en s'abritant dans un *castellum*, tantôt en s'enfuyant dans une nouvelle direction. Le saint n'arrive pas à changer l'histoire, mais il la commente.

Un commentateur de ce type, caractéristique de l'histoire de l'Italie méridionale, fut Nil de Rossano ou le Jeune, sans doute le saint le plus illustre du sanctoral calabrais. Sa *Vie* est une pièce hagiographique maîtresse du point de vue de sa longueur, de ses qualités littéraires et de ses nombreuses références aux événements historiques de l'époque. Né dans une noble famille de Rossano, Nil vit trente ans dans le monde. Il épouse une belle femme qui pourtant venait d'une famille pauvre et sans gloire. En ce temps-là, nous dit l'auteur, il était rare de trouver un évêque, un prêtre ou un moine capable d'édifier le jeune homme. Après qu'il fut devenu père d'une fille, Dieu lui inspira le désir de la vie solitaire, souhait qui pourtant au début rencontra un assez grand nombre d'obstacles. Venu dans la région du Merkourion dans la vallée du Lao, au nord-ouest de la Calabre, Nil fit la connaissance d'ascètes de grande renommée comme Jean le Grand, Phantin le Jeune et Zacharie, qui voulaient le recevoir dans la vie monastique⁴³. Cependant ils s'opposent au stratège du thème qui menace le moine qui oserait tonsurer Nil, d'avoir la main coupée et son monastère confisqué. C'est pourquoi ils décidèrent d'amener Nil au monastère de Saint-Nazaire situé en territoire lombard, dans la principauté de Salerne⁴⁴. Une fois tonsuré, le saint revient dans la région du Merkourion et s'y fixe auprès de saint Phantin. Le départ de ce dernier pour la Grèce et les incursions arabes qui ravagèrent la Calabre une année entière contraignirent Nil à retourner dans les environs de sa ville natale. C'est là, sur un de ses domaines où se situait la chapelle de Saint-Adrien, que saint Nil vit s'établir autour de lui une petite communauté d'une douzaine de moines ou un peu plus. Pendant un quart de siècle (de 952 à 978) le saint resta en contact avec les habitants de la ville de Rossano et leurs problèmes quotidiens⁴⁵. Cependant, par l'austérité de sa vie et sa morale ascétique, il attirait de nouveaux moines et devenait populaire parmi les autorités politiques ou ecclésiastiques.

⁴³ Sur le Mercourion on consultera Burgarella (2002).

⁴⁴ *Vie de saint Nil de Rossano* (BHG 1370), c. 4, éd. Giovanelli (1972) 50. Pour une interprétation de ces différents épisodes de sa *Vie* voir Follieri (2000). Une nouvelle édition de cette *Vie* était en préparation par la même: voir Follieri (1997b). Résumé de cette *Vie* par Da Costa-Louillet (1959-60) 146-67; Hester (1992) 200-221; et Caruso (1999) 583-87.

⁴⁵ *Vie de saint Nil de Rossano* (BHG 1370), c. 36, éd. Giovanelli (1972) 82.

Résidant près d'un centre urbain, Nil engagea sa fraternité à transformer une terre qui rapportait du bois pour qu'elle produise du blé⁴⁶. Un tremblement de terre et la pluie diluvienne qui s'ensuivit l'amènèrent enfin en ville. Les maisons et les églises des hauts quartiers de Rossano s'écroulèrent sur celles qui étaient situées en contrebas. La ville était en ruines, seules la cathédrale et l'église de Sainte-Irène avaient résisté au désastre. On s'étonna pourtant que cette catastrophe ne fit pas la moindre victime. Désireux de faire son enquête personnelle, la tête recouverte d'une fourrure de renard et son manteau jeté sur ses épaules, Nil fit le tour du *kastron* sans être reconnu. Les enfants se moquèrent de lui et lui lancèrent des pierres en le traitant de noms, tels que « caloyer bulgare, franc et arménien », fort injurieux, paraît-il, pour les Byzantins de l'époque⁴⁷. Une fois reconnu par le *prosmonarios* de la cathédrale de Rossano nommé Kaniskas, Nil vit d'abord échouer ses efforts pour attirer cet homme âgé à la vie monastique et à profiter ensuite de sa fortune, qui à la fin échut au fisc. L'homme lui confessa qu'il y avait beaucoup de Rossanais comme lui qui voudraient prendre l'habit monastique mais, incapables de s'abstenir de vin, ils abandonnaient forcément ce dessein.

Puisque ses visites en ville se multipliaient, le saint trouva l'occasion d'engager un débat avec les autorités politiques et ecclésiastiques, notamment le domestique Léon, le protospathaire Nicolas et le métropolite de Calabre Théophylacte. Il eut aussi une entrevue avec un fameux et savant médecin juif appelé Domnoulos⁴⁸. Ensuite le saint s'opposa à l'officier impérial Eupraxios, qui l'accusait d'avoir pillé un couvent de religieuses à Rossano. Nommé *kritès* d'Italie et de Calabre, cet Eupraxios reçut un accueil enthousiaste de tous les higoumènes du pays; seul Nil n'y assista pas. Cherchant à lui reprocher quelque chose, Eupraxios fut aussitôt affecté d'un mal à ses parties génitales qui le tortura pendant trois ans jusqu'à ce que le saint l'ait tonsuré. Cette tonsure eut lieu en la présence de toutes les autorités locales, y compris le médecin Domnoulos déjà cité. N'obtenant qu'une guérison provisoire de trois jours, Eupraxios mourut après avoir légué

⁴⁶ Ibid., c. 43, p. 87: « σιτοφόρον ἀντὶ ξυλοφόρου ».

⁴⁷ Ibid., c. 41, p. 86. Sur les interprétations diverses de ces injures voir Guillou (1973) 15; Dujčev (1968) 87; et de façon plus circonstanciée von Falkenhausen (1989b) 285–86.

⁴⁸ Sur ce personnage identifiable avec le célèbre Shabetaï ben Abraham (913–après 987) voir Sharf (1975). Sur la présence des Juifs dans la région et leurs métiers voir en dernier lieu Colafemmina (1993); aussi, Luzzati Laganà (1996) et Luzzati Laganà (2004).

sa fortune aux pauvres et nommé Nil gérant de tous ses biens. Ne voyant dans cet acte qu'un piège du diable, le saint se retira dans son monastère, laissant au métropolite l'initiative de régler l'affaire⁴⁹. Grâce à la bonne renommée que le saint avait acquise, un militaire du nom de Polyeucte venant de Messobiano lui rend visite, cherchant la guérison de son fils qui souffrait d'une possession démoniaque⁵⁰. Le saint protesta que Dieu seul pourrait le guérir et il demanda à un prêtre d'oindre le jeune homme de l'huile sainte de la lampe. Le saint refuse d'être considéré comme un thaumaturge, mais il se contente de guérir un grand nombre de moines et de laïcs tourmentés par le démon, soit par l'onction qu'opéraient les prêtres soit en les incitant à accomplir un pèlerinage aux reliques de Rome afin qu'ils recouvrent miraculeusement leur santé en route.

Naturellement Nil ne saurait être un intercesseur pour les seuls maux individuels : il l'était aussi pour les maux collectifs. En 965-966, pour assurer la sécurité de sa province et essayer de reconquérir la Sicile, le magistre Nicéphore, gouverneur des thèmes d'Italie et de Calabre, décida que tous les citoyens calabrais fabriqueraient des *chelandia*. Peu disposés à le faire, les habitants de Rossano, gens à sang chaud par excellence parmi les Calabrais, au dire de l'hagiographe, mirent le feu aux bateaux alors qu'ils étaient prêts à faire voile et fracassèrent même la tête des capitaines. Ne désirant pas proclamer la révolte totale, les Rossanais jugèrent à propos d'apaiser la colère du magistre en lui offrant des cadeaux et de l'argent. Craignant toutefois de se trouver en face du magistre, ils implorèrent le saint pour qu'il joue le rôle d'intermédiaire. A la fin, c'est Nil qui arriva à convaincre le furieux Nicéphore de pardonner à ses compatriotes et de ne pas faire décapiter ses magistrats ; en échange, les habitants payèrent seulement une somme des 500 *nomismata*⁵¹.

La renommée du saint grandit de jour en jour ; un eunuque du palais impérial en visite de Rossano invite Nil à Constantinople pour qu'il confère la tonsure à lui-même ainsi qu'à sa mère. Sexagénaire, le saint refuse ce voyage qui, entre autres, lui aurait permis d'être reçu par les empereurs et, de même il rejette ensuite d'être exempté du danger arabe par faveur spéciale de l'émir de Palerme. Après les chré-

⁴⁹ *Vie de saint Nil de Rossano* (BHG 1370), c. 53-57, éd. Giovanelli (1972) 95-99.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, c. 57-59, p. 99-100.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, c. 60-62, p. 100-103. Sur cet épisode on consultera Cheynet (1990) 21 et Vlysidou et al. (2008) 399-400.

tiens byzantins et les juifs, ce furent les musulmans qui reconnurent la supériorité de Nil. Cependant, une fois prévue la chute de la Calabre aux mains des Agarènes, le saint choisit de passer le reste de sa vie avec les Latins « puisqu'il n'était point connu et honoré chez eux »⁵². A vrai dire, ce n'est pas par sa prophétie mais par son passage au-delà du domaine byzantin que Nil présageait l'avenir de son pays ; la Calabre, bien sûr, ne ferait pas partie du monde musulman, mais allait s'intégrer au monde latin. C'était un nouvel cadre culturel pour les saints méridionaux, que l'on remarque également dans le cas d'un saint contemporain mais moins connu que le saint de Rossano : invité par l'empereur à Constantinople par l'intermédiaire du catépan d'Italie, Grégoire de Cassano, fameux thaumaturge local, quitta le Midi pour se rendre finalement à la cour d'Otton III à Aix-la-Chapelle⁵³.

Jusqu'à ce que les Normands prennent la succession du pouvoir byzantin, la Calabre continua à subir les mêmes vicissitudes que par le passé. Durant la première moitié du XI^e siècle, les expéditions arabes atteignirent et ravagèrent le nord du pays. Cela apparaît un peu dans la *Vie* de saint Philarète le Jeune, qui vécut entre 1020 et 1076 mais dont le désir persistant de vivre seul lui ôta presque tout rôle social ; on y trouve une référence circonstanciée à l'expédition de Georges Maniacès (1038–1040) mais aucune allusion aux autres faits historiques majeurs de cette période comme les tensions entre Constantinople et Rome et l'avènement des nouveaux dominateurs et ambassadeurs de la chrétienté occidentale⁵⁴. En fait, mandataires et réalisateurs de la latinisation graduelle de la Sicile et de l'Italie méridionale, les Normands n'empêchèrent pas l'héritage culturel et spirituel byzantin de subsister longtemps⁵⁵. À part les monastères assez prestigieux qui continuèrent à fonctionner et même se multiplièrent, il y eut trois saints témoins de cette survie, dont le premier n'est pas un moine mais un évêque.

Luc, le futur évêque d'Isola Capo Rizzuto, est né à Melicuccà dans la région des Salines. Sa consécration provoqua un trajet inverse de ceux

⁵² Ibid., c. 64–66 (p. 104–7).

⁵³ Cf. AASS Nov. II, c. 13, p. 466E : « sed Deus ei gratiam ad redeundum impetrandae licentiae donavit, quia eum nostri piissimi caesaris (sc. Ottonis III) augendae salutis reservavit ».

⁵⁴ Sur cette *Vie* dont une traduction latine est seulement incluse dans les AASS Apr. I, 603–15 voir Caruso (1997). Résumé de cette *Vie* par Hester (1992) 235–41. Pour l'épisode de Maniacès, qui est narré dans AASS Apr. I, 605–6, voir Caruso (1986).

⁵⁵ À ce sujet, voir en dernier lieu Lucà (1993) ; et sur la survivance et le développement du monachisme voir von Falkenhausen (1977).

de ses prédécesseurs. C'est maintenant un Calabrais qui passe en Sicile pour prêcher la parole de Dieu et ordonner des prêtres dans les villes. Voulant partir pour la Ville Reine, il n'a pas pu voyager au-delà de Tarente⁵⁶. A l'exemple des saints d'Asie Mineure d'autrefois, comme Théodore de Sykéon et Nicolas de Sion, bon gré mal gré, Luc fut obligé par Dieu de retourner dans son pays natal⁵⁷. Désormais ce serait aux humbles pêcheurs et aux paysans que le saint dispenserait son pouvoir surnaturel. Ainsi à un homme souffrant d'une possession démoniaque, Luc offre un folio où il a tracé le signe de la croix et les noms des quatre évangélistes et lui suggère de le mettre au milieu de sa maison pour faire chasser le démon. Luc est un saint qui affronte non seulement les souffrances des individus, mais également le mal collectif. D'abord il sauve la ville de Squillace de la menace d'un loup, qui durait depuis deux ans, en proposant comme remède la confession et un jeûne de trois jours. Ensuite il engage le peuple et le clergé de la région de Mesi à une procession afin de les délivrer du fléau de la sécheresse.

Le saint prit part aussi à un débat avec les Latins sur la question des azymes. Irrités par son sermon, les Latins bâtirent une hutte et tentèrent d'y brûler le saint. Sain et sauf, le saint provoqua la peur chez ses ennemis⁵⁸. Luc finit sa vie dans le monastère du Mont Vioterito qui juste après son décès devint un lieu de pèlerinage et de guérisons. Parmi les bénéficiaires de ses miracles posthumes il n'y eut pas seulement des Calabrais, mais aussi le Normand Révetos, désigné comme Franc (Φράγκος), que le saint de son vivant exhortait à ne pas maltraiter les prêtres de Dieu et à ne pas les tenir sous sa dépendance et dans la servitude. Souffrant d'une maladie mortelle, ce Révetos se rendit au tombeau du saint où il guérit après avoir promis qu'il n'offenserait plus désormais les prêtres orthodoxes. Toutefois, peu de temps après l'homme, continuant à se comporter de la même façon, fut affecté d'une nouvelle maladie, plus sérieuse que la précédente, qui provoqua sa mort⁵⁹.

On ne peut pas manquer d'être frappé par ce saint évêque de la période normande que, d'ailleurs, il ne faut pas aller chercher et prier pour qu'il intercède en faveur du peuple. Modèle de sainteté presque

⁵⁶ *Vie de saint Luc d'Isola di Capo Rizzuto* (BHG 2237), c. 1, éd. Schirò (1954) 90. Sur ce voyage voir Lavagnini (1964).

⁵⁷ Cf. Efthymiadis (1998) 151–52.

⁵⁸ *Vie de saint Luc d'Isola di Capo Rizzuto* (BHG 2237), c. 11, éd. Schirò (1954) p. 106–8.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, c. 16 (p. 120–22).

éclipsé pendant le Moyen Âge byzantin⁶⁰, il défend pourtant la tradition ecclésiastique byzantine contre les Latins. L'exemple de Luc, tout en témoignant des réalités nouvelles de son pays natal, ne revient presque jamais dans les cas de deux autres saints de cette période dont une biographie nous est parvenue, notamment Barthélemy de Simeri et Cyprien de Calamizzi. On dirait que le premier appartient à un monde où les deux pouvoirs, byzantin et normand, se confondent. Le saint est en bons termes avec le *rex* des Normands sans renier le *basileus* de Constantinople. Tout de même, Barthélemy fut le seul saint calabrais qui mena à terme son voyage à la Nouvelle Rome et fut bien accueilli par le couple impérial, Alexis I^{er} Comnène et sa femme Irène⁶¹. À la suite de cet entretien, daté du début du XII^e siècle, un haut personnage proche de l'empereur, nommé Basile Kaliméris, accorda au saint l'higouménat d'un monastère qu'il possédait au Mont Athos. Ces liens avec un patron laïc influent n'étaient pas sans précédent dans la carrière monastique de Barthélemy; en effet, c'était grâce à l'intervention de l'amiral Christodule auprès du pieux roi Roger que le saint put se procurer les moyens de faire construire son monastère calabrais dédié à la Vierge⁶². Dès son retour au pays natal, après l'expérience athonite, Barthélemy dut se présenter à Messine, devant le même roi Roger et son sénat pour être jugé et enfin acquitté des calomnies prononcées contre lui par deux moines du couvent de Saint-Ange de Militino⁶³. Parmi toute la série des saints de l'Italie méridionale, Barthélemy fut le seul qui imita un nombre des saints d'Asie Mineure médiévale et recourut à l'appui d'un patron influent pour aider le *holy man*⁶⁴.

Si le premier saint de l'ère normande fut un évêque et le deuxième un moine étroitement lié au pouvoir, en quoi le troisième fut-il exceptionnel? Cyprien, qui reçut de son père une éducation de médecin, fut un saint propriétaire; il se fit higoumène du monastère de Saint-Nicolas de Calamizzi près de Reggio, qu'il fonda sur une

⁶⁰ Luc d'Isola di Capo Rizzuto ne fut pas le seul évêque sanctifié durant cette période; il en existe au moins un autre, Luc de Bova: voir Joannou (1960); et plus récemment Acconcia Longo (1994) et Acconcia Longo (2006) 151–53.

⁶¹ *Vie de saint Barthélemy de Siméri*, c. 25, éd. Zaccagni (1997) 221–22. Sur le voyage à Constantinople voir Re (1997); voir aussi Breccia (1998); et, plus récemment, Burgarella (2003) 119–35.

⁶² *Vie de saint Barthélemy de Siméri*, c. 17, éd. Zaccagni (1997) 216–17. Sur la personnalité de Christodule voir Ménager (1960) 28–44.

⁶³ Sur la localisation de ce couvent voir Minuto (1998) 45–46.

⁶⁴ Cf. Efthymiadis (1998) 157–58.

de ses propriétés qu'il tenait de ses ancêtres⁶⁵. Il n'a pas les caractères de ses glorieux prédécesseurs qui devaient surmonter bien des difficultés. Cyprien était le seigneur de son pays, que l'on venait honorer et solliciter comme le seul qui pouvait remédier aux maux des indigents⁶⁶. Et quand il opérait des miracles, il prétendait que c'était par la grâce de l'icône de saint Nicolas que les malades avaient obtenu la guérison⁶⁷.

Les saints d'Italie méridionale, apparus au fil d'une continuité qui met en évidence plus de permanences que de ruptures entre les deux périodes byzantine et normande, constituent, sans aucun doute, l'expression d'idées dont les traits majeurs se retrouvent dans des contextes différents et se développent au sein du christianisme paléochrétien et médiéval. On n'est saint que pour les autres et par les autres. On est saint pour transcender les limites ordinaires de la condition humaine en matière d'alimentation, d'inconfort et de souffrance. On est saint pour servir les humbles, l'emporter sur les forces du mal et rétablir un équilibre perdu⁶⁸. Toutes ces coordonnées correspondent, peu ou prou, aux différents paramètres de la mission des hommes de Dieu présentés ici, mais ne peuvent pas expliquer à elles seules l'essor extraordinaire de la sainteté qu'on a rencontré dans cette région particulière. Pourquoi la Calabre et pourquoi pas la Sicile, île dominée par les infidèles, île natale d'un grand nombre de tous ces saints et qui disposait des foyers de sainteté qu'étaient les monastères?

On pourrait d'abord proposer le problème de la tradition. Par contraste avec la Sicile, suffisamment munie de villes et de saints «poliades», la Calabre ne fut qu'une terre assez tardivement urbanisée et presque dépourvue des saints anciens⁶⁹. Enrica Follieri avait bien noté le nombre limité de saints du sanctoral byzantin ancien qui furent introduits en Calabre et le nombre encore moins important de saints calabrais dont le renom atteignit Byzance avant l'aube du X^e siècle⁷⁰. Les saints calabrais de la période ici étudiée ne disposaient pas

⁶⁵ *Vie de saint Cyprien de Calamizzi*, éd. Schirò (1950); sur la chronologie de la vie du saint voir Stiernon (1974). Pour son caractère exceptionnel de saint-médecin voir Kazhdan (1984) 49 et Caruso (2004b) 152.

⁶⁶ Sur les rapports entre le monachisme et la médecine voir Patzelt (1974).

⁶⁷ *Vie de saint Cyprien de Calamizzi*, v. 113-16, éd. Schirò (1950) 94: «μισθωτοῦ ἔπεμπεν αὐτοὺς προσκυνεῖν τῇ εἰκόνι τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς Νικολάου λέγων: τὴν εὐχαριστίαν θεῷ ἀναπέμψατε καὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ θεράποντι καὶ ἀρχιεράρχῃ Νικολάῳ· ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰμι...».

⁶⁸ Voir les remarques de Vauchez (1999) 19-25.

⁶⁹ Sur les villes d'Italie méridionale et leur développement voir von Falkenhausen (1989a) et Martin et Noyé (1991).

⁷⁰ Follieri (1974) 77-78.

d'une géographie préexistante du sacré; et c'est à partir de là qu'ils se reconstituèrent un passé, une généalogie qui leur faisait défaut. Pour l'épanouissement remarquable de la sainteté, le monachisme fut, certes, le bon grain et la Calabre fut la terre. Mais quelle terre et quels hommes? La terre abandonnée à son triste sort, la terre des hommes qui désiraient connaître le saint de son vivant. Encore une fois pendant le Moyen Âge byzantin, ce ne sont pas les hommes des villes qui ont promu le succès des saints, mais les hommes du village. D'une façon ou d'une autre, les moines, dans leur majorité originaires de Sicile, furent bien intégrés à la vie rurale des populations de l'Italie du Sud. Dans le cas de la Calabre et comme dans le cas de la Russie du Nord, aux XIV^e–XV^e siècles, le saint moine qui chasse les démons, défriche la nature et transforme les grottes en des habitats propres n'est qu'un civilisateur et un colonisateur d'un pays plus ou moins abandonné⁷¹.

Ceux qui reconnaissent la supériorité et le prestige de l'habit monastique, ce sont les représentants de la population rurale qui est la moins protégée, de toute part vulnérable, face aux raids des Sarrasins, aux superstitions et aux pratiques magiques, ainsi qu'à l'autoritarisme des puissants et des représentants du pouvoir politique⁷². Face à ces problèmes, la hiérarchie ecclésiastique, qui traite le saint moine avec méfiance et hostilité, ne peut presque rien. Tout au long des crises, les évêques sont vraiment absents, quand ils ne jouent pas un rôle négatif; les prêtres, quant à eux, ne s'adonnent qu'à la corruption et à la superstition. Quand l'exemple d'un saint évêque apparaît avec Luc d'Isola, c'est pour accomplir une mission plus globale que celle d'un moine: contribuer, d'une part, à la restauration du culte chrétien dans un pays, comme la Sicile, récemment libéré des musulmans, consolider, d'autre part, la tradition byzantine contre les nouveaux dominateurs. Est-ce vraiment par hasard qu'une bonne partie des bénéficiaires des miracles de saint Luc étaient des prêtres⁷³?

Toutefois, une sainteté fondée sur le refus du monde et qui met en valeur l'idéal anachorétique avait peu de chances d'acquiescer une

⁷¹ Sur cette activité des moines grecs, en Italie méridionale, voir Guillou (1963a) 88–97.

⁷² Sur les relations entre les saints et les représentants locaux du pouvoir voir Cilento (1996) 23–41 et Cilento (2000).

⁷³ Parmi les sept miracles posthumes de Luc d'Isola deux concernent des prêtres: *Vie de saint Luc d'Isola di Capo Rizzuto* (BHG 2237), c. 13, éd. Schirò (1954) 114–16 (prêtre Nicolas de Seminara) et c. 15, p. 118–20 (prêtre anonyme de Placa). Aussi, dans une autre occasion, le saint défend les prêtres persécutés par le Franc Révéto (c. 16, p. 120–22).

grande popularité dans une société qui était constamment confrontée à des problèmes. Ce fut le cas, pendant la crise iconoclaste et après, de l'Asie Mineure où la présence du saint moine n'a pas retenu l'attention d'une part importante de la société; semée d'obstacles comme elle le fut, la sainteté a dû se lier plus fermement aux puissants de ce monde⁷⁴. Quelquefois, en Calabre, la situation n'était pas non plus idéale. Par exemple, la *Vie* de saint Nil met à plusieurs reprises l'accent sur l'esprit anti-monastique qui dominait à Rossano. Le saint est né dans une région vide de monastères; le stratège du thème ne veut pas qu'il soit admis à la vie monastique et enfin quand, quelques décennies après, il vient vivre à proximité de sa ville natale, Nil a beau s'accommoder des préoccupations temporelles de la population rossanaise, si peu souple, si fortement réactionnaire et versée dans les plaisirs et les tensions. Dans un tel contexte, le saint calabrais a dû participer plus vivement à la vie sociale et maintenir un équilibre entre les exigences de son anachorétisme et les demandes du peuple. Dans la majorité des cas, sa sainteté ne se confirma que quand il se transforma en figure publique.

Aussi les exploits ascétiques des saints calabrais n'égalent-ils presque jamais les excès de leurs homologues d'Asie Mineure, soit saint Joannice, soit saint Pierre d'Atroa⁷⁵. Le saint fait des miracles sans se prétendre guérisseur des masses. De surcroît, les exemples de Luc de Demenna, de Nil de Rossano et de Cyprien de Calamizzi présentent un saint qui essaie de se cacher, imputant la guérison tantôt à l'application des remèdes, tantôt à un processus ordinaire d'exorcisme, tantôt à une icône. Autrement, aurait-il éveillé la méfiance envers son pouvoir surnaturel, ou fait naître le soupçon d'être un sorcier?

En revanche, issu d'un domaine où la présence de l'État byzantin n'assurait pas forcément la durée et la stabilité, le saint calabrais se distingua surtout par son rôle de prophète-visionnaire qui prédit l'avance et les incursions arabes, acquérant ainsi le profil d'un guide du peuple. Plusieurs indices laissent penser que ce rôle, qui s'approche du modèle biblique, n'était pas aussi unanimement accepté qu'on pourrait le croire; néanmoins, le saint a pu offrir une réponse tant aux attentes insatisfaites qu'aux problèmes apparemment insolubles que l'individu ou le groupe rencontraient dans le cadre d'une région marginale de l'empire byzantin. Quand l'Italie méridionale sortit de cet empire, la

⁷⁴ Voir à ce sujet de F. Abrahamse (1975) et Efthymiadis (1998).

⁷⁵ Cf. de F. Abrahamse (1975) 127-28.

vogue de nouveaux saints qui l'avait caractérisée depuis le IX^e siècle continuait à enrichir une tradition qui s'était alors cristallisée.

Stéphanos Efthymiadis
Open University of Cyprus

LISTE CHRONOLOGIQUE DES VIES DE SAINTS D'ITALIE MÉRIDIONALE
(IX^e–XII^e s.)

Saint	Auteur	Chronologie du saint	Chronologie de la Vie	BHG-BHL
Élie d'Enna ou Élie le Jeune	moine anonyme du monastère des Salines	823–903	940–950	BHG 580
Élie le Spéléote	Moine Kyriakos	860/70–960	vers 980	BHG 581
Léon-Luc de Corleone	Anonyme	ca. 815–910	X ^e s.	BHL 4842
Christophore de Collesano et son fils Macaire	Oreste patriarche de Jérusalem (986–1005)	X ^e s.	vers 1000	BHG 312
Sabas fils de Christophore	Oreste patriarche de Jérusalem (986–1005)	ca. 950–ca. 995	post 995	BHG 1611
Luc de Demenna	Anonyme	ca. 910/920–984	vers 1000	BHL 4978
Vital de Castronuovo en Sicile	Anonyme	930/940–994	XI ^e s. 1194 (trad. latine)	BHL 8697
Simon de Calabre		X ^e s.		BHG 2300 notice du Synaxaire CP
Luc de Taormine		X ^e s.		– notice du Synaxaire CP
Grégoire de Cassano	Anonyme	ca. 930–1002	ca. 1030	BHL 3671 <i>vita prior</i>
Nil de Rossano	Anonyme	910–1004	ante 1040	BHG 1370
Phantin le Jeune	Moine et disciple du saint	ca. 927–ca. 1000 ou 902–974	986–96	BHG Nov. Auct. 2366z
S. Nicodème de Kellarana	Moine Nil	ca. 950–ca. 1020	1060–65	BHG 2305
Barthélemy de Grottaferrata	Luc higoumène de Grottaferrata	+ ca. 1055	1060–75	BHG 233
Philarète le Jeune	Moine Nil	ca. 1020–ca. 1070	ca. 1080	BHG 1513 BHL -
Jean Théristsès (le Moissonneur)	Anonyme	XI ^e s. (ou X ^e s. ?)	post ca. 1130	BHG 894
Barthélémy de Siméri	Anonyme	1050/60–1130	fin du XII ^e s.	BHG 235
Luc évêque d'Isola Capo Rizzuto	Anonyme	1035/40–1114	1116–20	BHG 2237
Cyprien de Calamizzi	Anonyme	1125/40–1210/1215	ante 1242	BHG 2089

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Sources

- Vie de saint Barthélemy de Siméri* (BHG 235): éd. G. Zaccagni, "Il Βίος di san Bartolomeo da Simeri (BHG 235)." *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 33 (1997): 193–274.
- Vie de saint Christophore de Collesano et son fils Macaire* (BHG 312): éd. I. Cozza-Luzi, *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii Iuniorum et Sicilia auctore Oreste Patriarcha Hierosolymitano* (Rome 1893), 71–96.
- Vie de saint Cyprien de Calamizzi* (BHG 2089): éd. G. Schirò, "Vita inedita di S. Cipriano di Calamizzi dal cod. Sinaitico n. 522." *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 4 (1950): 65–97.
- Vie de saint Élie le Jeune* (BHG 580), éd. G. Rossi Taibbi, "Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane. Testo inedito con traduzione italiana." (BHG 580). *Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici. Testi*, 7, *Vite dei santi siciliani*, III: 2–122. Palermo 1962.
- Vie de saint Élie le Spéléote* (BHG 581): AASS Sep. III, 848–887; traduction latine: éd. M. V. Strazzeri, "Una traduzione dal greco ad uso dei Normanni: la vita latina di Sant'Elia lo Speleota." *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 59 (1992): 1–108.
- Vie de saint Phantin le Jeune* (BHG Nov. Auct. 23662): éd. E. Follieri, *La vita di san Fantino il Giovane*. *Subsidia Hagiographica* 77. Bruxelles 1993.
- Vie de saint Grégoire de Cassano* (BHL 3671): AASS Nov. II, 463–466.
- Vie de saint Jean Théristsès* (BHG 894): éd. S. Borsari, "Vita di San Giovanni Terista", *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 22 (1953), 135–51; éd. A. Peters, *Joannes Messor, seine Lebensbeschreibung und ihre Entstehung* (Bonn 1955).
- Vie de saint Léon-Luc de Corleone* (BHL 4842): éd. M. Stelladoro, *La vita di san Leone Luca di Corleone*. Grottaferrata 1995.
- Vie de saint Luc de Demenna* (BHL 4978), AASS Oct. IV, 337–341.
- Vie de saint Luc d'Isola di Capo Rizzuto* (BHG 2237), éd. G. Schirò, "Vita di S. Luca vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto." (BHG 2237). *Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neogreci. Testi*, 2, *Vite dei santi siciliani*, I: 80–124. Palermo 1954.
- Vie de saint Maur de Gallipoli*: éd. F. Halkin, "Saint Maur de Gallipoli (BHG 2267)." *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 25 (1988): 139–45.
- Vie de saint Nicodème de Kellarana* (BHG 2305): éd. M. Arco Magrì, *Vita di S. Nicodemo di Kellarana*, *Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici* 3 (Rome-Athènes 1969).
- Vie de saint Nil de Rossano* (BHG 1370): éd. G. Giovanelli, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νείλου τοῦ Νέου*. *Testo originale greco e studio introduttivo* (Codice greco criptense B.b. II.). (BHG 1370). Grottaferrata 1972.
- Vie de saint Philarète le Jeune* (BHG 1513): éd. U. Martino, *Nilo. Vita di S. Filareto di Seminara* (Reggio Calabria 1993); Tr. latine.: AASS Aprilis I, 606–18.
- Vie de saint Sabas fils de Christophore* (BHG 1611): éd. I. Cozza-Luzi, *Historia et laudes SS. Sabae et Macarii Iuniorum et Sicilia auctore Oreste Patriarcha Hierosolymitano* (Rome 1893), 5–70.
- Vie de saint Vital de Castronuovo* (BHL 8697): AASS Martii II, 26–34.

Études

- de F. Abrahamse, D. 1975. "The transformation of the saint in early medieval Byzantium." *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines* 2/II: 122–31.
- Acconcia Longo, A. 1991. "Santi Greci della Calabria Meridionale." In *Calabria bizantina. Testimonianze d'arte e strutture di territori*. Ed. P. Arthur et al., 211–30. Soveria Mannelli.

- . 1994/2003. "S. Leo, S. Luca di Bova e altri santi italogreci." *Calabria bizantina. Il territorio greco da Leucopetra a Capo Bruzzano*. 75–84. Messina. Repris dans *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca*. A. Acconcia Longo, 165–77. Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici XIII. Rome.
- . 1995–1996/2003. "Santi monaci italogreci alle origini del monastero di S. Elia di Carbone", *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 49/50: 131–49. Repris dans *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca*. A. Acconcia Longo, 145–64. Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici XIII. Rome.
- . 1999/2003. "La vita di Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa: un esempio di agiografia storica." *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 36: 5–17. Repris dans *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca*. A. Acconcia Longo, 9–22. Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici XIII. Rome.
- . 2001. "La data della vita di S. Pancrazio di Taormina (BHG 1410)." *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 55: 37–42.
- . 2006/2003. "I vescovi nell'agiografia italogreca. Il contributo dell'agiografia alla storia delle diocesi italogreche." In *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches*. Ed. A. Jacob, J.-M. Martin and G. Noyé, 127–53. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 363. Rome. Repris dans *Ricerche di agiografia italogreca*. A. Acconcia Longo, 179–208. Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici XIII. Rome.
- Breccia, G. 1998. "Alle origini del Patir. Ancora sul viaggio di Bartolomeo di Simeri." *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 35: 37–43.
- Burgarella, F. 2002. "L'eparchia di Mercurio: territorio e insediamenti." *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 39: 59–92.
- . 2003. "Aspetti storici del Bios di san Bartolomeo da Simeri." In *EYKOEMIA. Studi miscellanei per il 750 di Vincenzo Poggi, S.J.* Ed. V. Ruggieri and L. Pieralli, 119–35. Soveria Mannelli.
- Caruso, S. 1986. "Michele IV Paflagone in una fonte agiografica italo-greca." In *Studi Albanologici, Balcanici, Bizantini e Orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentini, S.J.* 261–84. Florence.
- . 1997. "Il Bios di S. Filareto il Giovane (XI^e s.) e la Calabria tardo-bizantina." In *Sant'Eufemia d'Aspromonte*. Ed. S. Leanza, 91–119. Soveria Mannelli.
- . 1999. "Sicilia e Calabria nell'agiografia storica italo-greca." In *Calabria Cristiana. Società Religione Cultura nel territorio della Diocesi di Oppido Mamertina-Palmi, Vol. I*. Ed. S. Leanza, 563–604. Soveria Mannelli.
- . 2000. "Sulla cronologia della vita di S. Elia Speleota da Reggio." *Byzantion* 70: 25–56.
- . 2004a. "La χώρα Σαλινῶν nell'agiografia storica italogreca." In *Ad contemplandam sapientiam. Miscellanea di Studi in memoria di Sandro Leanza*. 55–96. Soveria Mannelli.
- . 2004b. "Tra scienza e ideologia. Medicina e taumaturgia nell'agiografia storica italo-greca." In *Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale dell'associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini (Catania-Messina, 2–5 ottobre 2000)*. Ed. T. Creazzo and G. Strano, 143–61. Catania. (= *Siculorum Gymnasium* 57).
- Chalandon, F. 1907. *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*. Paris.
- Charanis, P. 1946/1972. "On the question of the hellenization of Sicily and southern Italy during the middle ages." *The American Historical Review* 52: 74–86. Repris dans *Studies on the demography of the Byzantine Empire*. P. Charanis, XIV. Variorum Reprints CS 8. London.
- Cheyne, J.-C. 1990. *Pouvoir et contestation à Byzance (963–1210)*. Byzantina Sorbonensia 9. Paris.
- Cilento, A. 1996. "Santità e potere nell'agiografia italo-greca dei secoli X–XII." *Quaderni medievali* 42: 6–41.
- . 2000. *Potere e monachesimo. Ceti dirigenti e mondo monastico nella Calabria Bizantina (secoli IX–XI)*. Florence.

- Colafemmina, C. 1993. "I mestieri degli ebrei nella Calabria medievale." *Mestieri, lavoro e professioni nella Calabria medievale: tecniche, organizzazioni, linguaggi, Atti dell'VIII congresso storico calabrese*. 327–39. Soveria Mannelli.
- Da Costa-Louillet, G. 1959–60. "Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale aux VIII^e, IX^e et X^e siècles." *Byzantion* 29–30: 89–173.
- Dujčev, I. 1968. "La Bulgaria medievale fra Bisanzio e Roma." *Felix Ravenna*, 3^e série, 46: 67–97.
- Efthymiadis, S. 1996. "The Byzantine hagiographer and his audience in the ninth and tenth centuries." In *Metaphrasis: Redactions and Audiences in Middle Byzantine Hagiography*. Ed. C. Høgel, 59–80. Oslo.
- . 1998. "The function of the holy man in Asia Minor in the middle Byzantine period." In *Byzantine Asia Minor (6th–12th cent.)*. Ed. S. Lampakes, 151–61. Athens.
- . 2006a. "Chrétien et Sarrasins en Italie méridionale et en Asie Mineure (IX^e–XI^e siècle): essai d'étude comparée." In *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches*. Ed. A. Jacob, J.-M. Martin and G. Noyé, 589–618. Collection de l'École Française de Rome 363. Rome.
- . 2006b. "Le miracle et les saints durant et après le second iconoclasme." In *Monastères, images, pouvoirs et société à Byzance*. Ed. M. Kaplan, 153–82. Byzantina Sorbonensia 23. Paris.
- . 2008. "D'Orient en Occident mais étranger aux deux mondes: Messages et renseignements tirés de la Vie de saint Nicolas le Pèlerin (BHL 6223)." In *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*. Ed. E. Cuzzo, V. Déroche, A. Peters-Custot and V. Prigent, 393–409. Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 30. Paris.
- von Falkenhausen, V. 1977. "I monasteri greci dell'Italia meridionale e della Sicilia dopo l'avvento dei Normanni: continuità e mutamenti." In *Il passaggio dal dominio bizantino allo Stato normanno nell'Italia meridionale*. Atti del secondo convegno internazionale di studio sulla civiltà rupestre medievale nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia (Taranto-Mottola, 31 Oct.–4 Nov. 1973). Ed. C. D. Fonseca, 197–229. Taranto.
- . 1978. *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale (dal IX all'XI secolo)*. Bari.
- . 1989a. "Die Städte in byzantinischen Italien." *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen-Âge* 101/II: 401–64.
- . 1989b. "La vita di S. Nilo come fonte storica per la Calabria bizantina." *Atti del congresso internazionale su S. Nilo di Rossano, 28 settembre–1^o ottobre 1986*. 271–305. Rossano-Grottaferrata.
- . 1991. "Reggio bizantina e normanna." *Calabria bizantina. Testimonianze d'arte e strutture di territori*. Ed. P. Arthur et. a., 249–82. Soveria Mannelli.
- Follieri, E. 1974. "I santi della Calabria bizantina." *Calabria bizantina. Vita religiosa e strutture amministrative*. 71–92. Reggio Calabria.
- . 1997a. "I santi dell'Italia greca." *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 34: 3–36 (répris avec de compléments in *Histoire et culture dans l'Italie byzantine: acquis et nouvelles recherches*, ed. A. Jacob, J.-M. Martin and G. Noyé (Rome: 2006), Collection de l'École Française de Rome 363, 95–126).
- . 1997b. "Per una nuova edizione della Vita di san Nilo da Rossano." *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 51: 71–92.
- . 2000. "L'ingresso nella vita monastica di Nilo da Rossano." In *Πολύπλευρος Νῶς. Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*. Ed. C. Scholz and G. Makris, 10–16. Byzantinisches Archiv 19. Leipzig.
- Garzya, A. 1973. "Lingua e cultura nell'agiografia italo-greca." In *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale*, (Bari, 30 aprile–4 maggio 1969), vol. III. 1179–86. Padua.

- Gay, J. 1904. *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile 1^{er} jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)*. Paris.
- Guillou, A. 1963a/1978. "Grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile au Moyen Âge: les moines." *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 75: 79–110. Repris dans *Culture et société en Italie byzantine, VI^e–XI^e s.* A. Guillou, XIII. Variorum Reprints CS 76. London.
- . 1963b. "Inchiesta sulla popolazione greca nella Sicilia e della Calabria nel Medio Evo." *Rivista Storica Italiana* 75: 53–68.
- . 1973/1978. "Migration et présence slaves en Italie du VI^e au XI^e siècle." *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 14/15: 11–16. Repris dans *Culture et société en Italie byzantine, VI^e–XI^e s.* A. Guillou, IV. Variorum Reprints CS 76. London.
- . 1974/1978. "Italie méridionale byzantine ou byzantins en Italie méridionale." *Byzantion* 44: 152–90. Repris dans *Culture et société en Italie byzantine, VI^e–XI^e s.* A. Guillou, XV. Variorum Reprints CS 76. London.
- Hester, D. P. 1992. *Monasticism and spirituality of the Italo-Greeks*. Analekta Vlatadon 5. Thessalonike.
- Jacob, A., and Martin, J.-M. 1993. *Histoire du Christianisme. Vol. IV: 610–1054*. Ed. J. M. Mayeur, Ch. and L. Pietri, A. Vauchez and M. Venard, 349–71. Paris.
- Joannou, P. 1960. "La personalità storica di Luca di Bova attraverso i suoi scritti inediti." *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 29: 175–237.
- Kazhdan, A. 1984. "The image of the medical doctor in Byzantine literature of the tenth to twelfth centuries." *DOP* 38: 43–51.
- Kislinger, E. 2001. *Regionalgeschichte als Quellenproblem. Die Chronik von Monembasia und das sizilianische Demenna. Ein historisch-topographische Studie*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften 294—Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini 8. Vienna.
- Lavagnini, B. 1964. "S. Luca vescovo di Isola e la data del suo viaggio in Sicilia (1105)." *Byzantion* 34: 69–76.
- Lucà, S. 1993. "I Normanni e la 'rinascità' del sec. XII." *Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 60: 1–91.
- Luongo, G. 1999. "Itinerari dei santi italo-greci." In *Pellegrinaggi e itinerari dei santi nel Mezzogiorno medievale*. Ed. G. Vitolo, 39–56. Europa mediterranea. Quaderni 14. Naples.
- Luzzati Laganà, F. 1996. "Catechesi e spiritualità nella vita di s. Nilo di Rossano: donne, ebrei e santa follia." *Quaderni storici* 31/93: 709–37.
- . 2004. "La figura di Donnolo nello specchio della Vita di s. Nilo di Rossano." In *Šabbetai Donnolo. Scienza e cultura ebraica nell'Italia del secolo X*. Ed. G. Lacerenza, 69–103. Naples.
- Malamut, E. 1993. *Sur la route des saints byzantins*. Paris.
- Martin, J.-M. 1985–86. "Une origine calabraise pour la Grecia salentine?" *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 22–23: 51–63.
- . 1990. "Les modèles paléochrétiens dans l'hagiographie apulienne." *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1990: 67–86.
- . 1999. "Société et communautés chrétiennes en Calabre méridionale (XI^e–XIII^e siècles)." In *Calabria Cristiana. Società Religione Cultura nel territorio della Diocesi di Oppido Mamertina-Palmi, Vol. 1*. Ed. S. Leanza, 225–50. Soveria Manelli.
- . 2003. "L'érémisme grec et latin en Italie méridionale (X^e–XIII^e siècle)." In *Ermite de France et d'Italie (XI^e–XV^e siècle)*. Ed. A. Vauchez, 175–98. Collection de l'École française de Rome 313. Rome.
- Martin, J.-M., and G. Noyé, 1991. "Les villes de l'Italie byzantine (IX^e–XI^e s.)." In *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin*, II. Ed. A. Kravari, J. Lefort and C. Morisson, 27–62. Réalités byzantines 3. Paris.
- de Martino, E. 1963. *Italie du Sud et magie*. Fr. trans. Paris.

- Ménager, L.R. 1958/1981. "La byzantinisation religieuse de l'Italie méridionale (IX^e–XII^e siècles) et la politique monastique des Normands d'Italie." *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 53: 747–74 and *ibid.* 54 (1959): 5–40. Repris dans *Hommes et institutions de l'Italie normande*. L.R. Ménager, I. Variorum Reprints CS 136. London.
- . 1960. *Amiratus-Ἀμνηρᾶς: L'émirat et les origines de l'amirauté (XI^e–XIII^e siècles)*. Paris.
- Minasi, G. 1892. *Lo Speleota ovvero S. Elia di Reggio di Calabria, monaco basiliano nel IX e X secolo*. Naples.
- Minuto, D. 1998. "S. Angelo di Militino e non S. Angelo di Mileto nel Bios di san Bartolomeo da Simeri." *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici* 35: 45–46.
- Morini, E. 1977. "Eremo e cenobio nel monachesimo greco dell'Italia meridionale nei secoli IX e X." *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 31: 354–90.
- . 1999. "Aspetti organizzativi e linee di spiritualità nel monachesimo greco in Calabria." In *Calabria Cristiana. Società Religione Cultura nel territorio della Diocesi di Oppido Mamertina-Palmi*, Vol. 1. Ed. S. Leanza, 251–316. Soveria Manelli.
- Morris, R. 1995. *Monks and laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118*. Cambridge.
- Patzelt, R. 1974. "Moines-médécins." In *Études de civilisation médiévale (IX^e–XII^e siècles)*, *Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René*. 577–88. Poitiers.
- Pertusi, A. 1972. "Rapporti tra il monachesimo italo-greco ed il monachesimo bizantino nell'alto medioevo." In *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale* (Bari, 30 aprile–4 maggio 1969), vol. II. 473–520. Padua.
- . 1983. "Sopravvivenze pagane e pietà religiosa nella società bizantina dell'Italia meridionale." In *Calabria Bizantina. Tradizione di pietà e tradizione scrittoria nella Calabria greca medievale*. 17–46. Reggio Calabria.
- Pricoco, S. 1989. "Un esempio di agiografia regionale: la Sicilia." In *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, XXXVI, *Santi e Demoni nell'alto medioevo occidentale (Secoli V–XI)*. 319–76. Spoleto.
- . 1992. "Monaci e santi di Sicilia." In *Monaci, filosofi e santi. Saggi di storia della cultura tardoantica*. Ed. *idem*, 239–95. Soveria Mannelli.
- Re, M. 1997. "Sul viaggio di Bartolomeo da Simeri a Costantinopoli." *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici* 34: 71–76.
- . 2008. "I miracoli nella Vita di s. Luca da Demenna." In *Monachesimo basiliano nei Nebrodi*, Atti del Convegno 29 giugno 2006-Piazza dello Zodiaco-Torrenova. Ed. R. Fachile, 53–62. Sant'Agata Militello.
- Sansterre, J.-M. 1985–1986. "Les coryphées des Apôtres, Rome et la papauté dans les Vies des saints Nil et Barthélemy de Grottaferrata." *Byzantion* 55: 516–43.
- Sharf, A. 1975. "Shabbetai Donnolo as a Byzantine Jewish figure." *Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies* 3: 1–18.
- Stelladoro, M. 2006. "Note agiografiche su due ecisti del monachesimo italo-greco: Elia." *Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* III 3: 229–42.
- Stiernon, D. 1974. "Saint Cyprien de Calamizzi (+ vers 1210–1215)." *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 32: 247–52.
- Vauchez, A. 1999. *Saints, prophètes et visionnaires. Le pouvoir surnaturel au Moyen Âge*. Paris.
- Vitolo, G. 1996. "Les monastères grecs de l'Italie méridionale." In *Moines et monastères dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin*. Ed. J.-L. Lemaître, M. Dmitriev and P. Gonneau, 99–113. Geneva.
- Vlysidou, V., et al. 2008. *Βυζαντινά στρατεύματα στη Δύση (5^{ος}–12^{ος} αι.)*. Institute for Byzantine Research-Research Series 5. Athens.

ZUR MEMORIALKULTUR IM BYZANTINISCHEN MITTELALTER¹

Michael Grünbart

I

Trotz der mittlerweile Jahrzehnte andauernden Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Erinnerungs- und Memorialkultur in der nach dem lateinischen Westen orientierten Mediävistik² hat sich in der byzantinistischen Forschung bisher kaum jemand dieses Themas, dessen zentraler Begriff „Gedächtnis“ ist, angenommen und einer systematischen Behandlung unterzogen.

Die Entwicklung der Erforschung der Memoria in den modernen Kulturwissenschaften fußt hauptsächlich auf zwei Deutungsansätzen, die aus dem 19. Jahrhundert stammen. Auf der einen Seite steht Friedrich Nietzsche, der formulierte, dass das Leben durch zuviel Historie zerstört werden würde, während Jacob Burckhardt andererseits die Krisenhaftigkeit der (seiner) Gegenwart durch die Beschleunigung der Zeit sah. Im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert waren Aby Warburg und Maurice Halbwachs—unabhängig voneinander—Wegbereiter dieser Forschungsrichtung³.

Die Rückbesinnung auf die Vergangenheit beeinflusst stets die gegenwärtige Lebenssituation, sei es, dass die Vergangenheit die Basis für das Selbstverständnis der Gegenwart ist, sei es, dass sie anti-modernistisch neuen Tendenzen entgegensteuert. Seit den 1950er Jahren ist die Erforschung von Memoria, Memorialkultur und

¹ Diese Überlegungen fußen auf den Vorbereitungen zu einem Blockseminar an der Universität Zürich im Frühjahrssemester 2008 sowie auf der sich im Entstehen begriffenen Monographie „Inszenierung und Repräsentation der byzantinischen Aristokratie vom 10. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert“.

² Grundlegend Schmid und Wollasch (1984); Oexle (1995); Oexle (1999); Oexle (2001).—Parallel dazu erschien das bahnbrechende Werk des Ägyptologen Assmann (2007), das in vielen Aspekten auch mit der byzantinischen Kultur kompatibel ist.—Überblick im Lexikonartikel von Oexle (1993).

³ Oexle (1999) 298f.; s. auch Assmann (1988a), Assmann (2007) 34ff.—Aby Warburg regte ein Mnemosyne-Projekt an, Maurice Halbwachs entwickelte eine Theorie des kollektiven Gedächtnisses.

Memorialüberlieferung fixer Bestandteil des Wissenschaftsdiskurses im deutschen Sprachraum⁴, und spätestens in den 1980er Jahren ist dabei geradezu ein Boom in den Mittelalterstudien festzustellen. Diese Zunahme an der Beschäftigung mit Erinnerung und Gedächtnis kann auch damit zu tun haben, dass die Naturwissenschaften die Geisteswissenschaften beeinflussten, denn man stellte sich dort die Frage nach Gedächtnis, Gedächtnisleistung, Wissensspeicherung, Erinnerung und künstlicher Intelligenz⁵. Oder ist dies Ausdruck einer Gegenströmung im Kontext der immer schneller werdenden (oder so empfundenen) Zeit im Burckhardtschen Sinn?

Bei der Beschäftigung mit „Gedächtnis“ sind zwei Dimensionen zu berücksichtigen: Zum einen hat Gedächtnis etwas mit Erinnern im mnemotechnischen Sinn zu tun, literarische und rhetorische Zeugnisse behandeln die Techniken, sich Dinge einzuprägen, auswendig zu lernen und zu reproduzieren⁶. Zu diesem Bereich gehört auch die Mimesis, das bewusste Anlehnen und Zitieren eines Vorbildes in schriftlichen und materiellen (z.B. architektonischen) Hinterlassenschaften. Diese Allusionen (besonders in schriftlichen Quellen) wurden oft frei—aus dem Gedächtnis—gemacht, weswegen die Identifizierung von Vorbildern und Zitaten nicht immer einfach ist⁷. Ein wesentlicher, wenn nicht sogar der eigentliche Aspekt dieses Imitierens ist, dass man einem Vorgänger gegenüber seine Referenz erweisen wollte, wodurch dieser zu einem Vorbild wurde.

Die zweite Dimension umfasst die soziale Komponente dieses Phänomens: Erinnerung schafft Gemeinschaft durch gemeinsames Gedenken⁸. Das Gedenken beschränkt sich nicht nur auf die Lebenden, sondern auch auf die Toten, die in den mittelalterlichen Kulturen als gegenwärtig empfunden wurden⁹. Dabei spielte der rechtliche und soziale Status der Toten, der ihnen von den Lebenden gewährt wurde,

⁴ Oexle (1976), Oexle (1999) 299–300; ausgehend von einer Forschergruppe in Freiburg wurden dann vor allem an der Universität Münster dieses Thema in großer Bandbreite behandelt.

⁵ Assmann (2007) 11.

⁶ Eines der einprägsamsten Beispiele dazu gibt Michael Italikos, der Theodoros Prodromos davon in Kenntnis setzt, dass seine Werke von Zeitgenossen sogar auswendig gewusst wurden; ein Priester, den er getroffen habe, habe alle seine Prosawerke und seine Verse reproduzieren können (s. Browning [1962] 282).—Zur Mnemotechnik im Frühmittelalter siehe Berns, Czapla und Arend (2003).

⁷ Klassisch Hunger (1969–70).

⁸ Ohly (1984); Oexle (1999) 299.

⁹ Niederkorn-Bruck (2008) 163 („Memoria verbindet die Ewigkeit mit der Zeit und bringt die Vergangenheit in die Gegenwart“).

eine bedeutende Rolle¹⁰. Erinnerung und Gedächtnis kann aber auch sichtbar gemacht werden, etwa durch Stiftungen, die oft in Verbindung mit einem Grabmal stehen, oder die Schaffung von Gedächtnisorten.

Der mit diesem Vorgang verbundene Begriff ist der des kulturellen Gedächtnisses. Dieses ist zu verstehen als „Sammelbegriff für alles Wissen, das im spezifischen Interaktionsrahmen einer Gesellschaft Handeln und Erleben steuert und von Generation zu Generation zur wiederholten Einübung und Einweisung ansteht“¹¹, es bezieht sich nur „auf eine der Außendimensionen des menschlichen Gedächtnisses“¹². Nach Assmann umfassen diese Außendimensionen vier Bereiche¹³:

1. das mimetische Gedächtnis,
2. das Gedächtnis der Dinge,
3. das kommunikative Gedächtnis,
4. das kulturelle Gedächtnis.

Alle diese Überlegungen und neuen Fragestellungen sind—wie erwähnt—nahezu spurlos an der Byzantinistik vorüber gezogen¹⁴. Eine Gesamtdarstellung des Themas kann in diesem Rahmen (natürlich) nicht geleistet werden, es kann lediglich versucht werden, einen knappen Überblick über die verstreut publizierten Teilergebnisse bzw. mögliche weitere Forschungslinien zu geben. Es wird dabei nur auf den Bereich des kulturellen Gedächtnisses, zu dem auch die Memorialkultur zu zählen ist, Bezug genommen. Gedächtnis und Erinnerung spielte im byzantinischen Reich sowohl im Öffentlichen als auch im Privaten eine Rolle, wobei das Private der Natur der Äußerungen entsprechend einer Öffentlichkeit (insbesondere zur Repräsentation und Inszenierung) bedurfte und nur deswegen auch für uns sichtbar geblieben ist¹⁵. Auch die byzantinische Gemeinschaft lebte von der Erinnerung, akzeptierte und pflegte diese.

¹⁰ Oexle (1983); Oexle (1985).

¹¹ Assmann (1988a) 9.

¹² Assmann (2007) 19; s. auch Oexle (2003).

¹³ Assmann (2007) 20–21.

¹⁴ So ist es auch nicht verwunderlich, dass es im *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* keinen Eintrag unter „memoria“ oder „commemoration“ gibt (lediglich memory, ODB 2:1337–38 [A. Kazhdan], allerdings im mnemotechnischen Sinn).—Zur islamischen Welt s. Pahlitzsch (2005).

¹⁵ Von Moos (2004).—Die Begriffe „privat“ und „öffentlich“ müssen für den byzantinischen Osten noch untersucht werden.

Meine Anmerkungen zum kulturellen Gedächtnis gliedern sich in drei Bereiche. Zunächst soll kurz auf die Notwendigkeit der Erinnerung in der Entstehung des byzantinischen politischen Selbstverständnisses eingegangen werden, dann die Formen der Memoria beim Kaisertum beleuchtet werden. Sichtbar wird und ist das Bemühen um Erinnerung und Memorialkultur auch in der aristokratischen Schicht. Ein wichtiger Aspekt ist auch in Byzanz das liturgische Gedenken, das durch zufällig überlieferte und erhalten gebliebene Dokumente deutlich wird.

II

Die Einweihung der Stadt Konstantinopel am 11. Mai 330 markiert den Beginn einer verstärkten Bautätigkeit und auch ideologischen Untermauerung der von Kaiser Konstantin I. zur neuen Metropole erkorenen Stadt am Goldenen Horn. Die Stadtplaner mussten, da man auf eine wenig spektakuläre Geschichte zurückblickte, versuchen, an die glorreiche römische Vergangenheit anzuknüpfen, ihre Legitimität zu erfinden und im öffentlichen Raum auch sichtbar zu machen¹⁶. Die Baumaßnahmen Konstantins des Großen und vor allem seiner Nachfolger zielten zum einen auf die Repräsentation der Dynastie, zum anderen auf die ideologische Anbindung an die römische Geschichte¹⁷. Bei der Errichtung der kaiserlichen Grablege in Konstantinopel wurde der erste Gedanke bewusst umgesetzt, und es kam zu einer Novität: Der Kaiser wurde nicht nur innerhalb der Stadtmauern bestattet (seit Kaiser Galerius war dieses Verbot aufgehoben), sondern der Sarkophag wurde im Narthex der Apostelkirche, wo sich auch die Denkmäler zu Ehren der Apostel befanden, aufgestellt. Damit fungierte der Kaiser auch als Schutzherr über die Stadt¹⁸.

Aus diesem, dem einer Identitätsfindung dienenden und befestigenden Grund wurden viele mit Geschichte behaftete Gegenstände, Denkmäler, nach Konstantinopel geschafft, um die sich mit der Zeit auch Legenden rankten¹⁹; dieses Bestreben äußerte sich nicht nur im Materiellen, auch alte Senatorenfamilien wurden nach Konstantinopel

¹⁶ Lilie (2003) 43–44.

¹⁷ Vgl. dazu Diefenbach (2007).

¹⁸ Kötting (1984) 70; vgl. auch Scholkmann (2003).

¹⁹ Zusammenstellung bei Berger (1988), Bauer (1996), Diefenbach (2002), Bassett (2004).

verpflanzt, die zwar dem Gedanken der Romnachfolge gedeihlich sein konnten, aber auch gegen neue Kaiser ohne entsprechenden genealogischen Hintergrund bzw. ohne hauptstädtisches Netzwerk Widerstand leisten konnte. Den Höhepunkt der Auseinandersetzung von alten Familien mit *newcomers* bildet der architektonische Wettstreit zwischen Juliana Anicia und Kaiser Justinian. Die von Juliana Anicia gestiftete Kirche des Hl. Polyeuktos war auch als Denkmal konzipiert, die kaiserliche Reaktion ließ nicht lange auf sich warten²⁰. Die Errichtung der Hagia Sophia war zunächst Ausdruck kaiserlicher Allmacht, entwickelte sich aber rasch zum Ort des kollektiven Gedächtnisses und ideologischen Kristallisationspunkt des byzantinischen Kaisertums und der Orthodoxie²¹.

Laut Jan Assmann, der die ägyptische Kultur unter dem Aspekt der Gedächtniskultur untersuchte, waren die Denkmäler nicht nur Ausdruck einer individuellen Selbstverewigung und Überwindung der Vergänglichkeit, sondern stellten auch ein Medium des kulturellen Gedächtnisses dar. Die Pyramiden sind als Grabdenkmäler Ausdruck einer Denkmäler-Ethik, die den einzelnen „den Weg zur Unsterblichkeit kraft Einbindung in die Erinnerungsgemeinschaft der Gruppe weist“²².

Im urbanen Raum wurde die Verbindung zum römischen Reich nicht nur durch entsprechende Denkmäler gefestigt, durch das Herrscherzeremoniell wurden auch bestimmte Punkte in der städtischen Topographie zu Erinnerungsorten, die etwa durch Prozessionen und Aufmärsche regelmäßig aufgesucht und an denen entsprechende Handlungen durchgeführt wurden²³. Das byzantinische Kaiserzeremoniell ist durch das von Konstantin VII. in Auftrag gegebene Zeremonienbuch gut rekonstruierbar, mit dieser Schrift werden die rituellen Handlungen des Kaisers im Jahreslauf festgehalten. Diese Kompilation (im besten Wortsinn) hält das Zeremoniell fest und sichert es. Etwas Ähnliches hat es für den Patriarchen gegeben, allerdings ist bislang nur wenig davon bekannt gemacht worden²⁴.

²⁰ Harrison (1989).

²¹ Zur Entstehung und Kreation von heiligen Orten s. jetzt den Sammelband Lidov (2006).

²² Assmann (1988) 96; ähnlich Assmann (2007) 146f.

²³ Oesterle (2008)! Zu ergänzen ist McCormick (1986) 216–20 (Zusammenstellung der Prozessionsrouten des Kaisers); allgemein Bauer (2006).

²⁴ Flusin (2004).

Wie wichtig die Tradition des Kaiserzeremoniells war, zeigt sich etwa bei der Begegnung von Andronikos II. und Andronikos III. in den 1320er Jahren:

Damit wollte er deutlich machen, dass es rechtens sei, wenn der Mitkaiser nicht zu Fuß, sondern zu Pferde die Begrüßung vornehme. *Denn es bestand seit alters die Sitte bei den Kaisern der Rhomäer*, dass, wenn sie einander trafen, das beiderseitige Gefolge von den Pferden absteige und zu Fuß folge, sie selbst aber beritten einander begegneten, und zwar so, dass der jüngere Kaiser geneigten Hauptes des älteren Kaisers Hand umfasse und küsse, nachdem er den Hut abgenommen hat, während der Kaiser ihm, wenn er sich wieder aufrichtet, zur Erwidrung das Gesicht küsst²⁵.

Dass der Kaiser im byzantinischen Reich nicht nur auf Münzen bildlich präsent war, lassen sich durch einige spärliche Zeugnisse rekonstruieren²⁶.

Natürlich prägten sich auch historische Ereignisse in das kollektive Gedächtnis ein, der Sieg Ioannes' II. Komnenos über die Petschenegen (1122) führte zu einem jährlich stattfindenden Fest, wie Niketas Choniates überliefert²⁷.

Um Erinnerung zu sichern und abrufen zu können gab es in allen schriftlichen Kulturen Gedächtnisspeicher (Archive und Bibliotheken)²⁸. Nicht nur im Privaten existierten Archive (für Briefe), auch offizielle Stellen hatten Interesse daran, Briefe und vor allem Urkunden verfügbar zu halten. Zwei Belege sollen das illustrieren: Michael Synkellos hatte dem Kaiser aus Jerusalem einen Brief geschrieben. Nach seiner Rückkehr von dort kam Michael zum Kaiser, der den Brief (wahr-

²⁵ Schopen (1828) 167.13–168.13: ἐβούλετο δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ τοιοῦτο, μὴ πεζῇ τὸν βασιλέα προσαγορεύσαν ποιεῖσθαι. ἔθος γὰρ ἐπεκράτησεν ἀρχαῖον παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῦσιν, ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀλλήλοις συντυγχάνειν, τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένους ἐκατέροις τῶν ἵππων καταβάντας ἕπεσθαι πεζῇ, αὐτοὺς δὲ συμμίζαντας ἐφίππους, τὸν μὲν νεώτερον κύψαντα τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου βασιλέως περιπτύσσεσθαι τὴν χεῖρα, τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς πρότερον περιελόμενον πῖλον· ἀνακύψαντα δὲ ἐκείθεν, εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα ἀντιφιλεῖν. Übersetzung bei Fatouros und Krischer (1982) 119f.

²⁶ Eines der wenigen Kaiserbildnisse in Stein publizierten Peirce und Tyler (1941) weitere (schriftliche Quellenbelege) bei Magdalino und Nelson (1984).

²⁷ Choniates 16:11–14, hrsg. van Dieten (1972): Τοιαύτην νίκην περιφανῇ κατὰ Σκυθῶν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἀράμενος καὶ μέγιστον στήσας τρόπαιον τὰς εὐχὰς θεῷ ἀποδίδωσι, τὴν τῶν Πετζινάκων λεγομένην ἐς ἡμᾶς τελετὴν εἰς ἀναμνηστήρια τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀποτάξας καὶ χαριστήρια.

²⁸ Wilson (1980). Eine aktuelle Geschichte zu den Gedächtnisspeichern in Byzanz existiert nicht.

scheinlich aus dem kaiserlichen Archiv) holen und vorlesen ließ²⁹. Wie wichtig das Kopieren von originalen Dokumenten (auch in Byzanz) war, zeigt ein Dokument aus der Amtszeit des Patriarchen Nikolaos Mystikos, in dem gegen Missbrauch im patriarchischen Archiv eingeschritten werden soll. Ein Erlass stellt klar, dass „die patriarchischen Briefe ohne Bezahlung den Interessenten zur Verfügung gestellt werden, wie sie im Chartophylakeion geschrieben sind“³⁰. Und weiter im Dokument: „Und der, dem die Bewahrung überantwortet ist, den die römische Sprache *ostiarios* nennt, verlangte von denen, die um die patriarchischen Briefe baten, Geld für die Abschrift (*paralepsis*), was nicht erlaubt ist“³¹.

Im Westen findet man bei den Urkundenlayouts Beispiele für die bewusste Nachahmung der alten Vorbilder, was Ausdruck des historischen Bildbewusstseins war³².

Eine wichtige Rolle für die Bewahrung und Pflege des Gedächtnisses waren Stiftungen. Dabei tritt *memoria* vielschichtig auf: Stifterinnen und Stifter konnten sich wohlätig zeigen, und ihr Image in der Gesellschaft wurde dadurch positiv beeinflusst. Der Kaiser als Wohltäter ist zwar auch rhetorischer Topos, aber seine stiftende Tätigkeit lässt sich auch real fassen³³.

Zwar geht es auch um das Seelenheil, der Gedanke des Denkmals bzw. der Wunsch nicht der Vergessenheit anheim zu fallen ist evident. Stiftungen stellen nicht nur ein Denkmal dar, sie ermöglichen auch die Bewahrung des Namens der Stifterin oder des Stifters, da Stiftungen oft als Grablegen konzipiert waren, und eine entsprechende Organisation eines (am besten damit verbundenen) Klosters vorgesehen war³⁴.

Ein für die Entwicklung der privaten Stiftungen wichtiger Schritt ist die Errichtung des Palastes des Romanos Lakapenos und der dazugehörigen Kirche, welche heute noch steht. Ein Detail zum Myrelaion ist

²⁹ Cunningham (1991) 64.1ff.

³⁰ Westerink (1981) Nr. 201: Νικολάου πατριάρχου τοῦ παλαιοῦ, περὶ τοῦ τὰς πατριαρχικὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀμισθὶ δίδοσθαι τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ χαρτοφυλακείῳ.

³¹ Westerink (1981) Nr. 201. 11–19: Καὶ γὰρ ὁ τῶν τῇδε τὴν φυλακὴν ἐμπεπιστευμένος, ὃν ὀστιάριον ἡ Ῥωμαίων γλῶσσα καλεῖ, τοὺς πατριαρχικὰς αἰτουμένους ἐπιστολὰς μισθόν, ὡς οὐκ ὤφειλεν, ἀπῆτει τῆς παραλήψεως· καὶ ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα λίαν ἐφύβριστον.

³² Dazu Späth (2005).

³³ Horden (2005). Stathakopoulos (2008) sowie der Sammelband von Stathakopoulos (2007).

³⁴ Generell Thomas (1987).

hier interessant: Romanos ließ aus der Kirche beim Mamaskloster, die als privates Familienmausoleum fungierte, die Sarkophage von Kaiser Maurikios und seiner Familie holen, damit er „seine neu eingerichtete Familiengrablege mit ‚imperialer Vorgeschichte‘“ ausstattete³⁵.

Das Bemühen von aristokratischen Familien in der Hauptstadt und im Hinterland Konstantinopels adäquate Stiftungsmöglichkeiten zu finden nahm bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert stetig zu. Das hat auch damit zu tun, dass viele aristokratische Familien ihre Besitzungen etwa in Kleinasien verloren hatten und zum anderen ein ausgeprägtes Familienbewusstsein entwickelten³⁶. Dieses Bewusstsein manifestierte sich nicht nur in der Gestaltung eines entsprechenden Wohnraumes in der Hauptstadt, sondern auch in der Gründung von Einrichtungen, die dem Bewahren des Gedächtnisses dienen³⁷. Dabei hatte man die Möglichkeit, im eigenen Palast Kapellen und Kirchen zu errichten, die auch als Grablege dienen konnten. Die Funktion dieser privaten Andachtsräume ist mit westlichen Burgkapellen zu vergleichen³⁸.

Die zahlreichen Klostergründungen provozierten bei den Zeitgenossen aber auch kritische Stellungnahmen. Niketas Choniates bemerkt in seinem Geschichtswerk dazu folgendes:

Und nicht nur das, er (scilicet Manuel) rügte auch ständig seinen Vater, seinen Großvater und alle übrigen Blutsverwandten, die Klöster gebaut und diesen viel fruchtbares Land und grünende Wiesen zugeteilt hatten. Er überschüttete sie nicht unablässig—was ja nur allzu menschlich gewesen wäre—deshalb mit Schmähungen, weil sie einen Teil des Vermögens (auch seines Vermögens) Gott hingegeben, nicht darüber beklagte er sich, sondern dass sie ein gutes Werk nicht gut getan hätten³⁹.

³⁵ Müller (1998) 56. Warum erinnert sich Romanos an Maurikios? Lag es an einer ähnlichen Familienkonstellation? Wie Maurikios hatte Romanos drei Söhne, die er zu Mitkaisern bestimmte.

³⁶ Vgl. für den Westen Freed (2003).

³⁷ Dieser Aspekt wird in der Fußnote 1 angeführten Monographie detailliert behandelt werden.

³⁸ Allgemein Stevens (2003).

³⁹ Choniates 207: 92ff, hrsg. van Dieten (1972): Οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ πάπῳ καὶ τοῖς καθ' αἶμα προσήκουσι λοιποῖς ἅπασιν, ὅποσοι μονὰς δειμάμενοι ὅλα πλῆθρα γῆς καρποφόρα καὶ λειμῶνας χλοερούς αὐταῖς προσεκλήρωσαν, ἐπεγκαλῶν οὐκ ἐπαύετο, οὐ κατὰ τοῦτο μεμνημοιρῶν ἢ μυκτῆρα καταχέων πλατὺν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι τῆς οὐσίας θεῷ τι ἀπένειμαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ καλῶς τὸ καλὸν εἰργάσατο (Übersetzung nach F. Grabler).

Und weiter:

Deshalb hatten sie auf den Marktplätzen und Straßenkreuzungen heilige Klöster gegründet und in diese Mönche gesteckt ohne auf ihre Tüchtigkeit zu achten, die sich bloß durch das geschorene Haar, ihre Kleidung und den langen Bart als Mönch ausweisen⁴⁰.

Deutlich wird aus der Stelle, wie sehr man auf die besondere, ausgezeichnete Ortswahl Wert legte. Stiftungen werden dann für Aristokraten wichtig, wenn diese ein Familienverständnis entwickeln und eine Geschichte aufweisen können bzw. bemüht sind, eine solche zu finden und ihren Platz in der Gesellschaft damit zu visualisieren. Das wird am deutlichsten durch Plätze, die der Liturgie gewidmet sind⁴¹. Liturgie ist immer verzahnt mit Gedächtnis. Typika sind für das Memoria-Verständnis der Byzantiner eine Fundgrube. Alice-Mary Talbot hat in ihren Forschungen zum byzantinischen Mönchtum und insbesondere bei den Klostertypika diese Thematik hinsichtlich der sozialen Komponente Memoria gestreift⁴². Einen kostbaren Einblick in die Mentalität eines Klostergründers des zwölften Jahrhunderts erlaubt uns Isaakios Komnenos⁴³. Er macht in seinem Typikon, das teilweise Passagen der Vorschriften des Euergetesklosters übernimmt, auf die Absichten bei einer Klostergründung deutlich aufmerksam⁴⁴. Am Beginn der für sein Kosmosoteirakloster in Bera (Pherrai) bestimmten Urkunde steht folgendes:

Viele haben, Mutter Gottes, zahlreiche gottgefällige Werke im hiesigen Leben fromm zum Preise Gottes, der alles beherrscht, vollbracht; ihn verkünden gute Werke in Stille mit Lobeshymnen, durch ihre Vollendetheit, durch den aufrechten Glauben der Ausführenden; diese haben ewigen Nachruhm erlangt nach ihrem Weggang von hier. Die einen, die unser Schöpfer, der Herr, seine Brüder nannte (Matt. 25, 40), zogen sein Erbarmen durch die Verteilung von Geld an die Armen auf

⁴⁰ Choniates 207:5–208: 12, hrsg. van Dieten (1972): ἐπ’ ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ τριόδων τὰ θεῖα ᾠκοδόμησαν φροντιστήρια, ἐνλακκεύσαντες ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἐνσηκάσαντες οὐκ ἐπιλέγδην τὸ ἀρεταῖνον, τὸ δὲ μέχρι τριχῶν ἀποβολῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐσθιμάτων μεταβολῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀφειμένου πώγωνος χαρακτηρίζον τὸν μοναστήν (Übersetzung nach F. Grabler). Angold (1995) 289.

⁴¹ Das ist auch im Westen der Fall exemplarisch Oexle (1998) 348. (Errichtung einer Kapelle, Baubeginn 1509, es soll ein teures Bauwerk errichtet werden, auch eine Begräbnisstätte und die Ausstattung der Kapelle durch Epitaphien.)

⁴² Talbot (2001a); Talbot (2001b).

⁴³ Sinos (1995) 35–44.

⁴⁴ Ich beschränke mich auf dieses eine Beispiel, weitere Belege findet man unter dem Wort „commemoration“ im Indexband von Thomas und Hero (2000).

sich, und erreichten ein ihren Taten entsprechendes Ende ihres Lebens. *Die anderen gründen herrliche Kirchen auf Privatkosten und heilige Klöster in Städten und am Land;* wieder andere, die Mangel an irdischem Überfluss haben, bringen gemäß dem bei den Theologen großen (genannten) Gregorios die Intensität ihres Glaubens als eine gnädig aufgenommene Gabe dem über alles Herrschenden dar⁴⁵.

Wenn man den Bereich der erhalten gebliebenen, aber nicht eindeutig Stifterinnen und Stiftern zuweisbaren Monumente verlässt und die schriftlichen Quellen durchforstet, dann stösst man immer wieder auf Klosterbezeichnungen, die eine aristokratische Stifterfamilie plausibel erscheinen lassen. Nur ein Beispiel: In einer venezianischen Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1148 wird ein Kloster Mili erwähnt, in dessen Nähe die Venezianer ein Haus und Wechselstuben bekommen. Paul Magdalino schlägt vor, Mili entweder von Μήλης oder Μέλης herzuleiten⁴⁶. Die Familie Meles ist im zwölften Jahrhundert prominent durch Stephanos Meles vertreten⁴⁷.

In den Klosterstiftungen konnte man sich als Stifterin oder Stifter sicher sein, dass das Gedenken regelmäßig praktiziert wurde, wenn man entsprechende Vorkehrungen getroffen hatte.

Ein zufälliges Detail über die Beziehung von Mönchsgemeinschaften und ihren Stiftern, hat sich in einem vor kurzem edierten Brief des Theodoros Prodromos aus der Mitte des zwölften Jahrhunderts erhalten. Dieser verfasste für die Mönche des Paschasiosklosters in Nikomedeia einen Brief an Konstantinos Bardachlas, in dem darum gebeten wird, dass der Bruder des im Kloster Verstorbenen die Zuwendungen an die Gemeinschaft weiterführen möge⁴⁸.

⁴⁵ Petit (1908) 20:6–10. Typikon des Kosmosoteiraklosters §2: Πολλοὶ μὲν, ὃ θεομήτορ, πολλὰ θεοσεβῶς ἔργα θεάρεστα τῷ παρόντι βίῳ διεπράξαντο πρὸς ὕμνον Θεοῦ τοῦ τῶν ὅλων δεσπόζοντος, ὃν καὶ σιγηλῶς πᾶς τὰ καλῶς πεποιημένα ὕμνωδίας τῇ αὐτῶν ἀνακηρύττουσι τελειότητι πίστει τῶν πραξάντων τῇ ὀρθογνώμονι, οἱ τὴν ὑστεροφημίαν αἰωνίζουσιν ἐκληρώσαντο μετὰ τὴν τῶν ὧδε μετανάστασιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν διανεμήσει τῆς χρηματικῆς περιουσίας πρὸς πένητας, οὓς ἀδελφοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὁ πλάστης ἡμῶν ἐπωνόμασε Κύριος, τοῦτο τὸν οἶκτον εἰς ἑαυτοὺς εὐμενῶς ἐπεσάσαντο καὶ τῇ ἐργασίᾳ καταλλήλου τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ἐπέτυχον πέρατος· οἱ δὲ μεγαλοπρεπῶς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ναοὺς ἐξ ἰδίας δαπάνης καὶ ἱερὰ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ χώρας καθίδρυσαν φροντιστήρια· ἄλλοι δι' ἔνδειαν βιωτικῆς περιουσίας κατὰ τὸν ἐν θεολόγοις μέγαν Γρηγόριον τὸ τῆς προθυμίας αὐτῶν εὐσυνείδητον τῷ τῶν ὅλων δεσπόζοντι οἷα θυμίαμα εὐπρόσδεκτον εὐμενῶς συνεισήνεγκαν (Hervorhebungen von M.G.).

⁴⁶ Magdalino (1996) 80 (rekonstruiert die Bauten im Venezianerviertel aufgrund von venezianischen Urkunden).

⁴⁷ Hörandner (1974) 507–8.

⁴⁸ Op de Coul (2006) 180. 36f.: Καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ δοθέντα ἡμῖν ψυχικὸν ἑκαينوτομήσαμεν καὶ ἀνηγεῖραμεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκ βάθρων ἐπὶ μνημοσύνοις ἐκείνου καὶ ἴσταται ἀσκεπὴς μὴ δυναμένων ἡμῶν ἐπιθεῖναι ταύτη καὶ ὄροφον.

Bei dem Sebastokrator Isaakios wird ein weiterer Aspekt deutlich: Der Wunsch durch die Platzierung eigener schriftlicher Hinterlassenschaften in der Klosterbibliothek für die Nachwelt erfahrbar zu werden.

Ich habe dem Kloster einige Bücher vermacht (deren Anzahl wird samt ihren Titeln im Inventar des Klosters angezeigt). Ich ließ dort ein weiteres Buch zurück, welches ich mit großer Anstrengung zusammenstellte. Es enthält heroische, iambische und politische Verse, verschiedene Briefe und Ekphraseis von mir. Ich möchte nicht, dass dieses an einem unbedeutenden Ort liegt, sondern dass es oft zum Lesen und zu unserem Gedächtnis (ἀνάμνησιν) den fleißigeren der Menschen gezeigt wird, sie sind es, die Bücher und Geschichten sehen wollen. Wir wollen nicht, dass diese Bücher aus dem Kloster entfernt werden, sondern dass sie dort immer aufbewahrt werden⁴⁹.

Die Stifterinnen und Stifter beschränkten sich in vielen Fällen nicht nur auf die materielle Ausstattung ihre Stiftung, sondern sie verewigten sich auch durch Inschriften und mitunter auch durch bildliche Darstellungen. Bei den in der noch heute stehenden Kirche der Theotokos Kosmosoteira in Pherrai, die zum Stiftungskomplex des Isaakios Komnenos gehörte, vorhandenen Monumentalmalereien dürften sich hinter den abgebildeten Kriegerheiligen Familienmitglieder verbergen⁵⁰. Zusätzlich gab es Bilder seiner Eltern, Eirene Dukaina und Alexios Komnenos, an seinem Grabmal⁵¹, wie Charalambos Bakirtzis vor kurzem gezeigt hat. Demnach ist der heilige Theodoros Stratelates mit Alexios I. Komnenos gleichzusetzen, der heilige Theodoros Strategos mit Ioannes II. Komnenos und der heilige Merkurios mit Isaakios Komnenos⁵². Der Stifter selbst ist hier nicht abgebildet; sein Porträt blieb bei der Übersiedlung des ursprünglich in

⁴⁹ Petit (1908) 69. 5–12. Typikon des Kosmosoteiraklosters §106: ἐπεὶ δὲ βίβλους τινὰς τῇ μονῇ καταλέλοιπα, ὧν δὴπερ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τοῖς ὀνόμασι τούτων ἐν τῷ τῆς μονῆς βρεβίῳ ἐπισημαίνηται, πρὸς ταύταις δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν βίβλον κατέλιπον, ἣν πόνῳ μακρῷ στιχιδίοις ἥρωικοῖς τε καὶ ἱαμβικοῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς καὶ ἐπιστολαῖς διαφόροις τε καὶ ἐκφράσεσι συντέταχα, οὐκ ἐν ἀφανεῖ τόπῳ κεῖσθαι βούλομαι ταύτην, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ὑπενδείκνυσθαι πρὸς ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ ἡμετέραν ἀνάμνησιν τοῖς φιλοπονωτέροις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ προστυγχάνειν βίβλοις καὶ ἱστορίαις ἐθέλουσιν, ἀνεκποιήτους δὲ καὶ ταύτας τῇ μονῇ εἶναι βουλόμεθα καὶ ἑσαεὶ αὐτῇ περισώζεσθαι. Diese Art, die eigenen Werke der Nachwelt zu erhalten, ist diskreter als in der Römischen Kaiserzeit, wo die Reden und Schriften des Hausherrn dem Besucher einer *villa* bereits im Eingangsbereich ausgestellt den Eintretenden begegnen konnten, s. Stein-Hölkeskamp (2006) 310–11.

⁵⁰ Bakirtzis (2001).

⁵¹ Petit (1908), 63.89; Bakirtzis (2001) 87.

⁵² Bakirtzis (2001).

der Chora-Kirche vorgesehenen Grabes zurück. Später wurde es sogar restauriert.

Solche Ahnenreihen, genealogische Herleitungen und Anbindungen an die Kaiserfamilie können auch in epigrammatischen Zeugnissen nachgewiesen werden. Georgios Palaiologos ließ im zwölften Jahrhundert ein Demetrioskloster in Konstantinopel erbauen und das Hodegetriakloster restaurieren⁵³. Anlässlich der Renovierung des letztgenannten Kloster wurde auch ein Epigramm in Auftrag gegeben⁵⁴, dessen Überschrift lautet: „Auf das Kloster, das auf den Namen der hochheiligen Theotokos von dem *pansebastos*, dem Großetaireiarchen errichtet worden ist. Im Pronaos (Exonarthex) von diesem sind die Kaiser abgebildet, von denen die Reihe seines Geschlechtes (ἡ σειρά τοῦ γένους) hergeleitet wird, und manche Heldentaten des purpurborenen Autokrators Manuel Komnenos“⁵⁵.

Damit wird auch der Aspekt der Ahnenreihe und Genealogie sichtbar (was auch im Westen der Fall war)⁵⁶.

Eines der eindruckvollsten Zeugnisse bezüglich einer Memorialliste kombiniert mit Memorialbildern ist das Lincoln College Typikon, welches um 1300 in seiner Grundform für das Kloster τοῦ βεβαίας Ἑλπίδος in Konstantinopel geschaffen und danach kopiert wurde. Es lassen sich verschiedene Schichten der Entstehung dabei nachweisen⁵⁷.

Die Verewigung erfolgte nicht nur durch bauliche Maßnahmen (Klöster, Kapellen, Kirchen,...), sondern konnte sich auch in kleineren Stiftungen ausdrücken. Zahlreiche Hinweise auf Stiftungen von Ikonen lassen sich finden. Exemplarisch soll eine Demetrios-Ikone des Theodoros Stypiotes angeführt werden. Dieser ließ eine Ikone anfertigen, auf der ein Epigramm angebracht war. Darin wird des Stifters gedacht⁵⁸. Hier wird einmal mehr deutlich, wie wichtig die Schriftlichkeit für die Bewahrung des Gedächtnisses war. Ein repräsentativer (wertvoller) Gegenstand für den liturgischen Raum wird

⁵³ Angold (1995) 299; Janin (1969) 92–94 und 200; Papamastorakis (2002) 43–44.

⁵⁴ Lampros (1911) Nr. 224 (148–50). Dazu Oikonomides (2001/2005) 94 mit englischer Übersetzung.

⁵⁵ Lampros (1911) Nr. 224: Ἐπὶ τῇ νεουργηθείσῃ μονῇ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς Ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου παρὰ τοῦ πανσεβάστου μεγάλου ἑταιριάρχου· ἥς ἐν τῷ προνάῳ εἰκονίσθησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς, ἐξ ὧν ἡ σειρά τοῦ γένους τούτου κατάγεται καὶ μερικὰ τινὰ κατορθώματα τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου καὶ αὐτοκράτορος κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ.

⁵⁶ Oexle (1984) sowie van Bueren und Oexle (2005).

⁵⁷ Magistral zu diesem Thema ist Hutter (1995).

⁵⁸ Lampros (1911) Nr. 65. 23–24: κοσμῶν τύπον σόν, ταῦτα πρὸς μνήμην γράφω, Θεόδωρος γένος μὲν ὧν Στυπειώτης.

zugleich Träger des Gedächtnisses eines Stifters; es ist dabei intendiert, in kostbarem Gewand den eigenen Name sichtbar den folgenden Generationen weiterzugeben.

III

Ausgehend vom kommensorierenden Mahl (1. Kor. 11, 23ff.) spielt das Gedenken der Lebenden und Toten eine große Rolle im liturgischen Alltag⁵⁹. Totengedenken ist etwas, das Gemeinschaft stiftet. Mit der Erinnerung an die verstorbenen Generationen schafft man sich Identität und Selbstverständnis in der Gegenwart⁶⁰. Das Totenmahl ist in der christlichen Kultur bedeutend, da der/die Verstorbene dabei als Teilnehmer erlebt wurde. Die Gegenwart der Toten ist eine „longue durée“ und diese gedachte Präsenz erlischt erst im frühen 19. Jahrhundert, als sich die Einstellung gegenüber dem Leichnam radikal änderte und versachlichte⁶¹. Beim Totenmahl ist auch ein Aspekt mitzubetrachten, denn das Mahl zu Ehren der Toten ist mit einer Spende an die Armen verknüpft—die Armen galten seit jeher als Stellvertreter, Anwälte und Beauftragte der Toten⁶². Im byzantinischen Kulturkreis wurden an bestimmten Tagen nach dem Begräbnis (3. 7. oder 9. und am 30. oder 40. Tag) *kollyba* verteilt, dazu wurden Gebete am Grab des Verstorbenen gesprochen⁶³. Der Toten gedachte man entweder vor Ort, das heißt vor dem Grabmal, oder während einer liturgischen Handlung⁶⁴. Man hat sich vor Augen zu halten, dass die meisten Monodien, die die Angehörigen aristokratischer Personen in Auftrag gegeben haben, oft am Grab oder in der Grabkirche gehalten wurden⁶⁵. Die Beziehung zwischen den Lebenden und den Toten setzte sich auch durch den Grabbesuch fort. So kam der Usurpator Andronikos I. Komnenos an das Grab seines Vaters, des *sebastokrators* Isaakios Komnenos, in Bera (Thrakien)—Memoria macht den Herrscher!—:

⁵⁹ Schmidt (1985); Assmann (2007) 63.

⁶⁰ Für den Westen zuletzt umfassend Niederkorn-Bruck (2008).

⁶¹ Oexle (1999) 322.

⁶² Oexle (1993); Oexle (1999) 302f.

⁶³ Allgemein Beck (1979), zum Totenritual im byzantinischen Kulturkreis Abrahamse (1984); vgl. für den Westen Geuenich (2003).

⁶⁴ Zu den Grabmälern von Aristokratinnen und Aristokraten s. Mango (1995).

⁶⁵ Sideras (1994) 64f., 66 (bei Totenmessen).

Er verließ die Hauptstadt und begab sich gemächlich in kurzen Tagesreisen nach Kypsella, vergnügte sich dort auf der Jagd und gelangte in das väterliche in Bera liegende Kloster, und er besuchte das Grabmal seines Erzeugers mit Gefolge und kaiserlicher Würde, nach der auch jener einmal strebte, sie aber nicht erreichte, deswegen übernahm Andronikos das Kaisertum wie ein vom Vater übernommenes Erbteil an⁶⁶.

Andronikos stattete auch dem Grab seines Vorgängers, Manuel I. Komnenos, einen Besuch ab, wobei Niketas Choniates dieses Ereignis sehr kritisch beschreibt:

Nachdem sich Andronikos einige Tage mit dem Kaiser im Philopation aufgehalten hatte, kam ihm das Verlangen, in die Stadt selbst hineinzugehen, und das Grab seines Veters, des Kaisers Manuel, zu sehen. Er kam nun zum Pantokrator Kloster und fragte, wo der Tote begraben sei. Und als er vor das Grabmal hintrat, brach er in bittere Tränen aus und klagte heftig...⁶⁷

Andronikos selbst hatte die Kirche der Vierzig-Märtyrer an der Mese für seine letzte Ruhestätte auserkoren⁶⁸.

Während der Eucharistie wurden zunächst die Namen der Lebenden (insbesondere der Gabenspenden und Geistlichkeit) verlesen. Zu welchem Zeitpunkt die Namen der Toten im Westen in die Diptycha aufgenommen wurden, lässt sich nicht genau festmachen, im Osten hingegen gibt es Zeugnisse schon für das 4. Jahrhundert. Dabei wurden Lebende und Tote in zwei getrennten Bereichen auf den Schrifttäfelchen eingetragen. Das Ein- und Austragen von Namen wird kirchenpolitisch im Laufe des 5. Jahrhunderts zu einem Machtinstrument. Ein anschauliches Beispiel ist im British Museum ausgestellt: Das Diptychon stammt aus der Amtszeit des Patriarchen

⁶⁶ Choniates 280:31–37, hrsg. van Dieten (1972): καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἔξεισι καὶ ὁμαλαῖς κινήσεισι καὶ σταθμοῖς βραχέσι καταλαμβάνει τὰ Κύψελλα καὶ τοῖς ἐκεῖσε κυνηγεσίοις ἐνευφρανθεὶς κατὰ τὴν πατρίαν ἀφικνεῖται μονὴν τὴν ἐν Βήρᾳ διακειμένην καὶ τῷ τοῦ φύσαντος ἐρίσταται μνήματι μετὰ δορυφορίας καὶ δόξης βασιλικῆς, ἧς κακεῖνος πάλαι ποτὲ ἑρῶν οὐκ ἐφίκετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον πατρόθεν Ἀνδρόνικος ὡς κλῆρον καταβὰν διεδέξατο (Übersetzung nach F. Grabler), vgl. Ševčenko (1984) 139.

⁶⁷ Choniates 256:45–51, hrsg. van Dieten (1972): Συχνὰς δ' ἐκμετρήσας ἡμέρας Ἀνδρόνικος σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τὸ Φιλοπάτιον ἔσχεν ἔρον εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐξαδέλφου Μανουὴλ τάφον ἰδεῖν. ὅθεν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Παντοκράτορος μονὴν γεγινώς καί, ποῦ τέθαιπται ὁ νεκρός, ἐρωτήσας καὶ ἐπιστάς τῷ σωματοφυλακοῦντι μνήματι πικρῶς ἐπεδάκρυσεν καὶ περιπαθῶς ὠλοφύρατο...

⁶⁸ Janin (1969) 483–84.—Auch hier ist die Wahl des prominenten Bestattungsplatzes an der Hauptstraße deutlich.

Agathon von Alexandria (661–679)⁶⁹. Die Wichtigkeit des Gedenkens und das Kämpfen gegen das Vergessen und Vergessenwerden manifestieren sich am deutlichsten in Graffiti, die im sakralen Raum angebracht wurden. Ein bekanntes Beispiel stammt aus der Spätantike und ist in der Basilika des Eufriasius in Parenzo (Poreč) zu finden. An der Apsiswand existieren zahlreiche Namenseinritzungen, die in das sechste bis neunte Jahrhundert zu datieren sind. Diese Namen werden als Gedächtnisstützen für die Geistlichen interpretiert, um die Todestage der Verstorbenen kommemorieren zu können⁷⁰.

Aus der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit sind vor allem die Ritzinschriften auf dem Parthenon in Athen zu nennen. Der Parthenon war in die Hauptkirche umgewandelt worden (Panagia Atheniotissa). Auf vielen Säulen sind noch heute Eingravierungen zu finden, die neben den Personennamen oft Datumsangaben mit anführen⁷¹. Dass die Inschriften der Memoria dienten und die Besucher aufforderten, sich an die Verstorbenen zu erinnern, und sie gleichsam als Gedächtnisstütze dienten, zeigt auch die Wortwahl (z.B. $\mu\eta\theta\eta\tau\iota$ und dgl.). Nicht nur an diesem prominenten Ort auf der Akropolis auch im Hephaisteion, der mittelbyzantinischen Georgskirche, lassen sich 35 Inschriften auf den Säulen nachweisen. Die Funktion ist ganz klar: Da die Graffiti in der Nähe des ehemaligen Eingangs der Kirche angebracht sind, sollen sie die Eintretenden an den Gedenktag erinnern. Dass die Personen, die sich dort verewigten aus der näheren Umgebung stammten, liegt auf der Hand. Wo sie begraben waren, ist in diesem Zusammenhang sekundär, da die Präsenz der Verstorbenen durch die Nennung ihrer Namen deutlicher war⁷².

Anders als im Westen findet man im byzantinischen Bereich kaum Nekrologe oder Memorialbücher⁷³. Ein seltenes Verzeichnis der Totengedenktage der Familie des Alexios Komnenos, überliefert in einer Handschrift aus der zweiten Hälfte des zwölften bzw. dem Beginn

⁶⁹ Das Objekt ist im British Museum ausgestellt (MME = PE 1920,12–14,1), Stegmüller (1957), R. F. Taft und A. Kazhdan, *ODB* 1: 637–38; Beck (1977) 156; Taft (1991).

⁷⁰ Lambert, M., *Pauly* 18/4 1461–68, 1468 (=RE: 36/3, 1949) Sp. 1468. Zu diesem Bau zuletzt Terry und Maguire (2007).

⁷¹ Orlandos und Branuses (1973)—76 der 234 veröffentlichten Inschriften sind mit Datum versehen, sie stammen aus dem Zeitraum von 550–1482.

⁷² McCabe (2006).

⁷³ Oexle (1999) 311.

des 13. Jahrhunderts, wurde vor kurzem publiziert⁷⁴. Dabei handelt es sich um eine Liste von 35 Personen, derer in dem von Eirene Dukaina gegründeten Kloster des Christos Philanthropenos gedacht werden solle. Die Gedenktage sind chronologisch (vom 8. September bis zum 29. August) verzeichnet.

Verbrüderungen führten sowohl in mönchischen als auch laikalen Kreisen zur Gemeinschaftsbildung⁷⁵. Im byzantinischen Bereich kennt man die *adelphopoiia*, den Zusammenschluss von Personen aufgrund spiritueller Verbindung⁷⁶.

Dass Handwerkskorporationen eigene gemeinschaftsbildende Rituale auch in Byzanz hatten, muss man nahezu *e silentio* annehmen⁷⁷. Einen Reflex darauf findet man im so genannten Eparchenbuch, wo die Vorschriften für einige Berufsgruppen zusammengefasst sind. Bei den Notaren wird in dieser Rechtsvorschrift vermerkt:

Wenn ein Notar stirbt, müssen sich alle in ihren Talaren versammeln und ihn ans Grab geleiten, damit auch das Begräbnis entsprechend seiner Amtseinsetzung würdig verlaufe. Wer aber ohne zureichenden Grund aus schnöder Gewinnsucht fernbleibt, soll sechs *Keratia* erlegen⁷⁸.

Das Gedenken an einen Berufskollegen erfolgt also kollektiv und soll damit auch ein Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl und wohl auch Ständebewusstsein bewirken.

Ein Musterbeispiel einer Memorialgemeinschaft stellt eine Gruppe von Personen dar, die sich in einem Dokument aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert verewigt haben. In der Gegend von Theben schlossen sich im Jahre 1048 Personen unterschiedlichen Standes zu einer Gemeinschaft zusammen, die die Verehrung einer Marienikone organisierte⁷⁹. Im zwölften Jahrhundert wurden die Statuen erneuert und durch neue Unterschriften bekräftigt. Das Zeugnis steht einzigartig in

⁷⁴ Kouroupou und Vannier (2005); die Edition fokussiert auf die prosopographische Identifikation, weniger auf den kulturgeschichtlichen Wert dieser Notizen.

⁷⁵ Beck (1977) 138f.

⁷⁶ ODB 1: 19–20, ergänzend Kretzenbacher (1971); Kretzenbacher (1979); Puchner (1994).

⁷⁷ Horden (1986).

⁷⁸ *Eparchenbuch* 1.26, hrsg. Koder (1991): "Ὅταν ταβουλάριος τελευτήσει, ὁφείλουσι πάντες συναθροίζεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἐφεστρίδων αὐτῶν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τάφου τοῦτον παραπέμπειν, ὥς ἂν ἑνδοξὸς καὶ ἡ κηδεία κατὰ τὴν προχείρησιν εἴη. ὁ δὲ ἀπολιμπανόμενος ἄνευ εὐλόγου αἰτίας κατὰ χάριν κέρδους παρεχέτω κεράτια ἕξ.—Zu Berufsgruppen und Memorialhandlungen im Westen s. Oexle (1982).

⁷⁹ Nesbitt und Wiita (1978).

der byzantinischen Überlieferung da, lässt aber den Schluss zu, dass solche Zusammenschlüsse etwas Gängiges gewesen sein müssen.

IV

Zwar scheinen die byzantinistischen Forschungen Fragestellungen der Mediävistik hinterherzuhinken, doch können auf der Basis der zahlreichen Vorarbeiten neue Ansätze entwickelt und möglicherweise neue Aspekte aufgezeigt werden. Bei einer knappen Sichtung der byzantinischen Quellen wird deutlich, welche Spielarten der *Memoria* und wie viele Möglichkeiten, diese zu begehen, in Byzanz auftraten. Auch im byzantinischen Kulturkreis spielte „Gedächtnis“ eine nicht wegzudenkende Rolle und Byzantinern war natürlich auch der Gedanke an die Nachwelt und die Furcht vor der Kritik seitens der Nachgeborenen nicht fremd: μήπως τισὶ χρονικοῖς εἰς ἡμετέραν αἰσχύνην τὰῦτα γραφήσονται, formuliert Johannes Tzetzes in einem Brief aus den 1140er Jahren⁸⁰.

* * *

Alice-Mary Talbot hat für die Erschließung, Verbreitung und Bewahrung der byzantinischen Kultur in mehrfacher Hinsicht prägend gewirkt: Als *executive editor* des *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* hatte sie wesentlichen Anteil an der Umsetzung und Fertigstellung dieses Unternehmens und als *Director of Byzantine Studies* an der *Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection* wirkte sie mit der ihr eigenen Zielstrebigkeit und Effizienz gegen das Vergessen dieses für die Entwicklung des europäischen Mittelalters so unerlässlichen Kulturkreises mit.

LITERATUR

Primärquellen

- Browning, R. 1962. "Unpublished correspondence between Michael Italicus, archbishop of Philippopolis, and Theodore Prodromos." *Byzantino-Bulgarica* 1: 279–97.
Cunningham, M. B., Hrsg. 1991. *The life of Michael the Synkellos. Text, translation and commentary*. Belfast.

⁸⁰ Johannes Tzetzes (ep. 14). Leone (1972) 27. 19–20.

- Fatouros, G. und T. Krischer, Hrsg. 1982. *Johannes Kantakuzenos, Geschichte. I. Teil.* Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur 17. Stuttgart.
- Grabler, F. 1958. *Die Krone der Komnenen. Die Regierungszeit der Kaiser Joannes und Manuel Komnenos (1118–1180) aus dem Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates.* Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber 7. Graz.
- Hörandner, W. 1974. *Theodoros Prodromos. Historische Gedichte.* Wiener byzantinistische Studien 11. Vienna.
- Koder, J. 1991. *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen.* Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 33. Vienna.
- Kouroupou, M. und J.-F. Vannier. 2005. "Commémoraisons des Comnènes dans le typikon liturgique du monastère du Christ Philanthrope (ms. Panaghia Kamariotissa 29)." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 63: 41–69.
- Lampros, S. 1911. "Ὁ Μαρκανδὸς κῶδιξ 524." *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 10: 3–59, 123–92.
- Leone, P. L., Hrsg. 1972. *Epistulae. Tzetzes.* Leipzig.
- Op de Coul, M. 2006. "Deux inédits à l'ombre de Prodrome." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 56: 177–92.
- Orlandos, A. K. und A. Branuses. 1973. *Τὰ χαράγματα τοῦ Παρθενῶνος ἤτοι ἐπιγραφαὶ χαραχθεῖσαι ἐπὶ τῶν κίωνων τοῦ Παρθενῶνος κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοχριστιανικοὺς καὶ βυζαντινοὺς χρόνους.* Athens.
- Petit, L. 1908. "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos (1152)." *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople* 13: 17–77.
- Schopen, L., Hrsg. 1828. *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV.* Bonn.
- van Dieten, I. A., Hrsg. 1972. *Nicetae Choniatae historia.* Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 11-Series Berolinensis. Berlin.
- Westerink, L. G., Hrsg. 1981. *Nicholas I patriarch of Constantinople. Miscellaneous writings.* Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 6 = Dumbarton Oaks Texts 6. Washington, DC.

Sekundärquellen

- Abrahamse, D. 1984. "Rituals of death in the middle Byzantine period." *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29: 125–34.
- Angold, M. 1995. *Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261.* Cambridge.
- Assmann, J. 1988a. "Kollektives Gedächtnis und kulturelle Identität." In *Kultur und Gedächtnis.* Hrsg. J. Assmann und T. Hölscher, 9–19. Suhrkamp-Taschenbuch Wissenschaft 724. Frankfurt am Main.
- . 1988b. "Stein und Zeit. Das 'monumentale' Gedächtnis der altägyptischen Kultur." In *Kultur und Gedächtnis.* Hrsg. J. Assmann und T. Hölscher, 87–114. Suhrkamp-Taschenbuch Wissenschaft 724. Frankfurt am Main.
- . 2007. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen.* 6. Aufl. Beck'sche Reihe. Munich.
- Bakirtzis, C. 2001. "Warrior saints or members of the family of Alexios I. Komnenos?" In *Mosaic. Festschrift for A.H.S. Megaw.* Hrsg. J. Herrin, M. Mullett und C. Otten-Froux, 85–87. British School at Athens Studies 8. London.
- Bassett, S. 2004. *The urban image of late antique Constantinople.* Cambridge.
- Bauer, F. A. 1996. *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike: Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos.* Mainz.
- , Hrsg. 2006. *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen—Gestalt und Zeremoniell.* Byzas 5. Istanbul.
- Beck, H.-G. 1977. *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich.* 2. Aufl. 2 vols. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12. Munich.
- . 1979. *Die Byzantiner und ihr Jenseits. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte einer Mentalität.* Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. Sb. 6. München.

- Berger, A. 1988. *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*. Poikila Byzantina 8. Bonn.
- Berns, J., R. G. Czaplá und S. Arend. 2003. *Gedächtnislehren und Gedächtniskünste in Antike und Frühmittelalter (5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis 9. Jahrhundert n. Chr.)*, Dokumentensammlung mit Übersetzung, Kommentar und Nachwort. Documenta mnemonica 1,1; Frühe Neuzeit 79. Tübingen.
- Diefenbach, S. 2002. "Zwischen Liturgie und civilitas. Konstantinopel im 5. Jahrhundert und die Etablierung eines städtischen Kaisertums." In *Bildlichkeit und Bildorte von Liturgie. Schauplätze in Spätantike, Byzanz und Mittelalter*. Hrsg. R. Warland, 21–50. Wiesbaden.
- . 2007. *Römische Erinnerungsräume: Heiligenmemoria und kollektive Identitäten im Rom des 3. bis 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Millennium-Studien 11. Berlin.
- Flusin, B. 2004. "Les cérémonies de l'Exaltation de la Croix à Constantinople au XI^e siècle d'après le Dresdensis A 104." In *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*. Hrsg. J. Durand und B. Flusin, 61–89. Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Monographies 17. Paris.
- Freed, J. B. 2003. "Artistic and literary representations of family consciousness." In *Medieval concepts of the past. Ritual, memory, historiography*. Hrsg. G. Althoff, J. Fried und P. J. Geary, 233–52. Cambridge.
- Geuenich, D. 2003. "'Dem himmlischen Gott in Erinnerung sein...'—Gebetsgedenken und Gebetshilfe im frühen Mittelalter." In *Erinnerungskultur im Bestattungsritual. Archäologisch-historisches Forum*. Hrsg. J. Jarnut und M. Wemhoff, 27–40. Mittelalter Studien 3. Munich.
- Harrison, M. 1989. *A temple for Byzantium. The discovery and excavation of Anicia Juliana's palace-church in Istanbul*. London.
- Horden, P. 1986. "The confraternities of Byzantium." In *Voluntary religion. Papers read at the 1985 summer meeting and the 1986 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*. Hrsg. W. Sheils und D. Wood, 25–45. Studies in Church History 23. Oxford.
- . 2005. "Memoria, salvation, and other motives of Byzantine philanthropists." In *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne, auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in religiösen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen*. Hrsg. M. Borgolte, 137–46. Stiftungsgeschichten 4. Berlin.
- Hunger, H. 1969–70. "On the imitation (μίμησις) of antiquity in Byzantine literature." *DOP* 23/24: 17–38 (Rpt. in H. Hunger, *Byzantinistische Grundlagenforschung* [London: 1973] Nr. 15).
- Hutter, I. 1995. "Die Geschichte des Lincoln College Typikons." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 45: 79–114.
- Janin, R. 1969. *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, pt. 3: *Les églises et les monastères*. Vol. 1 of *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*. 2. Aufl. Paris.
- Kötting, B. 1984. "Die Tradition der Grabkirche." In *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*. Hrsg. K. Schmid und J. Wollasch, 69–78. Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48. Munich.
- Kretzenbacher, L. 1971. *Rituelle Wahlverbrüderung in Südosteuropa, Erlebnisswirklichkeit und Erzählmotiv*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Sb. 1. Munich.
- . 1979. "Serbisch-orthodoxe 'Wahlverbrüderung' zwischen Gläubigenwunsch und Kirchenverbot von heute." *Südost-Forschungen* 38: 163–83.
- Lidov, A. M., Hrsg. 2006. *Ierotopija. Sozdanie sakralnyh prostranstv v Vizantii i Drevnej Rusi*. Moscow.
- Lilie, R.-J. 2003. *Byzanz, das zweite Rom*. Berlin.
- Magdalino, P. und R. Nelson. 1982. "The emperor in Byzantine art of the twelfth century." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8: 123–83.

- Magdalino, P. 1996. *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines*, Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation, Monographies 9. Paris.
- Mango, C. 1995. "Sépultures et épitaphes aristocratiques à Byzance." In *Epigrafia medievale greca e latina. Ideologia e funzione. Atti del seminario di Erice (12-18 settembre 1991)*. Hrsg. G. Cavallo und C. Mango, 99-117. Biblioteca del "Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici in Umbria" 11. Spoleto.
- McCabe, A. 2006. "Byzantine funerary graffiti in the Hephaisteion (Church of St. George) in the Athenian Agora." In *Abstracts of panel papers. Vol. 2 of Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies London 21-26 August 2006*. Hrsg. E. Jeffreys, 127-28. Aldershot.
- McCormick, M. 1986. *Eternal victory: Triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium and the early medieval West*. Cambridge.
- Müller, A. E. 1998. "Wiederverwendete Sarkophage? Romanos I. Lakapenos und die Gebeine des Kaisers Maurikios." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 48: 49-56.
- Nesbitt, J. und J. Wiita. 1975. "A confraternity of the Comnenian era." *BZ* 68: 360-84.
- Niederkorn-Bruck, M. 2008. "Verschriftlichung von Erinnerung im Kontext der Liturgie. Überlegungen zum ältesten Essener Sakramentar D1." In *Pro remedio et salute anime peragemus. Totengedenken am Frauenstift Essen im Mittelalter*. Hrsg. T. Schilp, 163-90. Essener Forschungen zum Frauenstift 6. 2008.
- Oesterle, J. R. 2008. "Begangene Herrschaft—beschriebene Prozessionen. Fatimidische, byzantinische und ottonisch-frühsalische Herrscherprozessionen an hohen religiösen Festtagen." In *Prozessionen, Wallfahrten, Aufmärsche. Bewegung zwischen Religion und Politik in Europa und Asien seit dem Mittelalter*. Hrsg. J. Gengnagel, M. Horstmann und G. Schwedler, 87-107. Cologne.
- Oexle, O. G. 1976. "Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im früheren Mittelalter." *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10: 70-95.
- . 1982. "Liturgische Memoria und historische Erinnerung. Zur Frage nach dem Gruppenbewußtsein und dem Wissen der eigenen Geschichte in den mittelalterlichen Gilden." In *Tradition als historische Kraft. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters* (Festschrift für Karl Hauck). Hrsg. N. Kamp und J. Wollasch, 323-40. Berlin.
- . 1983. "Die Gegenwart der Toten." In *Death in the Middle Ages*. Hrsg. H. Braet und W. Verbeke, 19-77. Mediaevalia Lovanensia Series 1, Studia 9. Leuven.
- . 1984. "Memoria und Memorialbild." In *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*. Hrsg. K. Schmid und J. Wollasch, 384-440. Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48. Munich.
- . 1985. "Die Gegenwart der Lebenden und der Toten. Gedanken über Memoria." Hrsg. K. Schmid, 74-107. In *Gedächtnis, das Gemeinschaft stiftet*. Munich.
- . 1993. "Memoria, Memorialüberlieferung." In *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 6: 510-13.
- . 1995. *Memoria als Kultur*. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 121. Göttingen.
- . 1998. "Adel, Memoria und kulturelles Gedächtnis. Bemerkungen zur Memorial-Kapelle der Fugger in Augsburg." In *Les princes et l'histoire du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle*. Hrsg. C. Grell, W. Paravicini und J. Voss, 339-57. Pariser Historische Studien 47. Bonn.
- . 1999. "Memoria in der Gesellschaft und in der Kultur des Mittelalters." In *Modernes Mittelalter. Neue Bilder einer populären Epoche* Hrsg. J. Heinze, 297-323. Insel Taschenbuch 2513. Frankfurt am Main.
- . 2001. "Memoria und Erinnerungskultur im Alten Europa—und heute." In *Gedenken im Zwiespalt. Konfliktlinien europäischen Erinnerns*. Hrsg. A. Escudier, A. Sauzay, B. und R. von Thadden, 9-32. Genshagener Gespräche 4. Göttingen.

- . 2003. "Memoria und Kulturelles Gedächtnis. Kulturwissenschaftliche Ausblicke auf Mittelalter und Moderne." *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* 8: 3–24.
- Ohly, F. 1984. "Bemerkungen eines Philologen zur Memoria." In *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*. Hrsg. K. Schmid und J. Wollasch, 9–68. Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48. Munich.
- Oikonomides, N. 2001/2005. "Pictorial propaganda in XIIIth c. Constantinople." In *Society, Culture and Politics in Byzantium*. Hrsg. E. Zachariadou, 12. Variorum Collected Studies Series CS 824. Aldershot. (Previously published in *Glas 390 de l'Academie serbe des sciences et des arts. Classe des sciences historiques* 11: 93–102.)
- Pahlitzsch, J. 2005. "Memoria und Stiftung im Islam. Die Entwicklung des Totengedächtnisses bis zu den Mamluken." In *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne. Auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in religiösen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen*. Hrsg. M. Borgolte, 71–94. Stiftungsgeschichten 4. Berlin.
- Papamastorakis, T. 2002. "The display of accumulated wealth in luxury icons: Gift-giving from the Byzantine aristocracy to God in the twelfth century." In *Βυζαντινές εικόνες. Τέχνη, τεχνική και τεχνολογία/Byzantine Icons. Art, Technique and Technology*. Hrsg. M. Vassilaki, 35–47. Herakleion.
- Peirce, H. und R. Tyler. 1941. "A marble emperor-roundel of the XIIth century." *DOP* 2: 1–9.
- Prinzing, G. 2008. "Spuren einer religiösen Bruderschaft in Epeiros um 1225? Zur Deutung der Memorialtexte im Codex Cromwell 11." *BZ* 101:751–72.
- Puchner, W. 1994. "Griechisches zur 'adoptio in fratrem'." *Südost-Forschungen* 53: 187–224.
- Schmid, K. und J. Wollasch, eds. 1984. *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*. Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48. Munich.
- Schmid, K., Hrsg. 1985. *Gedächtnis das Gemeinschaft stiftet*. Freiburg.
- Scholkmann, B. 2003. "Die Kirche als Bestattungsort. Zur Interpretation von Bestattungen im Kirchenraum." In *Erinnerungskultur im Bestattungsritual. Archäologisch-historisches Forum*. Hrsg. J. Jarnut und M. Wemhoff, 189–218. Mittelalter Studien 3. Munich.
- Ševčenko, N. 1984. "The tomb of Isaak Komnenos at Pherrai." *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29: 135–40.
- Sideras, A. 1994. *Die byzantinischen Grabreden. Prosopographie, Datierung, Überlieferung. 142 Epitaphien und Monodien aus dem byzantinischen Jahrtausend*. Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 19. Vienna.
- Sinos, S. 1985. *Die Klosterkirche der Kosmosoteira in Bera (Vira)*. Byzantinisches Archiv 16. Munich.
- Späth, M. 2005. "Kopieren und Erinnern. Zur Rezeption von Urkundenlayouts und Siegelbildern in klösterlichen Kopialbüchern des Hochmittelalters." In *Übertragungen. Formen und Konzepte von Reproduktion in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Hrsg. B. Bußmann, A. Hausmann, A. Kreft und C. Logemann, 101–28. Trends in Medieval Philology 5. Berlin.
- Stathakopoulos, D., Hrsg. 2007. *The kindness of strangers. Charity in pre-modern Mediterranean*. Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College, Occasional Publications. London.
- Stathakopoulos, D. 2008. "'Philoptochos basileus': Kaiserliche Armenfürsorge zwischen Rhetorik und Realität in Byzanz." In *Zwischen Ausschluss und Solidarität. Modi der Inklusion/Exklusion von Fremden und Armen in Europa seit der Spätantike*. Hrsg. R. Lutz und H. Uerlings, 165–79. Inklusion, Exklusion. Studien zu Fremdheit und Armut von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart 6. Frankfurt am Main.
- Stegmüller, O. 1957. "Diptychon." *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 3: 1138–49.

- Stein-Hölkeskamp, E. 2006. "Das römische Haus—die *memoria* der Mauern." In *Erinnerungsorte der Antike. Die römische Welt*. Hrsg. E. Stein-Hölkeskamp und K.-J. Hölkeskamp, 300–20. Munich.
- Stevens, U. 2003. *Burgkapellen. Andacht, Repräsentation und Wehrhaftigkeit im Mittelalter*. Darmstadt.
- Taft, Robert F. 1991. A history of the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. 4. The diptychs. *Orientalia Christiana analecta* 238. Rome.
- Talbot, A.-M. 2001a. "Building activity in Constantinople under Andronikos II: The role of women patrons in the construction and restoration of monasteries." In *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, topography and everyday life*. Hrsg. N. Necipoğlu, 329–43. *The Medieval Mediterranean* 33. Leiden.
- . 2001b. *Women and religious life in Byzantium*. Aldershot.
- Terry, A. und H. Maguire. 2007. *Dynamic splendor. The wall mosaics in the cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč*. University Park, PA.
- Thomas, J. P. 1987. *Private religious foundations in the Byzantine empire*. *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 24. Washington, DC.
- Thomas, J. und A. C. Hero. 2000. *Byzantine monastic foundation documents 1–5*. *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 35. Vols. 1–5. Washington, DC.
- van Bueren, T. und O. G. Oexle. 2005. "Die Darstellung der Sukzession: Über Sukzessionsbilder und ihren Kontext." In *Care for the here and the hereafter: Memoria, art and ritual in the Middle Ages*. Hrsg. T. van Bueren, 55–77. Turnhout.
- von Moos, P. 2004. "Öffentlich" und "privat" im Mittelalter. *Zu einem Problem historischer Begriffsbildung*. *Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 33. Heidelberg.
- Wilson, N. 1980. "The libraries of the Byzantine world." In *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*. Hrsg. D. Harlfinger, 273–80. Darmstadt.

SIEGE WARFARE, NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS, RELICS AND PERSONAL PIETY

Denis F. Sullivan¹

A useful survey of the relationship between relics and Byzantine emperors has been provided by Sophia Mergiali-Sahas,² who examines the topic through such categories as “political advantage,” “diplomacy,” and “military life.” One emperor not mentioned in her survey is Nikephoros II Phokas (963–69). It is my intent here to examine Phokas’ use of relics in his roles as military leader and emperor particularly with regard to political advantage and military life, but also with a view to personal religious conviction. Specifically I will look at a homily on Phokas’ translation of the *keramion* or Holy Tile³ as a primary example of the depiction of his attitude toward such holy objects. The paper will then compare the actions of Phokas with those of a predecessor, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, and Phokas’ successor, John Tzimiskes.

THE RELICS

Skylitzes records that in 963, before his accession, Phokas celebrated a triumph in the Hippodrome with the spoils from his victories in Crete and at Berroia. Skylitzes adds: “He also brought a portion of the raiment of John the Baptist that he had found laid up in Berroia.”⁴ Mark Whittow has commented that Phokas “was evidently determined that unlike John Kourkouas and the *mandylion* in 944, the credit for this relic should not be hijacked by anyone else.”⁵ Kourkouas commanded

¹ This paper is offered to Alice-Mary Talbot with profound gratitude for the opportunity over many years to participate in her Greek Reading Group at Dumbarton Oaks and especially to collaborate in the translation of Leo the Deacon from which this paper originated. An earlier version was read at the 30th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Baltimore, MD. 2004.

² Mergiali-Sahas (2001).

³ See Halkin (1963) 253–60.

⁴ Skylitzes, 254: 50–52, ed. Thurn (1973); trans. Wortley (2000) 139.

⁵ Whittow (1996) 348.

the siege of Edessa in 944 that recovered the *mandylion* but received virtually no recognition for it. In his acerbic letter to the caliph al-Muti (dated 964) Phokas lists a series of Byzantine military successes in Mesopotamia and adds: "The inhabitants of Edessa have taken refuge under our protection and that of the *mandylion* of the Lord the description of which is beyond any human capability."⁶ This alliance of emperor and relic will be returned to below.

In a chrysobull of 964 Phokas granted three relics to St. Athanasios for the Lavra: a fragment of the true cross and the head of Basil the Great and that of Alexander of Pydna. He provides a detailed description of the fragment:

Our divinely crowned and cross-bearing empire grants to its aforementioned Lavra the revered and all-holy wood itself from that life-giving <cross> itself that bore my Lord and Master, in length greater than a *spithame*,⁷ the transversal smaller, the thickness not less than an *anticheir*,⁸ in the form of a compound cross.

He indicates that he and Athanasios had venerated the other two relics "in the chapel of the palace dome of our pious empire (ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀνακτορικοῦ τρουύλλου τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλείας εὐκτηρίῳ οἴκῳ)."⁹ After his successful siege of Tarsus (965) Phokas deposited in St. Sophia "as a gift and as a tithe (δῶρον καὶ δεκάτην) of his expedition the precious crosses captured from the Byzantines when Stypeiotēs, then Domestic of the Schools, was besieging Tarsus"¹⁰ (i.e. in the 880s) and now recovered by Phokas. Leo the Deacon¹¹ (4.4) describes them as made of gold and precious stones and also mentions the dedication in the Great Church. These military crosses presumably contained a fragment of the True Cross.¹² The Madrid Skylitzes depicts Phokas himself carrying one of the crosses to Saint Sophia.¹³ The dedication contrasts with the related report of Skylitzes that at the same time Phokas also brought as secular tokens of his victories the gates of

⁶ Grunebaum (1976) 12.13; see also generally on the exchange Cheikh (2004) 156–62.

⁷ 23.4 cm.

⁸ 1/3 of a *spithame*.

⁹ Lemerle (1970) 103–6.

¹⁰ Skylitzes, 144: 48ff., ed. Thurn (1973) and 270: 40–43; trans. Wortley (2000) 147.

¹¹ Leo the Deacon is cited throughout by book and chapter from Talbot and Sullivan (2005).

¹² See Thierry (1985) 482 and McCormick (1991) 169–70.

¹³ Tsamakda (2002) 193, fig. 384 (fol. 152r).

Tarsus and Mopsuestia which were gilded and set up on the Acropolis and at the Golden Gate.¹⁴ Yet another relic is sometimes associated with Phokas; Skylitzes questionably indicates¹⁵ that Phokas recovered the bloody hair of John the Baptist from Hierapolis, although Leo the Deacon (10.4) attributes this to John Tzimiskes, as may Tzimiskes himself in the letter to Ashot III questionably attributed to Tzimiskes.¹⁶ As the contemporary source, Leo the Deacon's attribution appears more trustworthy than Skylitzes'. One of the inscriptions on the ivory reliquary of the True Cross preserved at Cortona ("In the past Christ gave to the powerful emperor (St.) Constantine / the cross for <our> salvation; / And now, our emperor in God Nikephoros / Puts to flight the tribes of barbarians because he possesses it")¹⁷ apparently refers to Nikephoros II Phokas and suggests the contemporary role of the military value of the Cross. However, the gift was apparently commissioned privately and without the approval or even the knowledge¹⁸ of the emperor.¹⁹

An account providing greater narrative detail concerning relics acquired by Phokas is the homily on the translation by Phokas of the *keramion* or Holy Tile and the Holy Blood (BHG 801 n, p). This complex text was edited by Halkin from three mss. which contain significant variations, and independently by Harvalia-Crook from a fourth manuscript, a florilegium of readings for the Feast of Orthodoxy.²⁰ A brief related comment on the recovery of the Holy Blood was also transcribed by Lambecius from Vienna Hist. gr. 38, f. 111v, a comment immediately following a text of the Ps.-Athanasios' *Sermo de miraculo Beryti*.²¹ I give below a translation of Halkin's edition of the

¹⁴ See Barker (1993) 47–48 and Mango (2000) 186.

¹⁵ Skylitzes 271: 62–63, ed. Thurn (1973).

¹⁶ Dostourian (1993) 29–33.

¹⁷ Translation by Oikonomides (1995) 79.

¹⁸ See Oikonomides (1995) 86.

¹⁹ Two other questionable references to relics might be mentioned. Benzo, bishop (ca. 1059–1085) of Alba, says that he found "In Atticis...hystoriis" that Phokas besieged Antioch for 7 years and twice a week circled the city preceded by a relic of the True Cross (Seyffert [1996] 508: 6–14). As Phokas left the siege of Antioch to his subordinates and it lasted less than a year, Benzo's claim appears to have no basis in fact. Likewise the account of Schlumberger (1923) 76 that Phokas' attack on Candax was preceded by three bishops, each carrying a relic of the True Cross, has no confirmation in the sources he cites and appears to be an invention.

²⁰ Harvalia-Crook (2002) 349–50.

²¹ Lambecius (1665–71) vol. 1, 237–38: τοῦτο τὸ θεῖον αἶμα καὶ ὕδωρ Νικηφόρος ὁ εὐσεβεστάτος βασιλεὺς εὐρὼν ἐν μιᾷ πόλει τῆς Συρίας, ἔλαβεν αὐτό, καὶ αὐτὸς

version in Paris Coislin 296 (12th century), hereafter ms. C, and provide in the footnotes some of the significant textual differences in the other two manuscripts, Moscow 161 and Paris 635.

TRANSLATION

Title: Concerning the transfer to Constantinople of the Revered and Divine Blood and the Holy Tile.²²

I judge it unjust for me to consign to silence, beloved, the transfer to Constantinople of this treasure, but even this we would clearly reveal for love of you.

1. For Nikephoros, a wondrous man, born and sprung from pious, noble, illustrious and courageous ancestors, [256] the most Christian and courageous man, and later by the Providence of God also taking control of the empire of the Romans and girding on all the imperial rule and with the assistance of God placing beneath his feet all the enemies of the Christians and *crushing like the mud of the streets*²³ the Hagarene dogs who opposed him, the man who surpasses all the emperors before him in intelligence and wit and strength, who consigned to complete oblivion first the <Arabs> of Crete, terrible and untameable beasts and <henchmen> of the devil, their boundless swarm, and freed all the West from the heavy burden they represented, then rendered the barbaric demons lurking in the island of <Cy>prus fugitives and vagabonds. Concerning the Hagarenes living near Cilicia it is not possible to say or write, not if there were myriad tongues, how he prevailed over and conquered <them> and put them to flight and put them into the earth like dung,²⁴ such a multitude, such manhood, such dominion. Nor did he stop there, but this wondrous emperor with his divinely protected army ravaged as far as the river Euphrates and killed some with the spear, others with smoke and fire and others otherwise. Their fortresses and towers he wasted and left more desolate than a desert.

δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεκόμισεν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἐν τῷ ἑξακισχιλίστῳ τετρακοσιοστῷ ἐβδόμηκοστῷ ἔτει, καὶ κατέθηκεν ἐν τῷ πανσέπτῳ ναῷ τῶν Ἁγίων Πάντων ("The Divine Blood and Water Nikephoros the most pious emperor found in one of the cities of Syria and took it; and he personally brought it back to Constantinople in the 6470th year (= 962) and placed it in the all-revered church of All Saints"). The date given is apparently in error.

²² The other mss. have "Concerning Nikephoros the emperor and how the Divine Blood of our Savior and God which flowed from the side of the holy icon was transferred by him."

²³ Ps. 17(18): 43.

²⁴ Cf. Ps. 82(83): 11.

[257] 2. In the process one of the cities called in the language of the Saracens “Memmich,” in that of the Syrians “Mabouk,”²⁵ named by the Christians “Hierapolis,” was found to contain within it the valuable treasure of the Revered and Divine Blood and Water which flowed from the revered icon concerning which is our present account, but also the Holy Tile with the likeness of the One who became man for us, and other relics of the saints.

And if you are willing and not grown weary, I will present the story from the beginning in my love for you for the sake of remembrance.²⁶

For a certain Abgar, toparch of the city of Edessa, was worn down with chronic arthritis and black leprosy;²⁷ when he heard concerning the Son of God that He raises the dead, gives sight to the blind, makes the lame walk, and strengthens all who are very weak, he sent in faith a letter to Christ through Ananias the painter and courier, ordering him to depict the Christ, specifically the precise nature of His stature and hair and simply all His limbs. Ananias came to [258] Jerusalem and after giving the Lord the letter was carefully observing Him. And he was unable to capture His physical appearance because He appeared one way and <then> another. And the Lord as the One Who knows secrets and examines hearts and minds, knowing his intent, asked <for water> to wash and after this occurred He was given a linen rag. Having washed, He dried His blameless and holy face with it. As a result His divine image and face were impressed on the towel, as He himself alone knew, and he gave the <towel> to Ananias saying: “Go and give this to the one who sent you and report to him as follows: Peace be to you and your city so that no enemy ever overpowers it.” He also entrusted to him a letter so that he might have these to assuage his desire and illness.

And so while returning with these the painter Ananias came to the *kastron* of Hierapolis and rested outside this fortress; there was a recently fabricated pile of bricks lying there, in which Ananias hid that holy cloth. And around midnight a great fire was visible encircling the place, so that those inside the city thought that everything around was being burned and in fear went out and investigated the fire which they observed. They seized Ananias whom they found there as the perpetrator of the daring

²⁵ Cf. *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, 20:21–22:1, ed. Guscini (2009): ὁ Ἀνανίας εἰς τὸ κάστρον Ἱεραπόλεως ἐφθασεν, ὃ τῇ μὲν τῶν Σαρακηνῶν φωνῇ Μεμβίχ λέγεται, τῇ δὲ τῶν Σύρων Μαβούκ. This phrasing is not found in the *Synaxarion*, only in the *Narratio*.

²⁶ The following paragraphs describing the creation of the *mandylion* and the *keramion* are found only in ms. C and, as Halkin noted, draw heavily in the first paragraph from the *Acta Thaddaei* and in the second from the *Narratio de imagine Edessena*. I have added indications of additional material drawn from the latter. Notably the author has chosen the first of the two versions of the creation of the *keramion* given in the *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, the version also found in Leo the Deacon (4.10).

²⁷ Cf. *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, 12:13–14, ed. Guscini (2009): ἀρθρίτιδι χρόνιφ τυραννούμενον ἦδει καὶ μελαίνῃ λέρῃ ἐκδαπανόμενον.

deed, interrogating him as to who he was and inquiring where he was going and from where <he was coming>. But after Ananias showed his astonishment at the strangeness of the accusation, he made clear then his origins and from where <he was coming> and what he was carrying and he told them that he had placed what he was carrying among the bricks [259] from which it seemed that the fire was started.

Immediately they desired to discover the truth of what he said and were searching the place and found not only what Ananias had deposited there, but also on one of the adjacent bricks another impression of the divine image transferred miraculously and beyond comprehension to the ostrakon from the cloth containing the unpainted image. Seeing this and at the same time full of astonishment and amazement, they took for themselves the brick which had taken on the divine impression, but the prototype they sent in fear to Abgar to keep along with their messenger Ananias.

3. Recovering from there this Holy Tile and the Revered Blood like some holy heirlooms and most valued treasures, the emperor Nikephoros gave <them> to us, bringing <them> to Constantinople and placing <them>²⁸ in the church, Spring of Cures, of the most holy mistress the Theotokos in Blachernai, during the month of January on the 23rd²⁹ <day>, 10th indiction in the 6475th year (= 967). Then from there again they were transferred by the leading officials of the Great Church and by pious clerics all bearing torches and chanting this *troparion* which was fitting and finely appropriate: "Through the divinely flowing blood emptied, Lord Christ, from Your [260] blameless and life-giving side idolatrous sacrifice has ceased, but we, all the earth, bring sacrifice of praise to You." Then again transferred in similar fashion they were placed in the church of the holy palace *to the glory of the faithful, to the protection of emperors, to the security of the whole city and of the community of the Christians*.³⁰ And so having spoken out of love for you let us proceed to another narrative if it is pleasing.

As Halkin noted, the titles in two of the manuscripts mention only the Holy Blood, the third (ms. C) both relics, and all three contain the passage, "the valuable treasure of the Revered and Divine Blood and Water

²⁸ The other two mss. read: "This treasure the emperor Nikephoros gave to us, bringing it to Constantinople and placing it...". The "treasure" in these versions apparently refers only to the Holy Blood.

²⁹ The other mss. read the 24th.

³⁰ Cf. *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, 60:6–9, ed. Guscini (2009): ἡ θεία εἰκὼν καὶ ἐν τῷ προρηθέντι τοῦ Φάρου ναῶ ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἀνιερῶθη καὶ ἀνετέθη μέρει εἰς δόξαν πιστῶν, εἰς φυλακὴν βασιλέων καὶ εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ὅλης τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν καταστάσεως. The other mss. read: "And then it was placed in the church of All Saints to the unforgotten memory, to the glory, to the praise of the emperor Nikephoros who gave us this treasure."

which flowed from the revered icon concerning which is our present account, but also the Holy Tile.” Yet there is no further detail on either relic, leading Halkin to conclude that in the absence of the discovery of a complete exemplar, the original text will remain uncertain. The version edited by Harvalia-Crook from Hierosolymitanus S. Sabas gr. 105 (14th c.), apparently without knowledge of Halkin’s edition,³¹ is most similar to Halkin’s Moscow 161 and Paris 635 manuscript versions. It lacks the story of the origin of the *mandylion* and the *keramion*, focuses on the Holy Blood, and concludes with the dedication of the Blood in the church of All Saints to the glory of Phokas. It too contains the reference to “[the Holy Blood] which is our present account, but also the Holy Tile.” One might suggest that version C which emphasizes the *keramion*, an acheiropoietos icon, is more appropriate for the feast of Orthodoxy, which celebrated the final defeat of iconoclasm. The differences it contains in title, headings, specific mention of both Blood and *keramion* in the final paragraph (the other versions mention only “this treasure”), the inclusion of the origin of the *mandylion* and the *keramion* and the latter’s dedication in the palace chapel (not in the church of All Saints) are internally consistent.³²

These texts on the Holy Blood and Holy Tile were briefly annotated by Halkin and Harvalia-Crook. Their annotations include comments on Phokas’ liberation of Crete in 961 and of Cyprus in 965, and on his capture of Hierapolis in 966. Based on the lack of any reference to the murder of Phokas and the opening eulogy of Phokas and his ancestors, “d’une belle envolée,” Halkin plausibly suggested that the author was a contemporary inspired by a sincere and unlimited admiration for Phokas.

³¹ See also Stephenson (2005) 129.

³² Morris (2003) 251–52 comments on the Halkin texts and suggests that the *keramion* was “moved to the Church of All Saints (and possibly later to the Great Palace).” As the author of version C is copying a portion of his dedicatory reference here from the *Narratio* dedication of the *mandylion* and may have omitted an intervening step, an initial move to All Saints is possible. I would note, however, that the phrases “Then again transferred in similar fashion” and “in the chapel of the holy palace” are his own and not found in the *Narratio*, suggesting a conscious choice. A final dedication in the Pharos is also consistent with the clear statement of Leo the Deacon (4.10) on Phokas’ placement of the *keramion* there as noted below. The placement would also put the *keramion* in the most secure location in the city and with the added protection of the palace wall which Phokas had constructed (see Leo the Deacon 4.6). I suggest that the C text should be followed for the *keramion*, but not necessarily for the Holy Blood, and that the *keramion* was most logically placed with the *mandylion*.

The acquisition of the Tile is confirmed from numerous other sources. Yahya of Antioch says: "Nikephoros besieged Menbidj on Saturday the 18th of Chawwal in the year 355 (= 7 Oct. 966) and reclaimed from the inhabitants of this city the "brick" (al-qirmadih). And they brought it to him. He took it from them and they witnessed his benevolence and he did them no other evil."³³ Likewise Skylitzes records that Phokas took the "acheiropoietos" Holy Tile from Hierapolis³⁴ and Leo the Deacon (4.12) reports that Phokas found the tile at Edessa (almost certainly an error), adding a brief account of the creation of the Tile similar to that in the Halkin ms. C. He further notes that Phokas took away the Tile and had a case of gold and gems created to hold it and dedicated it in the "Church of the Mother of God which is in the imperial palace." The acquisition of the Holy Blood I have not found confirmed elsewhere.

EMPERORS, WARFARE AND RELICS

Mergiali-Sahas collects³⁵ numerous examples illustrating the use of relics in Byzantine offensive military operations, among these the emperor Maurice's use of a piece of the True Cross on a golden pole during an expedition into Thrace in 591, Heraclius' use of a piece of the True Cross on a spear against the Persians in 622, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos' dispatch to his troops of holy water ("extracted myrrh") derived from Passion Relics,³⁶ Alexios I Komnenos' use of the *omophorion* of the Virgin against the Patzinaks, Manuel I Komnenos' use of a cruciform reliquary with Passion Relics in 1176 at Iconion, and Isaac II Angelos' use of an elaborate reliquary containing a piece of the True Cross against the Bulgarians in 1190. It is worth adding that the relics themselves were sometimes endangered on campaign. As mentioned above, Stypeiotes lost the crosses at Tarsus; in addition, Alexios I Komnenos was wounded in the battle and had to hide the *omophorion* "in a germander bush,"³⁷ and Isaac II's reliquary was

³³ Kratchkovsky (1924) 805.

³⁴ Skylitzes 271: 60–62, ed. Thurn (1973).

³⁵ Mergiali-Sahas (2001) 49–51.

³⁶ See McGeer (2003) 132–33.

³⁷ Anna Komnena, *Alexiad*, 7.3.14., ed. Leib (1937–66).

captured by the Bulgarians “after one of the priests had thrown it down.”³⁸

Mergiali-Sahas also notes the role of relics in saving Constantinople while under siege. For example, the relics of the True Cross and the Virgin’s robe were said to have played a role in saving the city from the Avar and Persian siege of 626, from the Arab siege of 717–18, and from the siege by Thomas the Slav in 822.³⁹ The emperor Romanos I wore the *omophorion* of the Virgin in 924 when negotiating with Symeon of Bulgaria to lift his siege of the city.⁴⁰ One may add Photius’ report that in the Russian attack of 860, “Immediately, as the Virgin’s robe went round the walls, the barbarians abandoned the siege and broke camp.”⁴¹ But when the Rus’ are said to be threatening the city in 969, Leo the Deacon (5.2) records that Phokas engaged in various military preparations, including placement of artillery on the walls and a chain across the entrance to the Golden Horn. No mention is made of relics.

Mergiali-Sahas notes that acquisition of relics could consolidate an emperor’s reign internally and serve as a sign of dynastic prestige elsewhere, for example the acquisition of the arm of the protomartyr Stephen by Theodosius⁴² in 421, of the True Cross by Heraclius in 630, of the *mandylion* by Romanos in 944, and of the arm of John the Baptist under Constantine VII in 956.⁴³ One may add Leo VI’s removal of the remains of St. Lazarus from Cyprus to Constantinople. At the dedication of this relic Arethas extolled the emperor who provided the relics: “May you be with us happily for many days, treading upon the enemy, despoiling the foe, plundering our opponents; may the ambassadors of other subject tribes come to you, as now the Bulgarians in recognition of your invincible strength, licking the dust of your feet due to the intercessions of Lazarus.”⁴⁴ Mergiali-Sahas also notes that sharing relics with other rulers throughout Christendom,

³⁸ Akropolites, *History*, trans. Macrides (2007) 133.

³⁹ Mergiali-Sahas (2001) 44 n. 16.

⁴⁰ Mergiali-Sahas (2001) 51. One might add that Romanos’ wearing of the *omophorion* (as “an unbreachable breastplate”) is described in detail by Theophanes Continuatus 406:19–407:10, ed. Bekker (1838).

⁴¹ Photios, *Homily* 4, trans. Mango (1958) 102; see also Wortley (2005) 184.

⁴² This, however, has been challenged by Wortley (1980) as a pious fiction, given the lack of any reference to it in a contemporary source, contra Holum and Vikan (1979/1993).

⁴³ Mergiali-Sahas (2001) 46.

⁴⁴ Arethas, *Opus* 59.16.12–14, ed. Westerink (1968–1972).

especially Passion Relics, was a statement of the universal sovereignty of Byzantine imperial authority.⁴⁵

How might we see Phokas' view of relics in comparison to that of other emperors? The *keramion* text version C clearly indicates a desire to affirm the legitimacy of his rule.⁴⁶ The C version particularly mentions the Holy Tile in its title, contains the description of the origin of the Tile, and mentions a dedication in the palace chapel. Comparison to the *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, a text perhaps written by Constantine VII himself to confirm his own legitimacy, is instructive. On its way to the capital the *mandylion* cures a demoniac who then cries out "Constantinople take the glory and joy, and you Constantine Porphyrogennetos your kingdom."⁴⁷ The arrival of the *mandylion* through the Golden Gate and its subsequent route bears similarities to an imperial *adventus*.⁴⁸ E. Patlagean has suggested that Constantine was formulating a theory of imperial authority, the indissoluble union between the emperor, the imperial city and Christ.⁴⁹ The C version of the *keramion* text apparently uses material from the *Narratio* to establish a link between the two relics. The description of Hierapolis in the former, with the alternative Syriac and Arabic versions of its name, agrees verbatim with the latter, and the phrasing is not found elsewhere. The purpose of the dedication of the Tile in the Pharos chapel likewise agrees with that given in the *Narratio* for the *mandylion* in the same chapel.⁵⁰ In addition, in his letter to al-Muti Phokas had associated himself with the *mandylion* as a defensive talisman. It is also notable that he chose to enter Constantinople as emperor on August 17, the day after the *mandylion* entered 19 years earlier as commemorated in the *Synaxarion*.⁵¹ Phokas' own legiti-

⁴⁵ Mergiali-Sahas (2001) 48.

⁴⁶ This conclusion has already been suggested by Morris (2003) 251. I hope I have shown more fully how it is embedded in the Halkin C text.

⁴⁷ *Narratio de imagine Edessena*, 50:20–21, ed. Guscini (2009).

⁴⁸ Morris (2003) 252 notes the similarity of the route taken by the *mandylion* and the *keramion*.

⁴⁹ Patlagean (1995) *passim* and esp. 51. The well known comment in Symeon Magister, that when Constantine and the sons of Romanos were shown the *mandylion*, only the former could distinguish facial features ("eyes and ears"), is also valuable in this regard; see Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronographia* 750: 15–18, ed. Bekker (1838) and Guscini (2009) 180–81.

⁵⁰ This phrasing is also found in the *Synaxarion* entry on the *mandylion*.

⁵¹ McCormick (1991) 169 has noted "that popular belief invested certain days with deep and mysterious potency" and rightly connected Phokas' choice of August 17 with

macy is thus enhanced by his acquisition and parallel treatment of the miraculous duplicate of the *mandylion* acquired by a recent predecessor. Recalling Phokas' display of the raiment of John the Baptist in his triumph of 963 noted earlier, one might compare the translation in 956 of the arm of John the Baptist, stolen from a church in Antioch, welcomed to Constantinople with great ceremony by Constantine VII, and memorialized a year later in a speech of Theodore Daphnopates for its importance to the city of Constantinople and the emperor.⁵² Moreover with Phokas the acquisition of the *keramion* and the other relics was due to his personal military prowess, a fact strongly stressed in the Halkin homily. It is also perhaps not without significance that Phokas' murderer and successor John Tzimiskes acquired the Beirut icon which Leo the Deacon (10.5), as well as titles and phrases in the Halkin texts, describes as the one which bled,⁵³ and also, most likely, the bloody hair of John the Baptist.⁵⁴ For both Phokas and Tzimiskes the imperial legitimacy conferred by acquisition of relics is further enhanced by the imitation of recent or immediate predecessors.

In conclusion I would offer a speculative suggestion. The lack of clear evidence of Phokas' use of relics in battle may be attributable to nothing more than to omission of the seemingly obvious or loss of relevant sources, yet it seems unusual in the context of imperial practice and the extensive source material on him. Was he troubled about the risk of possible loss of such sacred objects to the enemy? His recovery and personal dedication of the crosses lost by Stypeiotes might suggest this. His recovery of relics and subsequent dedications of them also suggests a high degree of reverence, in addition to their obvious propaganda value. While Phokas' relation to the religious establishment was checkered, including the rejection of his request to have

the celebration that day of the feast of the Virgin's victory over the Arab besiegers of Constantinople. I simply add here the enhanced significance of the choice.

⁵² See Kalavrezou (1997) 75–78 with bibliography, who sees this translation as “securing his [Constantine's] dynasty on the throne.” See also Morris (2003) 252–53.

⁵³ Harvalia-Crook (2002) 362 argues that the Holy Blood in her text should not be connected with that from the Beirut icon, but with the legend of the Blood collected at the crucifixion itself. The connection, however, is found not only in the *Florilegium* from which she edited her text, but also in the title found in the Moscow 161 and Paris 635 mss. (see n. 22 above), the phrase in ms. C (“which flowed from the revered icon”), and in the Lambecius' text (see above n. 21). The association of the Beirut icon with the blood recovered by Phokas is accepted by Vasiliki (2003) 125.

⁵⁴ Skylitzes 271:62–63, ed. Thurn (1973), however, attributes the recovery of the hair of the Baptist to Phokas himself.

soldiers who died in battle declared martyrs,⁵⁵ his personal devotion is hard to question, though Skylitzes certainly did so.⁵⁶ Leo the Deacon described him on the night of his murder as studying the Holy Scripture and lying on the floor before holy icons (5.6). Leo also claims that Phokas was “strict and unbending in his prayers and all-night standing vigils to God and kept his mind undistracted during the singing of hymns” (5.8). The *Praecepta militaria*, authored by Phokas himself or at his direction, mentions religious issues in two passages. At 4.11 as the army advances against the enemy all the troops are directed to say “the invincible prayer proper to Christians: Lord Jesus Christ, our God, have mercy on us.”⁵⁷ Subsequently at the trumpet signal they are to repeat this prayer and add: “Come to the aid of us Christians...Amen.” At 6.2 the officers are instructed to insure that in camp during the Doxology, morning and evening, the host is to respond to the Litany of the priests “Lord have mercy” up to 100 times “with devotion and fear toward God, even with tears, with no one daring to attend to any other task at the hour of prayer.”⁵⁸ The text then specifies penalties for failure to comply, including demotion in rank, beatings, shorn hair, and public display.

The *Typikon* of Athanasios, written between 973–75, is even more revealing. Athanasios describes Phokas as “an ardent supporter and lover of this solitary life” and indicates that he would have become a monk had he not been hindered by the emperors. He notes Phokas’ support of ascetic centers on Mount Kyminas and indicates that while Phokas never became a monk “he surpassed the monks...because of his practice of virtue, his strict control over his mind, his lengthy fasts, his strenuous vigils, and his continual sleeping on the ground”⁵⁹ (a description very similar to the later one of Leo the Deacon noted above). Still more telling is Athanasios’ description of his meeting in Constantinople with Phokas after the latter had become emperor. Athanasios says he reproached Phokas because he had given one set of orders (regarding construction of a cell for him at the Lavra), adding,

⁵⁵ See Morris (1988) 88 and Stephenson (2007).

⁵⁶ Skylitzes 260: 78–80, ed. Thurn (1973), writing with a strong anti-Phokas bias, in commenting on the emperor’s abstinence from meat after the death of his son says: “Only Nikephoros and God know whether this was really an abstinence or merely an affectation to deceive those in power,” trans. Wortley (2000) 142.

⁵⁷ *Praecepta militaria*, trans. McGeer (1995) 45.

⁵⁸ *Praecepta militaria*, trans. McGeer (1995) 57.

⁵⁹ Athanasios, *Typikon* [2], trans. Dennis (2000) 250–51.

“but it would seem that you were thinking about and planning something else, as events have proven.” To his surprise Athanasios found Phokas defending himself, saying that he “held the diadem in utter contempt,” that “he had no relations at all with his wife,” and that when the time was right he would come to Athos. Athanasios adds “Let everyone, therefore, put aside any thought of disbelief and know for certain that... [were it not for his martyr’s death]... he would have put a fitting seal on his compact and promises to God.”⁶⁰ This meeting presumably took place at the time the two venerated the relics of Basil and Alexander of Pydna and just before Phokas issued the chrysobull granting the relics to the Lavra.⁶¹ One might note that Phokas’ gift of a piece of the True Cross, unlike dedications by other emperors, is not to another imperial equal or high church authority, but to an ascetic monastic leader. While clearly not above using relics to strengthen his authority, an authority that might be seen as essential to the stability of the state and enhanced by the presence of the relics within the imperial city, Phokas also appears to have had a genuine devotion to the holy objects. Perhaps he considered their preservation in a secure location the best security for the city, and his own military prowess its second best protector. Paul Magdalino’s characterization of Basil II (“a very individual mixture of hard-line autocracy and ascetic piety”),⁶² for whom Phokas had served as regent, would seem to fit the regent as well as the ward.⁶³

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Bekker, I., ed. 1838. *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*. Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae. Bonn.
- Dennis, G. 2000. “Typikon of Athanasios the Athonite for the Lavra Monastery.” In *Byzantine monastic foundation documents*. Vol. 2. Ed. J. Thomas and A. Hero, 245–70. Washington, DC.
- Dostourian, A. 1993. *Armenia and the crusades: Tenth to twelfth centuries: the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*. Lanham, MD.

⁶⁰ Athanasios, *Typikon* [7], trans. Dennis (2000) 252.

⁶¹ For the likely time limits of the meeting between Phokas and Athanasios, “early 964, before May,” see Dennis (2000) 266–67.

⁶² Magdalino (2003) 265.

⁶³ I am most grateful to Elizabeth Fisher and Paul Stephenson who read earlier drafts of this paper and whose suggestions have improved it significantly.

- Grunebaum, G. von. 1937/1976. "Eine poetische Polemik zwischen Byzanz und Baghdad im 10. Jahrhundert." *Analecta Orientalia* 14: 43–64. Repr. in G. Von Grunebaum, *Islam and medieval Hellenism: Social and cultural perspectives*. London.
- Guscini, M. 2009. *The image of Edessa*. Leiden.
- Halkin, F. 1963. "Translation par Nicéphore Phocas de la brique miraculeuse d'Hiéropolis (BHG³ 801n)." In *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou*. Ed. F. Halkin, 253–60. *Subsidia hagiographica* 38. Brussels.
- Harvalia-Crook, E. 2002. "A witness to the later tradition of the florilegium in the letter of the three patriarchs, an anonymous collection of icon stories (Hierosolymitanus S. Sabas gr. 105)." In *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the history and literature of Byzantium and the Latin east in honour of Julian Chrysostomides*. Ed. C. Dendrinos, J. Harris, E. Harvalia-Crook, and J. Herrin, 341–68. London.
- Kratchkovsky, J. and A. Vasiliev. 1924. "Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Sa'id d'Antioche continué de Sa'id-ibn-Bitriq." *Patrologia Orientalis* 18:699–833. Paris.
- Lambeckius [Lambeck], P. 1665–71. *Commentariorum de augustissima bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi liber 1–4*. Vienna.
- Leib, B. 1937–66. *Alexiade*. 4 vols. Paris.
- Lemerle, P. et al., 1970. *Archives de l'Athos V. Actes de Lavra, 1*. Paris.
- McGeer, E. 1995. *Sowing the dragon's teeth: Byzantine warfare in the tenth century*. Washington, DC.
- . 2003. "Two military orations of Constantine VII." In *Byzantine authors: Literary activities and preoccupations. Texts and translations dedicated to the memory of Nicolas Oikonomides*. Ed. J. Nesbitt, 111–38. Leiden and Boston.
- Macrides, R. 2007. *George Akropolites: The history*. Oxford.
- Mango, C. 1958. *The homilies of Photius*. Cambridge, MA.
- Seyffert, H., ed. 1996. *Benzo von Alba, Ad Heinricum IV imperatorem libri 7*. *Monumenta Germaniae historica*. *Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*: 65. Hannover.
- Talbot, A.-M. and D. Sullivan. 2005. *The History of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine military expansion in the tenth century*. Washington DC.
- Thurn, J., ed. 1973. *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*. Berlin.
- Westerink, L., ed. 1968/1972. *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*. Vol. 1–2. Repr. Leipzig.
- Wortley, J. 2000. *John Skylitzes: A synopsis of histories (811–1057 AD): A provisional translation*. University of Manitoba.

Secondary Literature

- Barker, J. 1993. "Byzantium and the display of war trophies: Between antiquity and the Venetians." In *To Hellenikon: Studies in honor of Spyros Vryonis, Jr.* Ed. A. Kyprianides, 45–58. New Rochelle.
- Cheikh, N. M. El. 2004. *Byzantium viewed by the Arabs*. Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs 36. Cambridge, MA.
- Holum, K. and G. Vikan. 1979/2003. "The Trier ivory, *adventus* ceremonial, and the relics of St. Stephen." *DOP* 33: 113–33. Repr. in G. Vikan, *Sacred images and sacred power in Byzantium*. Aldershot.
- Kalavrezou, I. 1997. "Helping hands for the empire: Imperial ceremonies and the cult of relics at the Byzantine court." In *Byzantine court culture from 829 to 1204*. Ed. H. Maguire, 53–79. Washington, DC.
- McCormick, M. 1991. *Eternal victory: Triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium and the early medieval West*. Cambridge.
- Magdalino, P. 2003. "The Year 1000 in Byzantium." In *Byzantium in the year 1000*. Ed. P. Magdalino, 233–70. Leiden.
- Mango, C. 2000. "The triumphal way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate." *DOP* 54: 173–88.

- Mergiali-Sahas, S. 2001. "Byzantine emperors and holy relics: Use and misuse of sanctity and authority." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 51: 41–60.
- Morris, R. 1988. "The two faces of Nikephoros Phokas." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12: 83–115.
- Morris, R. 2003. "Beyond the *De Ceremoniis*." In *Court culture in the early middle ages*. Ed. C. Cubitt, 235–54. Turnhout.
- Oikonomides, N. 1995. "The Concept of 'Holy War' and two tenth-century byzantine ivories." In *Peace and war in Byzantium: Essays in honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.* Ed. T. Miller and J. Nesbitt, 62–85. Washington, DC.
- Patlagean, E. 1995. "L'entrée de la Sainte Face d'Édesse à Constantinople en 944." In *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne (Chrétienté et Islam)*. Ed. A. Vauchez, 21–35. Paris.
- Schlumberger, G. 1923. *Un empereur byzantin au dixième siècle, Nicephore Phokas*. Paris.
- Stephenson, P. 2005. Review of *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the history and literature of Byzantium and the Latin east in honour of Julian Chrysostomides*. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56: 128–29.
- . 2007. "Imperial Christianity and sacred war in Byzantium." In *Belief and bloodshed: Religion and violence across time and tradition*. Ed. J. Wellman, 81–93. Lanham, MD.
- Thierry, N. 1985. "Un portrait de Jean Tzimiskès en Cappadoce." *Travaux et Mémoires* 9: 477–84. Paris.
- Tsamakda, V. 2002. *The illustrated chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*. Leiden.
- Vasiliki, M. 2003. "Bleeding icons." In *Icon and word: The power of images in Byzantium*. Ed. A. Eastmond and L. James, 121–34. Burlington, VT.
- Whittow, M. 1996. *The making of orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025*. London.
- Wortley, J. 1980. "The Trier ivory reconsidered." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 21: 381–94.
- . 2005. "The Marian relics at Constantinople." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 45: 171–87.

AN ANONYMOUS NARRATIVE OF THE MARTYRDOM OF THE ANCHORITES OF MOUNT SINAI (*BHG 307D*)

Angela Constantinides Hero

In one of her seminal studies on the entire range of Byzantine monasticism, Alice-Mary Talbot discussed the selection of sites by founders of Byzantine monasteries, citing among other concerns of monastic *ktetores* the important issue of security.¹

The ravage of the anchoritic settlements at Mount Sinai and Raithou² on the Sinai peninsula during the late fourth century is one of the earliest examples of the danger posed to rural monasteries by marauding tribes, pirates or enemy invaders. Two hagiographical compositions, purporting to be eyewitness accounts of the hermits' martyrdom, have preserved vivid descriptions of these devastating raids. The *Narrative* by the Egyptian monk Ammonios³ describes both the Saracen attack against Mount Sinai and the invasion of Raithou by the Blemmyes, a tribe from southern Egypt,⁴ while the much longer work known as *Narrations*⁵ by the hermit Neilos deals with the raid against Mount Sinai in connection with the capture of his son by the savage raiders.

The authenticity and authorship of both these works have been challenged in the past by several scholars who regard them as works of fiction in the tradition of the Greek romance.⁶ However, recent students of nomadic raids on the Sinai peninsula agree that they contain reliable historical information.⁷ Another long-standing assumption currently disputed is the identification, prevalent since the eighth

¹ Talbot (2007) 56.

² Modern El Tor or Abu Zenima; see *ODB* 3: 1770.

³ See Ἀμμωνίου Διήγησις, (ed.) Tsames (2003), *Μαρτυρολόγιον*, 288–330.

⁴ *ODB* 1: 296.

⁵ See Conca (1983); Tsames (2003) 354–452. The Tsames edition is based on Conca's and the following manuscripts: the 10th century Sinaiticus 437 and the 14th century Athonite mss., Philotheou 88 and Esphigmenou 85. The first edition by P. Poussines in 1639 (*PG* 79: 589A–693B) is not a critical edition and must be read with caution, as noted by Halkin (1984) 267.

⁶ See Heussi (1917) 123–59; Devreesse (1940) 220 ff.; Henniger (1955) 81–148; Tsames (2003) 340–41.

⁷ See Mayerson (1963) 160–72; Mayerson (1975) 51–74; Christides (1973) 39–50; Tsames (2003) 342–43.

century, of the author of the *Narrations* with Neilos of Ankyra, the fifth-century ascetic known from the theological treatises and vast correspondence ascribed to him.⁸ A plausible answer to the question of the elusive author was provided recently by Tsames.⁹ Arguing that the devastating raids described in the *Narrations* must have occurred during the troubled period preceding the Arab conquest of Mount Sinai in 633, Tsames identified the author tentatively with a late sixth-century hermit named Neilos, who was visited in his hermitage on the peak of Mount Sinai by two learned monks—believed by some to be John Moschos and Sophronios of Jerusalem—and in the discussion which took place there he impressed his visitors with his knowledge of the Old Testament and his spirituality.¹⁰

The third *Narrative* translated here is an entry in an imperial *menologion* by an anonymous author who composed an abridgment in five chapters of Neilos' account of the Saracen attack on Mount Sinai, by selecting out of the 65 chapters which make up the *Narrations* the fourteen chapters dealing with the massacre of the monks (chaps. 16–28; 31–42). The author opens his brief prologue with the old and well known topos of modesty¹¹ by stressing his qualms in undertaking the awesome task of writing about the extraordinary lives and achievements not of one but of many holy men. Then he declares that his purpose was to render comprehensible the long and highbrow discourse of Neilos, which was not accessible to “many people.” That he is speaking of listeners rather than readers is evident from his statement that he was writing to gratify “the ears” of God-loving people. This may seem like an odd remark in the case of a *menologion* destined for the private use of the emperor, but the story of the anger of Basil II upon hearing the *Life of Theoktiste* read aloud from a Metaphrasteian *menologion*¹² indicates that *menologia* were read aloud at court, where they must have been valued for their edifying and entertaining hagiographical contents, “the equivalent of the modern novel,” as characterized by Ševčenko.¹³

⁸ ODB 2: 1450.

⁹ Tsames (2003) 343–48.

¹⁰ Longo (1965–66) 251–67.

¹¹ ODB 2: 1387.

¹² Høgel (2002) 150.

¹³ Ševčenko (1985) 15.

The author's concern for a comprehensible style may be another instance of a *topos* found in the programmatic statements of Byzantine men of letters who attribute their choice of clarity (σαφήνεια) to their desire to be understood by a wider audience.¹⁴ There is no doubt, however, that Neilos' prolixity, classicizing vocabulary and relatively complicated syntax would have made his work inaccessible to those without a higher education. The author's abridgment, on the other hand, has the advantage of clarity in addition to brevity. He writes in the literary language, but opts for straightforward Greek and a simpler sentence structure. The passages he chooses to quote from Neilos are among the most intelligible, and he makes them even easier to comprehend by leaving out redundant words or modifying the vocabulary by using less obscure or demotic synonyms for certain words.¹⁵ His quotations are from the Bible with the exception of one classical allusion of the type that had become tags. Since he is writing for a *menologion*, he focuses on the martyrdom of the monks commemorated on 14 January and instructs those interested in the miraculous escape from captivity of Neilos' son Theodoulos to consult Neilos. In the passages he borrows from the latter he acknowledges his source with the phrase "as the celebrated Neilos shows" or "as the divine Neilos says" (chaps. 2 and 3).

In addition to Neilos, his sources include the two synaxaria for the 14th of January. Tsames (p. 351) assumed that our author was also familiar with Ammonios' account of the invasion of Raithou by the Blemmyes because Anonymous incorrectly attributed to the Blemmyes (chap. 3) the atrocities at Sinai. According to both Ammonios (chaps 3–5) and Neilos (chap. 15) this atrocity was committed by Arab nomads. But since there is no other indication in the text that our author had read Ammonios, it seems more likely that Anonymous

¹⁴ See Browning (1978) 122, where he cites such statements in works by John Tzetzes and Constantine Manasses, dedicated to imperial princesses who were not, as a rule, formally educated. Irene Choumnaina—a woman of avowed literary interests and daughter of the erudite Nikephoros Choumnos—apologized to her spiritual director for her spelling errors, saying, "They would have taught me grammar, too, if they cared for me so much as to give me an education." See Hero (1986) Letter 1: 10–12.

¹⁵ The following are examples of his working method: *Narrations*, chap. 27 [Tsames (2003), 392, ll.1–3]: τοῖς πόνοις τῆς ἀσκήσεως οὐ μετρίως ἐκτετυρωμένον; *Narrative*, chap. 3 [Halkin (1984), 269, ll. 15–16]: τοῖς τῆς ἀσκήσεως πόνοις καταγῆράσαντα; *Narrations*, chap. 32 [Tsames (2003) 400, ll. 6–7]: τεθνήκασι δὲ τελειωθέντες μετὰ τὰ Θεοφάνια; *Narrative* Chap. 4 [Halkin (1984), 270, ll. 4–5]: ἐτελειώθησαν μετὰ τὰ ἄγια φῶτα.

derived the name of that marauding tribe from the brief notice in the synaxarion for the 14th of January.¹⁶ He had obviously read both synaxaria for that day—albeit not carefully—because he owes to the other one the error of dating to the reign of Diocletian the martyrdom of a number of monks (chap. 4) known from Neilos (chap. 47) to have perished during the Saracen attack he describes.¹⁷

Finally, his account differs from its main source in one more point: missing from the *Narrative* are the gory descriptions of barbarian savagery¹⁸ found in the *Narrations* and so vividly depicted in the illuminated manuscript (Baltimorensis 521),¹⁹ which has preserved the *Narrative*.

The text of the *Narrative* survives in a *menologion* for the month of January, on the fourteenth day of which the Orthodox Church celebrates the memory of the thirty-eight anchorites martyred at Mount Sinai and the forty-three martyred at Raithou (*SynaxCP* 391–92). Like our unknown author's composition, all abridged *Lives* in this *menologion* end with prayers for the emperor couched in twelve-syllable verses whose initial letters form the acrostic Μιχαήλ Π. Halkin (1939, 228–30), who discovered and edited this text, dates the manuscript to the mid eleventh century and identifies the owner of the *menologion* with Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–41).

Halkin's view was first challenged by Ševčenko (1985, 6 n. 2) and later by Detorakis (1990, 46–50). Ševčenko considers this *menologion*

¹⁶ See Delahaye [(1902), 391–392]: 'Ετέρων ἁγίων πατέρων μγ' ἐν τῇ 'Ραιθῷ σφαγέντων ὑπὸ τῶν Βλεμμύων.

¹⁷ See Delahaye [(1902), 391–392]: Τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων ἡμῶν τῶν ἐν Σινῶ τῷ ὄρει τελειωθέντων. Οὗτοι ὑπῆρχον ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τῆς βασιλείας Διοκλητιανοῦ.

¹⁸ See chapters 25, 26 and 37 (Tsames [2003] 390–92; 406). The following is an example of the Anonymous' expurgation of cruel details from the passage he borrows from Neilos describing the execution of the abbot (chap. 26; Tsames 2003, 390): "After ordering first the priest of the holy place to stretch out his neck, they attacked him with their swords, not both of them at once (for there were two), but one after the other from each side, striking him at the top of the back. He did not cry out in pain nor did he change the expression of his face. One of the blows went from the back to the jaw through the ear, while the other stretched from the shoulder to the breast. And thus the blessed man spun around slowly and fell in a decent position, without any sign of his murder or his nakedness." The author replaces all of the above with a single word: "διαχειρίζονται" ("they kill"). One wonders if this purging of violence reflects a personal aversion to cruelty or a deference to the sensitivities of the female members of the audience at court.

¹⁹ See *ODB*, s.v. "Raithou." The martyrdom of the anchorites is also depicted in a fresco at the 16th century monastery of Philanthropenoi in the northern Greek city of Ioannina; see the photo in Tsames (2003) 272.

to be the product of the patriarchal chancery of Michael Keroularios (1043–58): Μιχαήλ Π(ατριάρχης). The hypothesis that the acrostic does not refer to the *menologion*'s imperial patron is shared by Detorakis. Citing both literary and historical evidence, he interprets the acrostic as a clue to the identity of the anonymous author. He argues that following literary tradition, the name of the emperor would have appeared in the now missing prologue to the *menologion* and therefore, in accordance with the rule, the acrostic must allude to the name of the author, probably an official with such a title as πρωτοσπαθάριος, πρωτοσηκρήτις or πρωτόπαπας. Furthermore, he adduces as historical evidence in support of his thesis the prolonged warfare with the Arabs repeatedly cited in the *menologion*, which is not attested during the short reign of Michael the Paphlagonian.

Be that as it may, whatever the identity of the imperial sponsor or the writer of the *menologion*, the text of the *Narrative* provides a valuable example of a post-Metaphrasteian approach to the re-writing of an extant hagiographical source.

THE TRANSLATION

The pagination of the Greek text of the edition²⁰ is indicated by square brackets in the English text of the translation. Words added to the translation to clarify the meaning have been placed in square brackets also, and passages copied from Neilos appear in quotation marks or as indented text. Scriptural passages follow the L. C. Brenton translation of the Septuagint (London, 1844) and the *Revised Standard Version* translation of the New Testament (New York, 1973). The only other translation of the *Narrative* known to me is in Modern Greek by K. Katsanis in Tsames (2003, 455–63).

It is with the most profound esteem and affection that I offer this article to Alice-Mary, in appreciation of a long and inspiring friendship.²¹

²⁰ Halkin (1984) 268–70.

²¹ It is also a special pleasure for me to express my gratitude to my distinguished colleagues Elizabeth Fisher and Denis Sullivan for constructive comments, generous assistance with texts otherwise unavailable to me and exemplary editing.

BY AN ANONYMOUS [AUTHOR]
THE LIFE AND CONDUCT AND MARTYRDOM OF OUR SAINTLY
FATHERS KILLED AT SINAI AND RAITHOU²²

1. [p. 268] If one wishes to describe the life of even one of those who chose to live in a God-pleasing way, he undertakes a great struggle as he considers with trepidation the loftiness of the topic and his own inability to discuss the particulars [of that life] in a befitting manner. But when it comes to narrating the conduct of so many men wise in divine matters, who led an angelic life beyond all words, what is the need of saying with how great a timidity will face such a narrative he who wishes to describe their lives and gratify thereby the ears of God-loving people, a timidity which is praiseworthy in many ways and altogether without reproach.

However, since it pleases God and “His imitators” (Eph. 5:1), I shall try to the best of my ability to relate as briefly as possible the story of the divine fathers which is not otherwise unknown and given up to silence, but before me it was honored with a sublime discourse, truly befitting them. Because the blessed Neilos—who practiced asceticism with them and shared their way of life in accordance with God’s precepts; their love of solitude and the eremitic life far from all worldly disturbances; their struggle with invisible enemies; their many and diverse victories and their slaughter and martyrdom—describes all this very well because he did not hear it but saw it with his own eyes.

He uses these [saintly fathers] as a pretext for writing this discourse but proceeds with almost every God-pleasing instruction to prepare for and incite properly to asceticism those who wish to subject the flesh to the spirit. But because the elevated style and extensive length of his discourse render it inaccessible and altogether beyond understanding to many people, I shall present their story in a clear and concise account.

2. They started out from different lands, but wishing to dwell in the [heavenly] one above, I mean that of St. Paul which is, according to him, the “mother of us all” (Gal. 4:26), they left their earthly and ephemeral [native lands] and went quickly²³ into monastic life. They

²² This misleading superscription in cod. *Baltimorensis* 521, fol. 92v must have been added by an editor.

²³ ὅλω ποδὶ (*CPG*, 2, 557). Here this proverbial phrase, which qualifies a verb of motion (πρὸς τὸν μονήρη βίον ἐχώρησαν), must mean “quickly” instead of “entirely” (Liddell-Scott, *Lexicon*, s.v. πούς, I. 6. f.).

“left fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters” (Matt. 19:29) and some even wives and children—the admirable Neilos being one of them—and having most wisely spat upon worldly fame and riches which flow away like water, “they fled afar and lodged in the wilderness and on mountains, waiting above all for him that should deliver them from distress of spirit and tempest,” (Ps. 54 [55]:8–9; Heb. 11:38) as David, the “ancestor of God” (Matt. 1:1, 21:9; Luke 1:32, 18:38) says.

For some of them Raithou and for others Mount Sinai made the practice of asceticism undisturbed and absolutely undistracted; others dwelt in the desert which extends from Arabia to Egypt and the Red Sea. All of them sought with special zeal one thing: to live for God as they wished and have Him witness their conduct. Their food consisted of edible greens, and seldom did a little bread assuage nature’s weakness. Water was their drink and even that was taken in moderate quantity, not to excess. And what need is there to mention everything? They paid little or no attention to the body and their whole zealous pursuit was directed to the care of the soul and [the effort] to preserve it clean of soul-damaging passions and sordid thoughts, just as the celebrated Neilos shows most clearly in the discourse he composed by which he indicates that these blessed fathers were little or not at all short of angelic spirituality. This is what he says:

The last and first [p. 269] proof of these men’s endurance is that they settled for life in that desert through which the Israelites passed only, and yet they grumbled, though they were fed from heaven and found fault with the food (Exod. 16:1–5); whereas the holy fathers pursued the ascetic life all the time in the wilderness being in want of necessities (chap. 25).

3. While they were leading such a God-pleasing life, as already said, they were attacked by a multitude of barbarians, the so-called Blemmyes, whose way of life does not fall at all short of that of animals, for they lead a nomadic and wandering existence, living off murders and robberies. They do not engage in agricultural labor and they abhor and avoid any other kind of work.

“The pious [fathers] had just finished the holy hymns when the lawless men attacked them. They rushed in immediately like mad” dogs and filled the air with “unintelligible cries, seizing all the food that the holy men had stored for the winter because they were wont to dry the fruits that could be preserved” with which they satisfied the need of nature. “After forcing [the holy men] to bring out these fruits,” as the divine Neilos says, “they led them out of the church naked and

arranged them in a line according to age in order to slaughter them. Then, they surrounded them and drawing their swords they killed first the priest of the holy place” who did not draw back in fear of death “but only made the sign of the cross, whispering with his mouth ‘blessed be the Lord!’ That divine man by his deeds and sayings almost prophesied his death the evening before when, contrary to custom, he treated the brothers present to dinner and said ‘How do we know if before death we will gather at the same place and table?’” (chap. 26).

“Then, after him they killed the [father] who lived with the old man and had grown very old in ascetic labors, and immediately afterwards the servant who ministered to them” (chap. 27). “The remaining fathers they sent away, allowing them to go with a sign of the hand” (chap. 28). Among them was the blessed Neilos, while his son was dragged away as a prisoner. Those who so wish can learn from Neilos’ account how God in his loving kindness removed the boy from those bloodstained hands and restored him to those of his father (chaps. 28–65). As for us, let us proceed with the rest of the narrative, ending with the burial of those blessed fathers.

4. “The barbarians traveled a considerable distance, killing and taking prisoners many others in the desert. And when night fell those who had been ordered to leave were able to travel without fear” (chap. 31). They descended therefore from the mountain, for it was there that they had sought shelter, and

returned to bury the holy bodies. They found the others dead for some time, but the holy Theodoulos was still breathing and able to speak. They spent the night sitting next to him and crying over what happened, while the old man exhorted them not to be astonished at such [temptations], for it is Satan’s custom to beg God’s permission regarding those whom he tempts (Job 1:12). “How many of Job’s people,” he said, “did he kill, some of them by fire, others by the sword, while others he destroyed by ruining their house? (Job 1:13–19). But be not shaken by all this,” he said, “for the judge of contests knows with what judgment he hands over to the adversary the contestants, setting up splendid prizes and awards for those who accept calamities gratefully, such [prizes] as the great Job has to show, having received twice as much as he appeared to have lost and incomparably superior (Job 42:12–13). Because God has prepared ‘what no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man has conceived’ (1 Cor. 2:9) for those who have contended and [p. 270] have crowned their lives gloriously with the prizes of piety” (chap. 31). Saying such things and even more as long as he was able to move his tongue and speak, the blessed man bade farewell to those present. When he died they committed him to the earth with many tears together with

the others. The presbyter was named Theodoulos, while the other two who were killed were named Paul and John. They died on the seventh day after the feast of the Holy Epiphany, that is, on the fourteenth of the month of January (chap. 32).

Many other [fathers] were killed many years earlier when the impious Diocletian (284–305) happened to rule the empire of the Romans; their memory is celebrated on the same day by the pious. Their names were “Proklos and Hypatios, Isaak, Makarios and Mark, Benjamin, Elias and Eusebios. Some of them were killed out in the desert, others in Bethambre and Geth and at the monastery of Salael, and others in Eleim and Thola” (chap. 47).²⁴

5. May God Who received in His kingdom both the earlier and the later [martyrs] grant our pious emperor all that he hopes and prays for through their intercessions:

A long life, enlargement and increase of his dominion;
Overpowering and complete overthrow of his enemies;
The pleasure of heavenly joy after death;
The pure luxury of the eternal and divine blessings
To be received by all those who do what is pleasing to God,
Having put on the splendid garments for the “wedding in heaven.”
(Rev. 19:9)

May we all be invited to this [celebration] by the grace and loving kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ to Whom be glory and power now and forever and unto the ages of ages. Amen.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Conca, F. 1983. *Nilus Ancyranus Narratio*. Leipzig.
Halkin, F. 1939. “Le mois du janvier du ménologe impérial byzantin.” *AB* 57: 225–36.
Halkin, F. 1984. “Les moines martyrs du Sinai dans le ménologe impérial.” In *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière. Antiquité païenne et chrétienne*. Ed. E. Lucchesi and H. D. Suffrey, 267–70. Geneva.
Hero, A. C., ed. 1986. *A woman’s quest for spiritual guidance: The correspondence of princess Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina*. Brookline, MA.
Leutsch, E. and F. Schneidewin, eds. 1839–51/1965–91. *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum*. 3 vols. Repr. Hildesheim.
Tsames, D. 2003. *Tò Μαρτυρολόγιον τοῦ Σινᾶ*. Thessalonike.

²⁴ On these sites of monastic settlements, see Tsames (2003) 424 nn. 84–89.

Secondary Literature

- Browning, R. 1978. "The language of Byzantine literature." In *The past in medieval and modern Greek culture*. Ed. S. Vryonis, Jr., 103–33. Malibu, CA.
- Christides, V. 1973. "Once again the 'Narrations' of Nilus Sinaiticus." *Byzantion* 43: 39–50.
- Detorakis, T. 1990. "Η χρονολόγηση τοῦ αὐτοκρατορικοῦ μηνολογίου τοῦ B. Latyšev." *BZ* 83: 46–50.
- Devreesse, R. 1940. "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaitique, des origines à l'arrivée des Musulmans." *Revue Biblique* 49: 205–23.
- Henniger, J. 1955. "Ist der sogenannte Nilus-Bericht eine brauchbare religionsgeschichtliche Quelle?" *Anthropos* 50: 81–148.
- Heussi, K. 1917. *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Askete*, Vol. 42, bk. 2 of *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte zur altchristlichen Literatur*. Leipzig.
- Høgel, C. 2002. *Symeon Metaphrastes. Rewriting and canonization*. Copenhagen.
- Longo, A. 1965–66. "Il testo integrale della 'Narrazione degli abati Giovanni e Sofronio attraverso le 'Ερμηνεῖαι' di Nicone." *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 2–3: 223–67.
- Mayerson, P. 1963. "The desert of southern Palestine according to Byzantine sources." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107: 160–72.
- . 1975. "Observations on the 'Nilus' Narrationes: Evidence for an unknown Christian sect?" *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 12: 51–74.
- Ševčenko, I. 1985. *Three Byzantine literatures: A layman's guide*. Brookline, MA.
- Talbot, A-M. 2007. "Founders' choices: Monastery site selection in Byzantium." In *Founders and refounders of Byzantine monasteries*. Ed. M. Mullett, 43–62. Belfast.

NICHOLAS THE MONK AND FORMER SOLDIER

Paul Stephenson and Brooke Shilling

Nicholas the monk, former soldier, is the fictional protagonist of a Byzantine “beneficial tale,” known more commonly in English as a parable. Nicholas’ story (BHG 2311) appears for the first time in a thirteenth-century version of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, but an anonymous alter ego had acted in a remarkably similar fashion some three hundred years earlier, in a story inserted into the *Life* of Nicholas of Stoudios (BHG 1365). This much has been known for more than a century, and both texts are included in the *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database*, a project co-directed by Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot.¹ Although to date there has been no English translation of either,² there are several summaries of the *Life* of Nicholas of Stoudios (henceforth VNS),³ and John Wortley’s very useful commentary on the beneficial tale (henceforth NMS).⁴ So great are the similarities between the versions that descriptions tend to focus on where they diverge.

THE PARABLE

In both versions of the parable, the protagonist sets out to war against the Bulgars in the army of Emperor Nikephoros I (in VNS he is a member of the imperial guard, or *scholae*). For one reason or another (neither version is specific) he travels apart from the army, and spends the night at an inn or hostel (according to the VNS, this was located

¹ Kazhdan (1998). See also Clugnet (1902); *SynaxCP*, 341–44; and *PG* 105.863–925, spec. 893A–897C.

² A full English translation will accompany a forthcoming critical edition of the *Life* of Nicholas of Stoudios, by J. Heldt (Uppsala). An English translation of the *Beneficial tale of Nicholas the Monk, former soldier*, by the authors, is appended to this paper.

³ Dobschütz (1909) 70–72; Heldt (1995) 29–36. The fullest and most accessible summary remains Costa-Louillet (1955–57) 794–812.

⁴ Wortley (1980) 550–54. Wortley (1996) offers an English translation of and commentary on twenty-two tales collected in the eleventh century by Paul, Bishop of Monemvasia. In addition, Wortley (1991) has supplied the best general introduction to “beneficial tales,” and summaries of almost one thousand.

in Thrace). Having been treated well and fed by the hostess (in *VNS*, she is a wealthy woman apt to entertain those passing by, in *NMS* she is the innkeeper's daughter) the protagonist takes to his bed. However, during the night, on three occasions, he is woken by the woman, who is driven by a satanic lust to proposition him. On all three occasions he resists her, and he berates her for wishing to drag him down into "the depths of Hades."⁵ Departing (in the *NMS* having taken time to pray) the protagonist heads towards the battlefield. In the *VNS*, but not the *NMS*, the temptress sends slaves to hide her shame by killing the protagonist, but instead the killers die by God's grace. Arriving in the vicinity of the battle, the protagonist has a supernatural experience (in the *VNS* he is summoned to a mountain-top by a voice, whereas in the *NMS* he simply falls asleep and dreams what follows). A powerful figure appears to him (in the *VNS*, we are told further that he is aged, gigantic and dressed in white), seated with his legs crossed, right upon left. He draws the attention of the protagonist to the battle between the Romans and Bulgars, proceeding below them, and to the fact that the Romans are winning. The seated figure then places his left leg upon his right and the Bulgars gain the upper hand (foot). The Romans are all slaughtered, but the man draws the protagonist's attention to a single bare patch on the battlefield, where no corpse lays. That, he observes, was where the protagonist would have fallen had he succumbed to advances of the temptress (called in the *NMS* "the triple-braided snake," τὸν τρίπλοκον ὄφιν).⁶ The protagonist (having awoken in the *NMS*) withdraws from the vicinity of the battlefield and prays, but he cannot save the army, only himself. Consequently, he enters a monastery and serves God truly, becoming a holy father.

WHO WAS NICHOLAS THE MONK, FORMER SOLDIER?

Nicholas did not exist. As Kazhdan observed, "contrary to [Ivan] Dujčev[']s analysis] there is no reason to identify Nicholas of Stoudios with Nicholas the *stratiotes* (or Nicholas the Monk...)." ⁷ It is perfectly

⁵ *VNS*: πρὸς πέταυρον ἄδου; *NMS*: εἰς ἄδου πέταυρον. This phrase is used upon her third approach in the *VNS*, and her first in the *NMS*.

⁶ In a later version of the Synaxarion, dating to the seventeenth century, the phrase τρίπλοκον ὄφιν becomes τὸν τρικέφαλον φήδην, "the three-headed snake." Neither phrase appears in the *VNS*. We shall return to this below (see note 43).

⁷ Kazhdan (1998) 72, against Dujčev in *Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae* 4 (1961) 25–27. This is repeated from *ODB*, 1471. See also Halkin (1967) 58.

clear from the VNS that Nicholas of Stoudios was not the anonymous soldier, but rather enjoyed telling his story for the edification and education of his monks. Consequently, the name Nicholas became associated with the anonymous soldier, likely after the VNS was first written down early in the tenth century (by various estimates ca. 910–40). The protagonist of the beneficial tale remained quite mutable, for example, once the tale migrated into the Russian *Synaxarion* he became a Slav. Such is the fate of a cipher.

Wortley suggests that the story contained in the VNS can be traced very accurately to its source, as the author provides a detailed chain of transmission: the author heard it from his abbot, Anatolius, who had heard it from Nicholas, who had heard it from a disciple named Cyprian, who had visited the anonymous former soldier.⁸ However, it strikes us that the detail is provided to lend an air of authenticity to what is clearly an invented tale. The insertion of such a tale into a *Life* is also rather odd, as the author realizes, for he offers an apology of sorts. It is here that he reveals that Nicholas of Stoudios enjoyed retelling the story to his monks. Why this should be we shall explore shortly. First, however, we must address how the parable has generally been interpreted.

IS THE MORAL LESSON OF THE PARABLE THAT A SOLDIER MUST BE PURE?

The parable, it has been broadly accepted, is concerned with the need for moral purity among soldiers. Wortley expressed some concern at this: “But what of the story’s extraordinary (and, one would have thought, anachronistic) asserting of a necessary connection between personal moral purity and success in arms? Such an idea was definitely in the air in the time of Nicephorus Phocas, but here it is in a document at least half a century earlier, reporting sentiments expressed a century earlier still.”⁹ In a recent interpretation of the *Chronicle of 811*, an independent narrative account of the battle in which Nikephoros fell against the Bulgars, Wortley’s assessment receives some support.¹⁰ But it is also clear that the reign of Nikephoros Phokas was the culmination of several centuries of developments in military thought and

⁸ Wortley (1980) 551; PG 105.893A.

⁹ Wortley (1980) 553–54.

¹⁰ Stephenson (2006).

liturgical practice. The piety, humility and purity of emperors and commanders, as well as of individual soldiers, was widely discussed, and increasingly complex religious services were performed in the camps.

Whereas until the start of the fourth century soldiers were entitled to pray to whichever gods they chose, so long as they participated fully in prescribed ritual, from the reign of Theodosius I it was expected that Roman soldiers would be Christians. They all benefited from the piety and humility of their emperor in his confrontation with pagans. Thus, at the Battle of the Cold River (Frigidus) in 394, according to Rufinus of Aquileia (11.33), “[Theodosius] prepared for war [against the pagan Eugenius] by arming himself not so much with weapons as with prayers and fast, guarded not so much by the night-watch but by nightly prayer vigils.”¹¹ As matters went against the emperor at the Frigidus, he lay prostrate and prayed, shouting that his campaign was undertaken for Christ in order to exact just retribution “lest the Gentiles ask, Where is their God? [Ps. 113:30].” Consequently, a wind blew up of such strength and direction that it blew the arrows unleashed by Eugenius’ archers back against them. So inspired were Theodosius’ officers that one of outstanding piety, a certain Bacurius, fought through Eugenius’ bodyguard to kill him. Orosius (390–418), writing only shortly afterwards, placed emphasis still more singularly on Theodosius, who was now deserted by his men, but prostrated himself on the battlefield and maintained a vigil throughout the night, leaving “pools of tears which he had paid as the price for heavenly assistance.” The following morning, he rose and threw himself into the thick of battle, certain of victory even if nobody else should follow him, and assisted by the whirlwind, the result was “determined from heaven between the party which without the help of men placed his faith humbly in God alone, and the party that most arrogantly trusted in its own strength and in idols.”¹²

¹¹ Amidon (1997) 87–89. An excellent analysis upon which we have drawn is offered by Bachrach (2003) 12–14, which generally focuses on the Latin west. See also McCormick (1986/1990) 107. Al. Cameron (2011) devotes his third chapter to the Battle of Cold River (Frigidus). The fact that, as he proves, Eugenius was not a pagan, and the battle scenes described were fictional, does not undermine our point, since Rufinus and Orosius wished the incredible to appear credible.

¹² *PL* 31.1152–54; cited in another edition by Bachrach (2003) 13–14. See Deferrari (1964) 345–46.

The pattern was now set, and increasingly emphasis was placed not simply on the purity of commanders, but also on individual soldiers. In Justinian's reign, according to Corippus in a panegyric celebrating John Troglyta's victories in North Africa, the enemy determined to attack on a holy day, perhaps simply a Sunday, when "the Roman soldiers, occupied with their customary rites, will fear no battle." But the general John and his second Ricinarius anticipated the attack, and like Theodosius at Cold River, they spent the night before in prayer and the spilling of tears. As the sun rose, so their Christian soldiers trooped out with their standards to a tent in the center of the camp, a mobile chapel, where a priest draped the altar and conducted the regular service. The congregants wept and together wailed, "Forgive our sins and the sins of our fathers, we beseech You, Christ." John, the general, was with him on his knees, more tears "pouring from his eyes like a river" as he intoned a long prayer for victory. Once the priest had performed the Eucharist, it was shown that "the gifts were acceptable to the Lord of heaven, and at once sanctified and cleansed" the army. Victory was assured, and those who would die did so purified by their tears and the sanctified elements.¹³

Maurice's *Strategikon* of the later sixth century prescribed such behavior: all units were to pray together on holy days, but also "on the actual day of battle before anyone goes out the gate."¹⁴ Maurice further required that the standards be blessed a day or two before battle; that the "Trisagion," ("Holy God, Holy Mighty One, Holy Immortal One, have mercy on us") be sung by each unit early in the morning and late at night, before and after all duties; and as each unit marched out of camp it should cry in unison, "God is with us" thrice. Military services would become increasingly complex, as later military manuals reveal.¹⁵ The expectation that soldiers would be spiritually purified by shedding tears and partaking in communion immediately before engaging in battle was now required by military law, and it also is implied in the

¹³ Diggle (1970) 173–78; Shea (1998) 196–98; McCormick (1986) 245–46; Bachrach (2003) 14–16. On the poem see Cameron (1984), and now at greater length Gärtner (2008).

¹⁴ Dennis (1980) 138–40; Dennis (1984) 33–34.

¹⁵ Dennis (1993); Heisenberg (1916); Viellefond (1935); Taft (1995). Virginité, rather than abstinence, and success in war are discussed by Pentcheva (2006) 63–69, focusing on Mary as *Parthenos* and *Theometer*. Her explorations of Theodore Synkellos and George of Pisidia are provocative but not here directly pertinent.

Ecloga, a law book issued in March 741 by the first iconoclast emperors Leo III and Constantine V:

Those who go to war against the enemy must protect themselves from every evil word and deed and keep their mind on God alone...for victory in battle depends not on the size of the army but strength comes from God.¹⁶

The *Taktika* attributed to the emperor Leo VI (886–912), written ca. 905, updates and expands Maurice's *Strategikon*.¹⁷ Whereas Maurice's first instructions "On the Day of Battle" are that the general should not "exert himself too much, become worn out and overlook some really essential matters," Leo advises the general to ensure first of all that his whole army is pure (καθαρόν) and to offer fervent prayer through the night.¹⁸ He must ensure "that everyone is purified [or sanctified,¹⁹ ἁγιασθῆναι] by priests, and that they believe completely in words and deed that they have divine help," so that they advance to battle in high spirits. A single military service has survived from this period, but one wonders how many have been lost.²⁰

Leo, in writing about the "Saracens," is aware that his foes are offered spiritual rewards for their efforts if they die in battle, but also for supporting those who fight if they are unable to bear arms.²¹ Leo calls the reward Muslims receive μισθός, which can mean wage, but should here be translated more expansively as "the recompense given (mostly by God) for the moral quality of an action."²² Consequently, it appears to correspond to the Arabic term *ajr*.²³ Earlier, Leo ordered that the general must be instructed in the correct faith of the Christians, as must his commander and all his men, so that "all who fight through Christ our Lord and on behalf of their families and friends and country and for the whole Christian people will easily overcome the distress

¹⁶ Burgmann (1986) 244; McCormick (1986/1990) 250.

¹⁷ Dennis (2010); *PG* 107: 671–1094. The translations that follow are our own.

¹⁸ Dennis (2010) 290–91; *PG* 107: 848; Dennis (1984) 69.

¹⁹ Since exact definitions are here vital, we shall refer to the dictionary we have employed, being Arndt (1957) 8–9.

²⁰ Pertusi (1948), which has been dated to the reign of Leo VI (886–912), but it could as easily be from the joint reign of Constantine VII (945–59) and his son Romanos II. See also Kolia-Dermizaki (1991) 252–60.

²¹ Dennis (2010) 482–83; *PG* 107: 976.

²² Arndt (1957) 525.

²³ Bonner (1996) 8, 41–42, 122–25.

of thirst and the lack of food, and of excess cold or heat . . . and for their pains they will store up compensations (μισθῶν) from God himself and from his kingdom.”²⁴ Leo goes still further:

If with God’s help as an ally, properly armed and arranged, making an assault well and bravely against them, fighting for our spiritual salvation (ὕπὲρ τῆς ψυχικῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας . . . ἀγωνιζόμενοι) just as for God himself, for our families and for our other Christian brothers, placing hopes unhesitatingly in God, we shall not fail but rather shall triumph completely against them.²⁵

The key phrase is “fighting for our spiritual salvation.” Contemporary documents record abundant donations to monasteries by those seeking “spiritual salvation.”²⁶ Leo appears consciously to employ the language familiar to Byzantine donors, encouraging them to give not only to secure prayers for victory, but also to secure arms and armor. The benefits of fighting for God will therefore be shared both by those who fight and those who support them. It is striking, of course, that he anticipates that spiritual salvation will be a reward for those who fight, and although here he makes no mention of death or martyrdom, elsewhere Leo decrees that:

It is your duty after the battle, O general, to console those soldiers wounded in it, and to honor those who fell in the battle with burial, and to consider them perpetually blessed (μακαρίζειν διηνεκῶς), since they did not esteem their own lives above their faith and their brothers.²⁷

Those who die in battle should be considered perpetually blessed, *makarios*, a term used most frequently in patristic writings for martyrs.²⁸

The moral purity of soldiers was also a compelling issue in the Frankish empire—the Franks also fought both Muslims and pagan Bulgars in the later eighth and early ninth centuries—long before the participants in armed pilgrimages to the east, which we now call Crusades, were offered spiritual rewards for killing the infidel or dying in battle with

²⁴ Dennis 2010: 444–45; *PG* 107: 949.

²⁵ Dennis (2010) 484–85; *PG* 107: 977.

²⁶ Hundreds of examples turn up in a *TLG* search.

²⁷ Dennis (2010) 306–07; *PG* 107: 859–60, where ἀδελφῶν clearly means “[Christian] brothers-in-arms,” whereas elsewhere it refers more generally to other Christians. See also Dagron (1983) 230–31.

²⁸ Arndt (1957) 487–88.

him. McCormick reminds us that the Carolingians considered war to be punishment for society's sins, and consequently required the moral purity not only of soldiers, but of all. In 791 Charlemagne commanded that general litanies be sung to secure divine aid for his troops, who had themselves already "celebrated three days of litanies."²⁹ This continued through his reign, and into that of his son, Louis the Pious, when (between 814 and 830) a military chaplain is known to have offered a homily to the army which began:

Men, brothers and fathers [Acts 7:2; 22:1], you who have the Christian name and bear the standard of the cross on your brow, pay attention and listen!... Abstain from evil deeds. *Abstain from carnal desire* [1 Pet 2:11; 1 Thess 4:4]. Put God in front of your eyes with love and fear. And in your prayers always call on God to help you. Act on this campaign in such a way that God does not desert you on the *day of tribulation* [e.g., Ps. 49:15], and strive with all forethought that you do not want to fight the war for earthly profit or secular glory, but for the defense of the Christian name and God's churches, and that faith, which you have accepted, remains intact in you. When you are under way, do not pillage or lead [people? animals?] off with you, nor act against Christian law, but take only what necessarily pertains to victualing, when it is necessary, with all reverence and fear, so that you do not offend God.³⁰

The instruction to "abstain from carnal desire" is peculiarly telling, but much else in this rather generic homily chimes with the description of what went wrong during Nikephoros I's campaign of 811. Both Theophanes and the *Chronicle of 811* suggest that the emperor attributed an early victory to himself and his son, not to God, and seized money and wine from the Khan's palace; and that the troops lost their discipline, wandering off to burn fields and to steal and mutilate animals.³¹ We are not here suggesting that the author of the Frankish homily had knowledge of the events of 811, nor of the various accounts of it that circulated in the eastern empire, including the parable under consideration. However, the coincidences do support McCormick's contention that the Carolingian developments in military liturgy were not spontaneous and unique, but rather emerged from a desire to reconnect with late antique practices that had persisted in the city of Rome, and had developed in Byzantium in diverse ways, for example

²⁹ McCormick (1984) 8–9; McCormick (1986/1990) 352–53; Bachrach (2003) 33–34.

³⁰ McCormick (2004) 58–59.

³¹ Stephenson (2006) 88.

in the apotropaic procession of the Virgin's robe at Constantinople, and in the military services we have already noted.³²

The moral message of the parable, therefore, would appear to fit well with much other evidence for a developed concern for the spiritual purity of those Christians who were obliged to fight. In Byzantium, as in the Frankish empire—although not entirely for the same reasons, nor with the same results³³—the message was as suited to the early ninth century as to the later tenth. We have addressed Wortley's concern, therefore, insofar as we agree that the message of the parable is that the moral purity of a soldier will decide his fate in battle. However, we would like to suggest that the parable conveys a second message, which has little to do with war. It concerns the folly of youth and the path to wisdom.

IS THE SPIRITUAL MESSAGE OF THE PARABLE THAT A YOUTH MUST
STRUGGLE TO OVERCOME TEMPTATION AND FOLLY IN ORDER
TO ACHIEVE WISDOM?

It would appear to be the case that, whether or not we believe the chain of transmission offered by the anonymous author of the VNS, the parable was first recounted by Nicholas in the Stoudios Monastery in the years around ca. 850. Nicholas was *hegoumenos* of Stoudios from 848 to 858, and again but briefly from 867 until his death on February 4, 868. Although we cannot entirely discount the fact that a certain number of monks at Stoudios, as elsewhere, may well have been deserters from the Roman army—like the protagonist of our parable, indeed—there would appear to be little value in Nicholas recounting to his monks, who were most unlikely to become fornicating soldiers, a tale concerned principally with the moral purity of those headed into battle.³⁴

³² McCormick (1984) 20–22, cites Cameron (1979) on the cult of the Virgin, and also offers a useful comparison with the *Vita Antonii iunioris* (BHG 142, written between 877 and 899), where an *ek prosopou* of the naval *thema* of Kibyrrhaiotai organizes litanies to protect the city from an Arab attack. See also McCormick (1986/1990) 357–58.

³³ Bachrach (2003) 24–32 dwells on the development of penitential practices for Christian soldiers in the West, which seems quite distinct from those in Byzantium, where the impositions of military discipline remain distinct from penance in nature and purpose. This appears to be a rich area for further comparative study.

³⁴ On the phenomenon of “deserter monks” and the efforts made in hagiography to conceal culpability, see Mango (1983) 401–4, on St. Ioannikios, where it is further

At that time in Constantinople the Studites were involved in the conflict between Ignatios and Photios. However, the context for the tale is an earlier dispute, between Nicholas' master, Theodore of Stoudios, and Nikephoros I. Both Warren Treadgold and Pavlos Niavis provide clear summaries of the reign of Nikephoros I and of the issues at stake in his dispute with the Studites. We shall not repeat them.³⁵ It is sufficient to recount that Nikephoros' ouster of the empress Irene, who had brought Theodore to Stoudios, did less harm to their relationship than the emperor's choice in 806 of his namesake Nikephoros to become Patriarch of Constantinople. This was not merely instead of Theodore, but also against the demands of the rigorist Studites that the patriarch be similarly strict, and not, like the candidate Nikephoros, a moderate layman. Although superficially all were reconciled, it was plain to Theodore in 811 that the emperor's folly was demonstrated by his death on the battlefield.

In summing up Nikephoros' reign, Treadgold astutely alludes to the parable of the rich fool (Luke 12:16–21) and finds it odd that no trace of this can be detected in the accounts of the battle provided by Theophanes and the *Chronicle of 811*.³⁶ He might also have looked at the parable of Nicholas the Monk, former Soldier, and at Proverbs 9, reproduced in part below in the KJV translation.

noted (p. 404, n. 29) that it was an abbot's responsibility to ensure that a postulant was admissible to his monastery, which may be why the protagonist of our parable is not to be found in the Stoudios Monastery, according to the *VNS*, but lives alone elsewhere. One might also consider in this context the case of Peter the Patrician, discussed by Wortley (1980) 555–57. Theophanes Confessor (491–92; trans. Mango and Scott [1997] 673) refers specifically to Peter's death in the massacre of 811, having earlier recorded his participation in Nikephoros' coup of 802 (Mango and Scott [1997] 655, 658, n. 4; 676, n. 20). Treadgold (1988) 174, 412, n. 236, prefers to accept an account in the *Synaxarion* (*SynaxCP*, 792) and Basil II's *Menologion* (PG 117: 517A) which has Peter released from captivity with St. Ioannikios by St. John the Evangelist to spend thirty-four years on Mt. Olympus, before returning to Constantinople, where he lives another eight years in his own foundation. Mango and Scott (1997) lx address this matter also in the introduction to their translation of Theophanes, referring to it as "a pious fabrication." We are inclined to follow Mango and Scott in trusting Theophanes, who wrote very shortly after the episode and independently of the author of the *Chronicle of 811*, which records the deaths of many "patricians" (Stephenson [2006] 89). However, there is a slim possibility that Peter also deserted to become a monk, and this has been obscured in two ways, by the conflicting records of his death and of his return to Constantinople years later.

³⁵ Treadgold (1988) 127–95; Niavis (1987), especially 142–59. On Theodore see now at length Cholij (2002). His life and oeuvre are explored succinctly in Kazhdan (1999) 235–59.

³⁶ Treadgold (1988) 189, 413, n. 258.

9:1 Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars. 9:2 She hath killed her beasts; she hath mingled her wine; she hath also furnished her table... 9:4 Whoso [is] simple, let him turn in hither: [as for] him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him, 9:5 Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine [which] I have mingled. 9:6 Forsake the foolish, and live; and go in the way of understanding... 9:10 The fear of the LORD [is] the beginning of wisdom: and the knowledge of the holy [is] understanding. 9:11 For by me thy days shall be multiplied, and the years of thy life shall be increased. 9:12 If thou be wise, thou shalt be wise for thyself: but [if] thou scornest, thou alone shalt bear [it]. 9:13 A foolish woman [is] clamorous: [she is] simple, and knoweth nothing. 9:14 For she sitteth at the door of her house, on a seat in the high places of the city, 9:15 To call passengers who go right on their ways: 9:16 Whoso [is] simple, let him turn in hither: and [as for] him that wanteth understanding, she saith to him, 9:17 Stolen waters are sweet, and bread [eaten] in secret is pleasant. 9:18 But he knoweth not that the dead [are] there; [and that] her guests [are] in the depths of [Hades, (ἐπὶ πέταρον ᾗδου)].³⁷

The harlot of Proverbs 9:13–18 is Folly, and clearly the temptress of our parable in the VNS and NMS. She frequently draws “passengers” (better “passers by”) into her home,³⁸ or inn—inns were notoriously venues for illicit sexual liaisons³⁹—but fails to lead our protagonist into her clutches, and hence to “the depths of Hades.” Instead, the protagonist in his simplicity finds her counterpart Wisdom and hence salvation.

Judging by a recent compilation of ancient commentary, Proverbs 9 did not excite much interest among writers in Greek or Latin.⁴⁰ Only fragments of commentary on Proverbs have survived by Hippolytus, the early third-century Roman anti-pope and martyr, writing in Greek. Augustine drew upon it occasionally; for example in his *Confessions*

³⁷ One might prefer “the snare of Hades,” but we have retained the KJV’s “depths” here and elsewhere, including in the appendix. We have not, however, retained the KJV’s “hell,” reflecting a distinction maintained in Byzantium between “Hades” as a holding space for souls pending the Last Judgment, and “hell,” the destination thereafter for the damned.

³⁸ Maguire (2006) 392–95 demonstrates how in the sixth century the interior of the home was considered a dangerous, because secret, space, such that the Annunciation of the Virgin is depicted as having taken place outside her palace or house, in public, in contrast to the scene as described at Luke 1:28. Maguire compares this to the *Second Kontakion of Joseph* by Romanos the Melode, which shows clear parallels with the tale of Proverbs 9.

³⁹ One example of many that one might cite, still in the sixth century: in the *Life* of Theodore of Sykeon (ch. 3), the saint is born to a mother who ran an inn and one of her guests. See Dawes (1948) 88.

⁴⁰ Wright (2005) 73–77.

(3.6.11), he glosses Proverbs 9:12, stating that he “came upon that brazen woman, empty of prudence, who, in Solomon’s obscure parable, sits on a seat at the door outside her house and says ‘stolen waters are sweet and bread eaten in secret is pleasant’. This woman seduced me, because she found my soul outside its own door, dwelling externally in the eye of my flesh and ruminating within myself on such food as I had swallowed through my physical senses.” Augustine alludes once more to the “hidden bread,” contrasting it with the “living bread” of John 6:51 in his *Christian Instruction* (25–30). Similarly, a *TLG* search suggests that the concluding phrase to Proverbs 9, πέταυρον ὄζου, does not appear frequently outside the *VNS* and *NMS*.⁴¹ However, it does appear in a homily on an unrelated matter, delivered to the monks of Stoudios by Theodore (*Parva Catechesis* 31. 59).

The parable contained in the *VNS*, and later repeated in the *NMS*, reflects the hatred felt in the Stoudios Monastery for Nikephoros I and his accursed memory.⁴² This made the battle of 811, in which Nikephoros died, an appropriate context to explore wisdom and folly. Although the emperor is mentioned only to set the scene, he is the paragon of folly against which the protagonist’s path to wisdom is to be measured. War was not the issue, merely the context to explore deeper truths that were essential to the moral education of young monks. There is no reason to doubt that the parable existed as an independent narrative before it was incorporated into the *VNS*, in ca. 910–40, and the variations between that version and the first extant version of the *NMS*, in a *Synaxarion* dated to the thirteenth century,

⁴¹ Variants of the phrase appear most frequently in the works of Cyril of Alexandria, but also four times in those of Photios: twice in his Homilies (2 and 18), and also twice in a letter, *Ep.* 284. See Mango (1958) 38–39, 55–73 at 66; 297–315 at 312–13. We highlight Photios’ second homily, as it was delivered on Good Friday in 859 (March 24) or 860 (April 12), so only shortly after Nicholas’ death. Although the homily is not about wisdom but about the perfection of the faith, it certainly was addressed to young Christians. Good Friday was the day before catechumens were to be baptized, Holy Saturday. Although there are some clear echoes of Proverbs 9, the homily is suffused more with New Testament imagery, for example with nineteen clear references or allusions to Matthew.

⁴² This prejudice worked both ways. See for example Mango (1983), which explores how the first *Life* of St. Ioannikios, by Peter, was rewritten by Sabas to remove an anti-Studite bias. See also Wortley (1980) 558–62, and a full English translation of the earlier *Life* of St. Ioannikios by Denis Sullivan (1997), where Nikephoros appears (on p. 268) for the first time and his death is predicted. He is treated as a good man, and his followers, who learn of his impending death in cryptic fashion, are also portrayed sympathetically.

suggest that the story continued to be told, the details changing but the message remaining fairly constant.

THE TRIPLE-BRAIDED SNAKE

There are many additional points one might explore (and certainly the notes attached to what we have written could have been multiplied many times over), but space is limited, and so we shall offer one last observation, on the use of the phrase τρίπλοκος ὄφις. The reference made in the *NMS*, but not in the *VNS*, compares the temptress of the parable to a “triple-braided snake.” As Clugnet’s editions reveal, the τρίπλοκον ὄφιν does not feature in a later version of the *Synaxarion*, dating to the seventeenth century, where it has become τὸν τρικέφαλον φήδην, “the three-headed snake.” The triple-headed snake, or Hydrus, had by the sixteenth century entered the bestiaries of western Europe as a common motif, and remained an element of eastern folklore.⁴³ The serpentine temptress is the asp of Genesis 3 (also see Revelation 12:9, “And the great dragon was cast out, the ancient serpent, called the Devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world”). But the construction is rather clever and possibly revealing of the provenance of the earliest version of the parable contained in the *Synaxarion*.

“Triplokon” refers most frequently to a triple-braided cord, or a wreath of victory, comprising the three-braided laurel stems in a wreath awarded to victors. A *TLG* search shows this and includes a reference in the tenth-century *De Cerimoniis* (2.149.14) to the crowning of the leaders of the factions as the people cheer “Let the Greens conquer,” etc. It also refers to baptism, a triple immersion, and consequently John Chrysostomos shows up twice (as does Theodore of Stoudios, indeed). However, the allusion here is to a particular “triple-braided snake,” and we take it to be an allusion to the Serpent Column in the hippodrome of Constantinople. The only complicating factor here is that we know of no other reference in Greek to the column as a “triple-braided snake.”

⁴³ Clugnet (1902) for both versions and the revelation that the τρίπλοκον ὄφιν reappears in a nineteenth-century version printed in Venice.

The Serpent Column was notoriously a tripod brought from Delphi, and ancient authors refer to it as οἱ ἐν Δελφοῖς τρίποδες.⁴⁴ In the early eighth century the author of the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* offers little help, as it is unclear how he refers to the column, if he mentions it at all. The Serpent Column may be referred to only obliquely by reference to its inscription “the epigram of the Medes” (τῶν Μήδων τοῦ ἐλεγείου).⁴⁵ Shortly afterwards the author refers to the “Dragon Statue” (τὸ δρακονταῖον),⁴⁶ but this would appear to be a statue of the Skylla rather than the Serpent Column. The author fails to mention the Egyptian Obelisk of Theodosius, so there is no reason why he would not also fail to record the Serpent Column.⁴⁷

That the reference to a “triple-braided snake” should feature for the first time in the thirteenth-century version of the *NMS* does not prove that it was not associated with the legend earlier. However, it does suggest a Constantinopolitan origin for the parable as it is recounted in the *Synaxarion*, which is somewhat unremarkable, but perhaps noteworthy for supplying a local name for a famous monument.

APPENDIX: AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE *BENEFICIAL TALE* OF NICHOLAS THE MONK, FORMER SOLDIER

This translation is based upon the text as it appears in *SynaxCP* 341–44, which is included in the invaluable *Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database*, compiled by Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot (Kazhdan [1998]).

⁴⁴ This includes Eusebius, *VC* 3.54, for which see Cameron (1999) 143, 301–2. The column has a rich literature, but one might still start with Worsfeld (1904), which provides an accessible introduction, with plates, older photos, and travelers’ accounts, following references to ancient sources. Among the better is Pausanias, and on this the commentary by Frazer (1898) 299–307, can be used with great profit.

⁴⁵ Cameron and Herrin (1984) 138–39, 250, 252.

⁴⁶ Cameron and Herrin (1984) 138–39, 140–1. The dragon and serpent are associated at Revelation 12:9; Ps. 90:13, “thou shalt tread on the asp and basilisk, and thou shalt trample on the lion and dragon,” although that serpent is ἄσπις.

⁴⁷ We are currently preparing a longer consideration of the Serpent Column. Further references and commentary are to be found in Majeska (1984) 184–85, 254–56. These Slavic texts suggest that tales have accumulated around the monument by the fourteenth century, and that it was referred to as “three braided strands,” by Zosima the Deacon, who visited Constantinople twice in 1420 and 1421. For still further talismanic interpretations, see Flood (2006). The snake heads did not disappear until ca. 1700, and the upper jaw of one can now be seen in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. For further commentary, see also Ménage (1964); Bassett (1991); Madden (1992); and Stichel (1997).

A beneficial tale of Nicholas the monk, formerly of the soldiers. Our father Nicholas among the saints had become a soldier: and when Nikephoros the emperor marched out against the Bulgarians, he also went out with the army. And as it passed towards evening, he took his rest at an inn: and after dining at the inn and praying, he drifted to sleep. And around the second or third watch of the night, the daughter of the man who received him, afflicted by satanic lust, nudged the just man, tempting him toward shameful intercourse. The saint said to her, "Stop, weak woman, of satanic and impious lust and do not be willing to defile your virginity, and lead me, the wretch, into the depths of Hades (εἰς ἕδου πέταυρον ἀγαγεῖν) [Proverbs 9:18]." She withdrew a little, and coming back after a short time she disturbs the just man again. The saint sent her away a second time, having rebuked her exceedingly. After withdrawing again, being frenzied with lust, she returned to him. Then the saint says to her, "Wretched woman, completely full of shame and shamelessness, don't you see that the demons are stirring you so that they may cast your soul into damnation and destroy your virginity and reduce you to ridicule and reproach in the eyes of your whole family? Don't you see that I the least am compelled to go to barbarian nations [cf. I Cor. 15:9] and to war and to the shedding of blood, with God strengthening me; how then will I sully the flesh, going away to war?" Having proclaimed these things and other such things to her, he sent her away; and after rising and praying, he took to the road. And sleeping when night fell, he sees himself standing in a conspicuous place, and near him a certain seated sovereign, who has his right foot placed over his left foot, says to him, "Do you see the armies of each side?" He replied, "Yes, Lord, I see that the Romans destroy the Bulgarians." And the apparition says to the just man, "Look towards us." And looking up, he sees him pressing his right foot against the ground and laying the left on top of the right. As that happened, the just man looking around again to the army sees the enemy cutting down the Romans mercilessly. And after the slaughter ends, the seated one says to the soldier, "Observe accurately the slaughter of the bodies and tell me what you see." And he looking around sees all the earth appearing to him full of dead bodies, and in the middle of it all a patch of green meadow the size of a single bed. And he says to him, "Lord, all the earth is full of Romans slain mercilessly except one patch." Then the fearful apparition said to the soldier, "And what do you think it is?" He replied, "I am an ignorant man, Lord, and I don't know." And the fearful one said to him again, "The bare patch, which you see having a length of one bed, is yours, and in it you were bound to have been slaughtered with your fellow soldiers and to be put down in it and to fill in the gap; when last night you shook off sensibly from you the triple-braided snake (τὸν τρίπλοκον ὄφιν) who wrestled you thrice into shameful intercourse and intended to kill you, know that you freed yourself from this slaughter and have gained exemption from the 'bed' of the meadow and have saved your soul along with your body. And so a physical death will not rule over you if truly you would serve me." Being shaken, having seen these things, he was awoken and getting up he prayed. And turning around for one day, he went up a stretch of road into a mountain, and praying he beseeched God on behalf of the army. After the emperor entered into the passes of Bulgaria, the

Bulgarians went up into the mountain, leaving behind a few in the garrison, some fifteen thousand in size more or less; and after slaughtering them, the Romans became foolish. For dispersing into the country carelessly, in a short time the whole battle line of the Romans would be brought to nothing in slaughter along with the emperor Nikephoros. Then the just man, reminded of the vision and giving thanks to God, turned around from that place weeping and mourning; and going away to a monastery, he took the holy habit, and serving God truly he became for a sufficient time a most distinguished and great father.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Amidon, P., trans. 1997. *The Church History of Rufinus of Aquileia, Books 10 and 11*. Oxford.
- Burgmann, L., ed. 1986. *Ecloga: Das Gesetzbuch Leons III und Konstantinos V*. Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 10. Frankfurt am Main.
- Cameron, Av. and J. Herrin. 1984. *Constantinople in the early eighth century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai: Introduction, translation, and commentary*. Leiden.
- Cameron, Av. and S. G. Hall, translators. 1999. *Life of Constantine/ Eusebius*. Oxford.
- Clugnet, L. 1902. "Histoire de de [sic.] Nicolas soldat et moine." *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 7: 319–30.
- Dawes, E. and N. H. Baynes. 1948. *Three Byzantine saints*. Oxford.
- Deferrari, R. 1964. *Orosius, The seven books of history against the pagans*. Washington, DC.
- Dennis, G., ed. 1980. *Mauricius, Strategikon*. Vienna.
- , trans. 1984. *Maurice's Strategikon*. Philadelphia.
- , ed. and trans. 2010. *The Taktika of Leo VI*. Washington, D.C.
- Diggle, J. and F. Goodyear, eds. 1970. *Flavii Cresconii Corippi Iohannidos seu de bellis Lybicus libri VIII*. Cambridge.
- Majeska, G. 1984. *Russian travelers to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*. Dumbarton Oaks Studies 19. Washington, DC.
- Mango, C. 1958. *The homilies of Photius patriarch of Constantinople*. Cambridge, MA.
- Mango, C. and R. Scott, translators. 1997. *The chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, Byzantine and near eastern history AD 284–813*. Oxford.
- Pertusi, A. 1948. "Una acolouthia militare inedita del X secolo." *Aevum* 22: 145–68.
- Shea, G., trans. 1998. *The Iohannis or De Bellis Lybicus of Flavius Cresconius Corippus*. Lampeter.
- Sullivan, D. 1997. "Life of Saint Ioannikios." In *Byzantine defenders of images. Eight saints' lives in english translation*. Ed. A.-M. Talbot, 243–352. Washington, DC.
- Wortley, J. 1991. *A repertoire of Byzantine Beneficial Tales [δηγήσεις ψυχωφελεῖς]*. <http://home.cc.umanitoba.ca/~wortley/main900-999.html>.
- . 1996. *The spiritually beneficial tales of Paul, bishop of Monemvasia*. Kalamazoo, MI.

Secondary Literature

- Arndt, W. F. and F. W. Gingrich. 1957. *A Greek-English lexicon of the New Testament and other early Christian literature*. Cambridge.

- Bachrach, D. 2003. *Religion and the conduct of war, c. 300–1215*. Woodbridge.
- Barringer, R. 1980. "The pseudo-Amphilochian life of St. Basil: Ecclesiastical penance and Byzantine hagiography." *Theologia* 51: 49–61.
- Bassett, S. 1991. "The antiquities in the hippodrome of Constantinople." *DOP* 45: 87–96.
- Bonner, M. 1996. *Aristocratic violence and holy war. Studies in the jihad and the Arab-Byzantine frontier*. New Haven, CT.
- Cameron, Al. 2011. *The last pagans of Rome*. Oxford.
- Cameron, Av. 1979. "Images of authority: Elites and icons in sixth-century Byzantium." *Past & Present* 84: 3–35.
- . 1984. "Corippus' *Iohannis*: Epic of Byzantine Africa." *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4: 167–80.
- Cholij, R. 2002. *Theodore the Stoudite. The ordering of holiness*. Oxford.
- Costa-Louillet, G. da. 1955–57. "Saints de Constantinople aux VIII^e, IX^e et X^e siècles (suite)." *Byzantion* 25–27: 782–852.
- Dagron, G. 1983. "Byzance et le modèle islamique au X^e siècle, à propos des *Constitutions tactiques* de l'empereur Léon VI." In *Comptes rendus des séances de l'année de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*: 219–43. Paris.
- Dennis, G. 1993. "Religious services in the Byzantine army." In *Eulogema. Studies in honor of Robert Taft*, SJ. Ed. E. Carr et al., 107–17. Rome.
- Dobschütz, E. von. 1909. "Methodios und die Studiten. Strömungen und Gegenströmungen in der Hagiographie des 9. Jahrhunderts." *BZ* 19: 41–105.
- Flood, F. B. 2006. "Image against nature. Spolia as apotropaia in Byzantium and the dar al-Islam." *The Medieval History Journal* 9: 143–66.
- Frazer, J. G. 1898. *Pausanias's description of Greece*. Vol. 6, *Commentary on books IX–X*. London.
- Gärtner, T. 2008. *Untersuchungen zur Gestaltung und zum historischen Stoff der Iohannis Coripps*. Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 90. Berlin.
- Halkin, F. 1967. "Lesquels de saints Nicolas?" *AB* 85: 58.
- Heldt, J. 1995. "Nikolaos Studitens vita: En helgonbiografi från medelbyzantinsk tid." *Byzantinska Sällskapet Bulletin* 13: 29–36.
- Heisenberg, A. 1916. "Kriegsgottesdienst in Byzanz." In *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte vornemlich des Orients*, 244–57. Breslau.
- Kazhdan, A. with L. Sherry and C. Angelidi. 1999. *A history of Byzantine literature*. Vol. 1, 650–850. Athens.
- Kazhdan, A. and Alice-Mary Talbot, eds. 1998. *Dumbarton Oaks hagiography database*. Washington, DC. The introduction is a paginated PDF document. http://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/projects/hagiography_database/.
- Kolia-Dermitzaki, A. 1991. *O vizantinos «ieros polemos»* [Byzantine Holy War]. Istorikes Monografies 10. Athens.
- Madden, T. F. 1992. "The serpent column of Delphi in Constantinople: Placement, purposes and mutations." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 16: 111–45.
- Maguire, H. 2006. "The empress and the Virgin on display in sixth-century art." In *Plenary papers*. Vol. 1 of *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies, London 21–26 August 2006*. Ed. E. Jeffreys, 379–95. London.
- Mango, C. 1983. "The two lives of Ioannikios and the Bulgarians." In *Okeanos. Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his sixtieth birthday by his colleagues and students*. Ed. C. Mango and O. Pritsak. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7: 393–404.
- McCormick, M. 1984. "The liturgy of war in the early middle ages: Crises, litanies and the Carolingian monarchy." *Viator* 15: 1–23.
- . 1986/1990. *Eternal Victory. Triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium and the early medieval West*. Repr. Cambridge and Paris.

- . 2004. "The liturgy of war from antiquity to the Crusades." In *The sword of the Lord. Military chaplains from the first to the twenty-first century*. Ed. D. L. Bergen, 45–67. Notre Dame, IN.
- Ménage, V. 1964. "The serpent column in Ottoman sources." *Anatolian Studies* 14: 169–73.
- Niavis, P. 1987. *The reign of the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus I (AD 802–811)*. Istorikes Monografies 3. Athens.
- Pentcheva, B. 2006. *Icons and power. The Mother of God in Byzantium*. University Park, PA.
- Stephenson, P. 2006. "'About the emperor Nikephoros and how he leaves his bones in Bulgaria.' A context for the controversial Chronicle of 811." *DOP* 60: 87–109.
- Stichel, R. H. W. 1997. "Die 'Schlangensäule' im Hippodrom von Istanbul. Zum spät- und nachantiken Schicksal des delphischen Votivs der Schlacht von Plataiai." *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 47: 315–48.
- Taft, R. 1995. "War and peace in the Byzantine divine liturgy." In *Peace and war in Byzantium. Essays in honor of George T. Dennis, S. J.* Ed. T. S. Miller and J. Nesbitt, 17–32. Washington, DC.
- Treadgold, W. 1988. *The Byzantine revival, 780–842*. Stanford, CA.
- Viellefond, J. 1935. "Les pratiques religieuses dans l'armée byzantine d'après les traités militaires." *Revue des Études Anciennes* 37: 322–30.
- Worsfeld, T. C. 1904. "The serpent column of the Delphic oracle." *The Archaeological Journal* 61: 329–39.
- Wortley, J. 1980. "Legends of the Byzantine disaster of 811." *Byzantion* 50: 533–62.
- Wright, J. R. and T. C. Oden, eds. 2005. *Ancient Christian commentary on scripture, Old Testament*. Vol. 9, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon*. Downers Grove, IL.

THE TESTAMENT OF THE PATRIARCH ATHANASIOS I OF CONSTANTINOPLE (1289–93, 1303–09)

Manolis S. Patedakis

In this article, I will present and edit one of the last works of the patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople (1289–93, 1303–09): the testament to his disciples. In addition I will comment on parts of another unpublished letter of his, addressed to the emperor Andronikos II, in which Athanasios defended the views he had expressed in his testament.

The only manuscript that preserves the patriarch's testament,¹ that is Vaticanus gr. 2219,² bears exactly the following title: "(A work) of the same (Athanasios) to his own disciples."³ The title does not repeat Athanasios' name and ecclesiastical dignity, but includes the phrase *Toῦ αὐτοῦ* as the only indication of the author. It accords with the title of another unpublished monastic work, probably also a late product of his pen that starts at the beginning of the same quire of the codex and includes the name of the author.⁴ This quire was inserted in the codex and was copied by a scribe different from the one responsible for the previous and the following part of the manuscript.⁵ The term *φοιτητάς*,

¹ As Laurent has rightly defined its genre in Laurent (1971) 515–17, N. 1736.

² Lilla (1985), 212–23; for a detailed description of the same codex see also Talbot (1975), xxxiii–xxxvii.

³ Vaticanus, gr. 2219, f. 97v: *Toῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φοιτητάς*. Both the testament of Athanasios and the defense letter to the emperor Andronikos II were edited in my Ph.D. thesis, Patedakis (2004) as E. 1 and E. 17. For a translation of the testament in Italian see Rigo (1993) 73–82 and in Spanish in Rigo-Vego (2007).

⁴ Vaticanus, gr. 2219, f. 93: *Toῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως γράμμα προτρέπον μονάζοντας καὶ μοναζούσας τοὺς ἔνεκεν σωτηρίας ἀποκαρέντας, ἀλλὰ μὴ καθ' ὑπόκρισιν ὡς οἱ τῆς σκηνῆς, τὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ τὴν νηστείαν καὶ τὸ μονοσιτίζεσθαι, ὡς τοῖς πατράσιν ἐκρίθη, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ τὰ βοσκηματώδη τῶν ζώων*.

⁵ See Lilla (1985), 222. In addition Pérez-Martín has suggested with great probability as scribe for the first part of the codex (ff. 1–89v) the patriarchal copyist George Galesiotes; see Pérez-Martín (1996) 327. The second part that contains the testament (ff. 93–99) has been identified by the same scholar as a *quaternium* not from the original compilation plan of the manuscript. Its scribe can also be connected with a well-attested hand from Constantinople and the patriarchal milieu which was contemporary with Galesiotes; see Pérez-Martín (1995) 49–50. See also Patedakis (2004) 133–42 for relevant considerations on codex Vaticanus, pertaining particularly to its third part, and the possibility of being an autograph by Athanasios himself. Hiroyuki

referring to the disciples of the patriarch, was also used several times by Theoktistos the Studite in his hagiographical texts about Athanasios.⁶ These usages make us suspect that maybe Theoktistos was the composer of the title of this work and perhaps he also played a role in the compilation of the main codex Vaticanus gr. 2219.⁷

Even if we do not find the word testament (*διαθήκη*) in the title,⁸ we can confirm the genre in a phrase that exists further down in the text edited here, couched in a strong *figura etymologica*: “*I devise these to you as a testament.*”⁹ The composition of such an admonishing text, when death was approaching, was not unusual for patriarchs in the Late Byzantine period. Testaments bequeathing a spiritual rather than a material property mainly aimed to justify patriarchal policies or to declare what they regarded to be their posthumous inheritance to the contemporary church.¹⁰

The testament of Athanasios attempts above all to summarize significant truths from the New Testament which could be applied by his subordinates according to his proposed model of monastic life. The main quotations contain the theoretical background: the major point comes from the Gospel of Matthew (Mt. 7:13–14), that is the ideal of *the narrow and strait road* as opposed to *the wide one*, that is repeated several times in the testament (l. 3–9, 26, 30, 34–37, 54–55, 61, 71, 92, 106, 108, 111). In particular in the most important admonitory passage of the whole work, in l. 89–92, the patriarch presents this ideal as central in his testament:

Hashikawa from Waseda Institute for Advanced Study (WIAS), Japan, has discussed in several papers of his, which I have read in an English summary kindly provided by the author, issues that also deal with the main codex and the whole manuscript tradition of Athanasios' works.

⁶ Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1905) 17.17–18, 47.30, 49.6, 50.28 and Fusco (1997) ch. 15, 122.9.

⁷ A further similarity exists between the introductory title of the whole collection of Athanasios' letters to the emperor, Τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς τε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους, πολὺν τὸν θεῖον ζῆλον ἐμφαίνουσαι, as edited by Talbot (1975) 2, and a similar comment by Theoktistos on the corpus of the patriarch's letters: καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν αἱ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ βίβλοι, ὧν αἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸν κρατοῦντα πεπόμφεσθαι, αἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς παραδυναστεύοντας, ζήλου πλήρεις οὔσαι τοῦ θεϊκοῦ καὶ ἀδικίαν ἐλέγχουσαι καὶ στήλιτεύουσαι: Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1905) 24.17–20. See Patedakis (2004) 141.

⁸ Cañellas (1994) 447.

⁹ See in this edition, Testament, l. 91–92: εἰς διαθήκην ὑμῖν διατίθημι.

¹⁰ Patedakis (2007) 65–86.

I leave these to you, to my beloved to whom *I gave birth* in the name of Christ *through the Gospel*, as I said to you when starting my speech, and I advise you both being alive and after I depart as my genuine sons, having my trust in the Lord Christ I devise these to you as a testament: struggle both to act and to speak in accordance with the example of *the strait and narrow road until you shed your own blood*...

The meanings of other scriptural quotations as admonitions, such as the voluntary carrying of Christ's Cross (l. 23–24, 76–78, 81–82) or the spiritual affinity with his disciples (l. 12–13, 28, 89), are built on the free choice of *the narrow road*, as on a fundamental cornerstone. A piece of practical advice containing everyday monastic rules follows at the end of the work (98–109).¹¹

Laurent, without having access to its content, and only according to the description of a lost manuscript from the monastery of Mega Spelaion,¹² identified another work of Athanasios, the defense letter that was addressed to the emperor Andronikos II. It is clear that the same work, as we can identify from the incipit that Bees has recorded, is fortunately preserved in the manuscript Alexandrinus gr. 288 (911),¹³ under the following title: "*Letter to the emperor about what the schismatics said, <namely> that he spoke irreverently against Christ.*"¹⁴

This letter develops the refutation of a heresy charge against Athanasios. Its opening passage states that after a serious and life threatening illness, he was asked to compose a farewell speech to his

¹¹ Miller – Thomas (1996) 355, n. 11; Thomas – Constantinides-Hero (2000) vol. 4:1495–1504 and Cañellas (1994) 447, n. 14, stress the fact that Athanasios, based on the tradition of the *typika*, had dictated monastic rules many times in his life. However, some unpublished texts of the patriarch, even if they contain them, they do not usually have as their main purpose to address monastic rules but these rules accompanied texts dispatched on other specific administrative occasions. Stronger evidence of the activity of Athanasios in changing rules from existing *typika* is recorded by Pachymeres; see Failler (1999) vol. 4, 567.16–18: ...βαρὺς μὲν μοναχοῖς, ἐξαλλάττων καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ τῶν μονῶν τυπικὰ καὶ μονοφαγίαν δι' ἔτους ἐξακριβοῦμενος, ὥς καὶ ἐννατίζειν αἰεὶ, κἂν ἐπιστῶτο δεσπότης ἐορτὴ καὶ τῶν Πασχαλίων,...

¹² For this work see Laurent (1971) 464, N. 1671, and the catalogue by Bees (1915) 61, N. 62, under the title: Ἀθανασίου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Νέου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. The codex from Mega Spelaion was destroyed in a fire.

¹³ According to the incomplete description in the catalogue of Moschonas (1965) 185, we can only identify Athanasios' longest encyclical letter, while in fact codex Alexandrinus gr. 288 (911) contains thirty-five unpublished works of Athanasios, two of which are not preserved by any other manuscript; cf. Talbot (1975) xli.

¹⁴ Alexandrinus, gr. 288 (911), f. 228: Γράμμα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ οὗ εἶπον οἱ σχισματικοὶ ὅτι ἐβλάσφημῃσεν εἰς Χριστόν.

disciples.¹⁵ The content of this treatise was not about faith (as he admitted his insufficient learning) but about the monastic way of life. These last phrases allude to a 'short' (μικρόν) text composed 'in a simpler style' (ἀπλοϊκώτερον) that dealt with the specific monastic comportment that accords with the commandment of *the strait and narrow road* (Mt. 7:13–14).¹⁶ Further in the same text Athanasios says that he had already presented the contentious text which refers to *the strait and narrow road* both to the senate and the emperor Andronikos himself. From this last passage it seems that he had submitted to the highest state authorities either a full version of his testament or a written apology against the accusation devised against him. He insists that he had nothing to hide, but reveals his views in public with a written text.¹⁷ At the end he declares his position against *schismatics* (Arsenites) and heretics as well as his true faith in the institutions of the Orthodox Church. All the above details definitely lead us to identify the text that is described in the defense letter with the testament of Athanasios, according to the presentation of its content in the beginning of this article.

As we can surmise from two later sources, the text of the testament of Athanasios provided reasons to his opponents to accuse him of blasphemy or heresy against the name of Christ. The first author that narrates in detail this event is Gregory Akindynos. In one of his anti-palamite treatises he devotes an extended passage on recent incidents of ecclesiastical history to two contemporary patriarchs that were

¹⁵ Alexandrinus, gr. 288 (911), f. 228: Ἐν τούτοις ἡμῶν τυγχανόντων, συναντησάσης ἡμῖν ἀσθενείας θάνατον ἀπειλούσης καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτηθέντες ἐξόδιον πρὸς τῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν, οὐ τῶν περὶ πίστεως,...

¹⁶ Literally, the translation for these phrases is, "we strove to engrave briefly our opinion in a simpler style". See Alexandrinus, gr. 288 (911), f. 228v: ...ἀλλὰ περὶ διαγωγῆς ἀνηκούσης μονάζουσι μικρόν, ὥς ἡ βία ἡμῖν παρεχάρεται τῆς νόσου, ἀπλοϊκώτερον τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐγχαράξαι ἐσπέυσαμεν, τὰ πρὸς τὴν τεθλιμμένην ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν συντελοῦντα.

¹⁷ Alexandrinus, gr. 288 (911), f. 229v–230: Ἐνθεν ἡμεῖς ἐγνωκότες ὡς ἅπαν τὸ φανερούμενον ἐν Χριστῷ φῶς ἐστὶ, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ δεδοξασμένα θαρρούντως τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀνάκτορα ἐν οἷς ἐκπαιδεύειν καὶ νουθετεῖν τοὺς προσερχομένους ἡμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ τοῦ βαδίσαι τὴν τεθλιμμένην ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν βουληθέντας ἐγγράφως ἐνεφανήσαμεν καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς τοὺς τυχόντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ μόνον, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν εὐκλεᾶ καὶ περιφανῇ σύγκλητον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ κατ' ἐνώπιον τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ ὀρθοδοξοτάτου καὶ φιλοχρίστου ἡμῶν βασιλέως οὗ καὶ ὁ ζῆλος πρὸς τὸ ὀρθόδοξον κατὰ τὸν ᾄδόμενον Φινεὲς, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἔδειξεν ἡ ἔνθεος τούτου σπουδὴ πρὸς διόρθωσιν τῶν ἐαλωκότων τῇ λύσει τῶν Ἰταλῶν. For the initiation of a court procedure against Athanasios on the same occasion cf. also Cañellas (1995) IV, ch. 51, 396.10–28; Fusco (1997) 123.18–20. Cf. here n. 22.

maltreated and deposed from their throne: Gregory II of Cyprus and Athanasios I.¹⁸ Akindynos presents briefly a sequence of events beginning with the official theological condemnation of John XI Bekkos at the council of Blachernae (1285) until the illegal deposition of Gregory of Cyprus after a debate that questioned the validity of his famous anti-unionist *Tomus*. Akindynos does not name or explain clearly the case, namely the opposition of Mark, one of Gregory's disciples, to his teacher on the issue of the eternal manifestation of the Holy Spirit.¹⁹

The second patriarch that was maltreated was Athanasios. The patriarch had expressed certain views in his testament for which he was accused, namely he called Christ a sinner. Akindynos in a first passage presents the event and cites the exact expressions from Athanasios' "testaments" as well as the false charges which they led to:

After him (the patriarch Gregory) the most distinguished patriarch Athanasios proved to be staunch in everything and such a patriarch has not existed for many years. However, when he got ill and attempted to write his testament, he mentioned Christ our Saviour with many names, which He the dispassionate received from human weakness, since He was among us; and among these he also said some of the unusual names, namely "sinner." That is, talking about Christ "as the poor, the stranger, the disgraceful, the one who became a curse for our sake" he added in between "the sinner", which having reached the unfailing hearing of the emperor and the prelates threw them into great confusion, and they said "nobody has dared so far to call Christ a sinner."²⁰

At this point when an official inquiry against Athanasios was opened, he probably had to apologize before the emperor and the synod both

¹⁸ Cañellas (1995) IV, ch. 50, 394.41–ch. 51, 397.64.

¹⁹ Cañellas (1994) 444–445, in his article does not mention the well known controversy between the patriarch Gregory and his disciple Mark. Cf. Pachymeres' narration on these events in Failler (1999) vol. 3, 135.4–151.23. The modern reader of Akindynos's passage can fully understand the case after consulting the substantial analysis in two chapters from Papadakis (1997) 157–179, 181–200.

²⁰ Cañellas (1994) 445–448; Cañellas (1995) IV, ch. 51, 395.44–396.13: Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀθανάσιος ὁ πᾶν πατριαρχεύσας καὶ διὰ πάντων ἀνὴρ ἀναφανείς γεννάδας, οἷος πολλοῦ πρότερον οὐκ ἐγένετο χρόνου, εἴτ' ἀσθενήσας καὶ διαθήκας ἐπιχειρήσας γράφειν, πολλοῖς μὲν ἐμνήσθη Χριστοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ὀνόμασιν, ἃ τῷ γενέσθαι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας ὁ ἀπαθὴς ἀνεδέξατο, ἐν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τι τῶν οὐκ ἐθάδων εἶπεν· ἦν δὲ τοῦτο, ἀμαρτωλός. Λέγων γὰρ περὶ Χριστοῦ· «Τὸν πτωχόν, τὸν ξένον, τὸν ἐπονείδιστον, τὸν γενόμενον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάραν», «τὸν ἀμαρτωλόν» μεταξὺ παρενέθηκεν, ὅπερ εἰς τὰς ἀσφαλεῖς ἀκοὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλθὼν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχιερέων, οὐ μετρίως αὐτοῦς διετάραξεν, «Ἀμαρτωλόν,» λέγοντας, «τὸν Χριστὸν ὀνομάσαι οὐδεὶς πῶ τετόλμηκεν.

in oral and written form; however, these details are not clear, to judge only from Theoktistos' more rhetorical narration, as we will present it below. Akindynos cites the exact answer of Athanasios, who argued that he did not call Christ a "sinner," but a "sin," that is, as Jews would have seen Him according to the relevant passage from Paul (2 Cor. 5:21). On the contrary he confessed that Christ is free from sin and condemned anyone who thinks otherwise. And if anybody considered that he had inserted novel terms, he would abnegate them and be most willing to renounce any innovation and irregularity.²¹ In an ironic tone Akindynos states that '*the unfailing guards of piety*' ordered Athanasios to anathematize explicitly his word. Immediately the patriarch "*renounced on paper and ink his novel term*" starting his text with the words of a Psalm (118:79).²² A second encomiastic passage follows by Akindynos calling Athanasios '*unrivalled in virtue and sagacity*', '*patriarch of the Oecumene, whose reputation reached the whole inhabited world*', comparing him with the ancient fathers of the church and stressing especially the fact that he had founded nunneries and monasteries that numbered more than a thousand monastics.²³ In fact Athanasios could argue and prove his piety and innocence, as he had many supporters among his disciples, people of the church and the palace: '*and these people are almost the whole city, or rather all the Christian cities.*'²⁴ However, as Akindynos implies, he chose not to ask for support but to keep silent.

²¹ Cañellas (1995) IV, ch. 51, 396.13–28: Ἐρομένων δὲ τὸν πατριάρχην· «Τί τοῦτο πεποίηκας;», «Τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον», ἔφη, «μιμούμενος, ὃς ἁμαρτίαν αὐτόν φησιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα πεποιηκέναι· τοῦ τοίνυν ἁμαρτωλοῦ πλέον ἢ ἁμαρτία· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ μόνον, ὃ δὲ τι ὦν ἕτερον μετέσχε τῆς ἁμαρτίας. Οὐτε δὲ ἁμαρτίαν ὁ Παῦλος ὡς ἁμαρτίαν ὄντα, δόξαν δὲ Ἰουδαίοις τὸν Κύριον εἶρηκεν, οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἁμαρτωλὸν αὐτὸν ὡς ὄντα γε τοιοῦτον ὀνόμασα. Ὁμολογῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀναμάρτητον εἶναι καὶ ἀναθεματίζω τὸν ἐτέρως δοξάζοντα, δόξαντα δὲ ἁμαρτωλὸν τοῖς οὖσιν ἁμαρτωλοῖς Ἑβραίοις καὶ διατοῦτο ἀπεκτονόσιν αὐτόν.» Οὕτω μὲν οὖν δοξάζειν ἔφη κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀναθεματίζειν τὸν ἐτέρως φρονούντα· εἰ δὲ τί δοκεῖ κεκαινοφωνηκέναι, παραιτεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ καινὸν καὶ ἄηθες ἀποβάλλεσθαι προθυμότερος εἶναι.

²² Cañellas (1995) IV, ch. 51, 396.29–34: Οἱ δ' ἀσφαλεῖς φύλακες τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἀποβάλλεσθαι καὶ οὐ τοῦτο γε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαρρήδην ἀναθεματίζειν τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευον· ὃ δ' ἐτοίμως ὑπήκουε. Καὶ παραντῖκα χάρη καὶ μέλανι τὴν καινοφονίαν ἐξῶμνυτο, ἐκ προοιμίου τοιοῦτου· Ἐπιστρεψάτωσάν με οἱ φοβούμενοί σε καὶ οἱ γινώσκοντες τὰ μαρτύριά σου. In the letter of defense to the emperor we do not find the citation of this Psalm. Thus, we suppose that this defense text of Athanasios was probably only a speech, or a written apology that has not survived to us.

²³ Cañellas (1995) IV, ch. 51, 396.29–397.49.

²⁴ Cañellas (1995) IV, ch. 51, 397.49–58.

A second major testimony on the issue is provided by Athanasios' hagiographer Theoktistos who referred to the same event in his *Encomion* for the patriarch and speaks both about the accusation and Athanasios' written answer to this invented charge:

For you had the passion of Christ as a delight of your tongue and soul every night and day, o most blessed of all, and you were saying with respect to us, your disciples: "O children, keep always in mind the sufferings of our Lord and God Christ which cause shuddering and bring salvation, of the one who became a stranger and poor for our sake and was named a curse and carried our sins". After this passage was misunderstood by mischievous people, the envious and wicked and wise in doing evil in an evil way, they were spreading abroad that Athanasios obviously calls Christ a sinner. This device is also yours, o wretched one, so that you could extinguish the ardent longing that he had for the sufferings of Christ, or at least might be able to blunt it for a while, if you manage to; but your device will be proved fruitless, o defiled one. For you were not disheartened, o most blessed of all, but you blunted their own vain talking by saying, "Love the crucified Christ; for the glory of the saviour is His. Hate for His sake flesh and the world and the evil ruler of the world."²⁵

As we have shown, there are two clear references to an accusation against Athanasios by Theoktistos and Gregory Akindynos. Both authors ascribe the accusation to the characterization of Christ by Athanasios through similar passages. These passages are relevant to the passion of Christ and the fact that He became a curse and carried the sins of the world.²⁶ The misunderstanding or misuse of these phrases

²⁵ Fusco (1997) 122.8–123.20: Νύκτα γὰρ καὶ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἐντρύφημα γλώττης καὶ ψυχῆς εἶχες ταῦτα, μακαριώτατε, καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς σοῖς φοιτηταῖς ἐπεφώνεις λέγων. «Ἐχετε τέκνα διὰ μνήμης αἰεὶ τὰ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν σωτήρια καὶ φρικώδη παθήματα, τοῦ ξένου καὶ πτωχοῦ δι' ἡμᾶς χρηματίσαντος καὶ κατὰρα ὀνομασθέντος καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν βαστάσαντος». ὁ καὶ τοῖς κακοσκόλοις καὶ βασκανοῖς καὶ πονηροῖς καὶ σοφοῖς τοῦ κακοποιήσαι κακῶς παρεξηγηθὲν διεθρύλλουν, ὡς ἁμαρτωλὸν τὸν Χριστὸν ὀνομάζει προδήλως ὁ Ἀθανάσιος. Σόφισμα καὶ τοῦτο σὸν, πονηρέ, ἵνα τὸν διακαῆ ἔρωτα, ὃν πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήματα εἶχεν, ἐκκόψῃς ἢ καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ ἀμβλύνῃς καὶ δυνηθῇς· ἀλλ' εἰς κενὸν σοὶ τὸ σόφισμα, μιαιρέ. Σὺ γὰρ οὐκ ἡμβλύνῃς, μακαριώτατε, ἀλλὰ γράφων τὰς κενοφανίας τούτων ἀπὸ μύθου· «Ἀγαπήσατε—λέγων—τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον Χριστόν· τούτου γὰρ δόξα σωτήρος. Μισήσατε δι' αὐτὸν καὶ σάρκα καὶ κόσμον καὶ τὸν δεινὸν κοσμοκράτορα».

²⁶ Cañellas (1995) IV, ch. 51, 396.8–10: Λέγων γὰρ περὶ Χριστοῦ· «Τὸν πτωχόν, τὸν ξένον, τὸν ἐπονείδιστον, τὸν γενόμενον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατὰραν», «τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν» μεταξὺ παρενέθηκεν, ...; Fusco (1997) 122.9–12: «Ἐχετε τέκνα διὰ μνήμης αἰεὶ τὰ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν σωτήρια καὶ φρικώδη παθήματα, τοῦ ξένου καὶ πτωχοῦ δι' ἡμᾶς χρηματίσαντος καὶ κατὰρα ὀνομασθέντος καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν

by his wicked opponents resulted in a slander against Athanasios that he had called Christ a sinner. Theoktistos does not mention specifically that the contentious phrase of Athanasios comes from his testament but rather attributes them to words addressed to his disciples. A similar reference to a counseling monastic text, when Athanasios was ill and before his death, is given by his other hagiographer Joseph Kalothetos, although he also does not allude specifically to a testament or even more any accusation of heresy.²⁷ However, Kalothetos' description also matches well to the monastic content of the testament that we edit in this article. Only Akindynos refers clearly to the occasion and namely to the genre of the contentious text: "*he got ill and attempted to write a testament.*"²⁸

The extant text of the testament from codex Vaticanus does not contain the controversial passage that caused the accusation against Athanasios and the consequent debate, as we know it in the two variants from Theoktistos the Studite and Gregory Akindynos. The passage from the testament closest in meaning would be that discussing the choice of the true Christian to carry willingly the cross of Christ and follow the example of His death (l. 81–88). On the other hand, Athanasios' refutation in the unpublished letter of defense to the emperor matches perfectly with the relevant passages of the accusation as we know it from the two above sources. As we argued above, in this letter Athanasios clearly refers to his testament that included practical pieces of advice to his disciples based on the main idea about the choice of *the narrow and strait road*.²⁹ According to the same letter, he had also stressed in his testament all the events relevant to the passion of Christ: "those of the holy incarnate dispensation of the only-begotten son of God, those of the honorable Cross and all the humiliating and

βαστάσαντος». Both authors connect the view expressed by Athanasios with the passage from Paul, in which Christ was called a curse (Gal. 3.13).

²⁷ Tsames (1980) 502.1578–83: εἰς τὰς αὐτοῦ χεῖρας τὴν μακαρίαν αὐτοῦ παρατίθησι καὶ καθαρωτάτην ψυχὴν νόσω κατακλιθεὶς ἐπὶ σκίμποδος καὶ τοῖς φοιτηταῖς αὐτοῦ, πολλοῖς τε οὖσι καὶ σχεδὸν ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν, τὰ τελευταῖα παραινέσας καὶ τύπον δοῦς λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγγράφως τὰ τῆς ἀκριβοῦς μοναδικῆς πολιτείας καὶ ἀσκήσεως παραδούς.

²⁸ Cañellas (1995) IV, ch. 51, 395.3–4: εἴτ' ἀσθενήσας καὶ διαθήκας ἐπιχειρήσας γράφειν,...

²⁹ See n. 16.

shameful <events> of the most holy passions of the Lord”.³⁰ Indeed in Theoktistos’ passage we see the same emphasis on the passion of Christ, thus Theoktistos also must refer to Athanasios’ testament. A further phrase from Athanasios’ letter of defense also emphasizes the fact that “according to the most grandiloquent of prophets Isaiah, Christ was slaughtered and crucified as a sacrifice for the remission of sins of the mankind; he received and carried on him the sins of everybody in order to free humans.”³¹ This phrase is confirmed by both Theoktistos’ and Akindynos’ reference to this incident, especially to the exact formulation of the accusation,³² and it was probably the same one that was picked up by Athanasios’ opponents in order to charge that he maintained that Christ is a sinner. It is this accusation that is mainly refuted in the unpublished letter of defense to the emperor Andronikos.

Although the testament should have contained the citations of Theoktistos and Akindynos as is confirmed by the defense letter, since we cannot find them, we can only make two suppositions: Firstly, the part that included the disputed phrase has not survived to us, either because the scribe of this part of the codex Vaticanus perhaps had slightly altered the words of Athanasios’ testament talking about the crucifixion of Christ (l. 81–88), or because Athanasios himself omitted them from the original version of the text. Secondly, another version of the same text might also have existed which has not survived, and from which both Athanasios’ enemies and Theoktistos quoted.³³

Theoktistos and Akindynos do not offer any hint as to when this event took place. Judging from the references to a severe illness, while the patriarch was approaching death, both in the testament and in the

³⁰ Alexandrinus, gr. 288 (911), f. 228v: ... ὡς τὰ τῆς ἀγίας ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὰ τοῦ τιμίου, λέγω, Σταυροῦ καὶ ὅσα τῶν παναγίων τοῦ Δεσπότης παθῶν ταπεινὰ καὶ ὑβριστικά...

³¹ Alexandrinus, gr. 288 (911), f. 228v: ...ὡς μέγαν ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς φωτισμὸν καὶ πίστιν ἀκράδαντον καὶ πόθον διακαεῖ ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ καὶ κατανύξει προσλαμβάνειν τὸν ἐνωτιζόμενον συνετῶς καὶ πιστῶς, πῶς κατὰ τὸν μεγαλοφρονότατον Ἡσαΐαν ὁ ἄμνός τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ τοῦ τυπικοῦ ἁμνοῦ ἐξεπλήρωσε καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἦρε καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασε ὀδυνηθεῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δίκην θύματος. Τὸ γὰρ εἰς θυσίαν προσαγόμενον ζῶον ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ τρόπον τινὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας πάντων ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐλάμβανε καὶ ἐβάσταζε καὶ τὸν μὲν λαὸν ἡλευθέρου τούτων, αὐτὸ δὲ διὰ ταύτας ἐσφάζετο....

³² See n. 26.

³³ Cf. Afentoulidou-Leitgeb (2008) 66.

unpublished defense letter to the emperor,³⁴ we can assume that the two works were composed after the patriarch had already resigned.³⁵ Athanasios in his testament addressed counseling and rules to a monastic environment, and no hint in the same work reveals any administrative duty of his as a patriarch. It is also made clear from the defense letter to the emperor that he apparently survived his illness and defended himself against his enemies. Laurent also suggested no date for the testament. As the present text deals with monastic rules and given the historical and hagiographical sources on the patriarch, we can assume that the testament can be dated after either his first or second patriarchate (1289–1293, 1303–1309), when Athanasios had retired to his monastery at Xerolophos.³⁶ In particular we consider that the testament as well as the letter of defense to the emperor were composed after his second patriarchate, that is, at a date after 1309.

Several similar cases of slander against Athanasios during his patriarchates have survived in the sources. We know from historians, his hagiographers and his own texts that many accusations of heresy were attempted against him. Gregoras describes the second resignation of Athanasios as a result of an accusation for heresy by his opponents.³⁷

³⁴ Testament, l. 90–91: καὶ ζῶν συμβουλεύω καὶ ἀπερχόμενος; Alexandrinus gr. 288 (911), f. 228: Ἐν τούτοις ἡμῶν τυγχανόντων, συναντησάσης ἡμῖν ἀσθενείας θάνατον ἀπειλούσης καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτηθέντες ἐξόδιον πρὸς τῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν...; Alexandrinus gr. 288 (911), f. 229v: Οὐκ ἐπαινετέοι, ὡς ἔφην, ὅτι μὴ πρὸς τὴν συνέχουσιν καὶ δεινῶς ἡμᾶς ἐκπιέζουσιν τότε ὁλοτελῶς κατεκάμφθημεν νόσον...

³⁵ However, there is the following problematic phrase in Akindynos' text against this supposition; Cañellas (1995) IV, ch. 51, 396.26–28: εἰ δέ τῳ δοκεῖ κεκαινοφανηκέναι, παραιτεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ καινὸν καὶ ἄηθες ἀποβάλλεσθαι προθυμότητος εἶναι Athanasios was most willing to renounce the novel term that was ascribed to him. A part of his decision depends on the infinitive *παραιτεῖσθαι*, which can also mean the renunciation of a doctrine and the meaning of *refrain from*, or *repudiate* (Lampe, 1017). However, especially a speaker of Greek today might understand it in the meaning of resign, despite the fact that we cannot find it in dictionaries. According to this interpretation it would mean that Athanasios was a patriarch, when he was accused, which seems improbable according to other arguments that I will present.

³⁶ Talbot (1975) xix–xxvi; Miller – Thomas (1996) 356 and in the recent article by Mitsiou (2008) 89–92.

³⁷ See Bekker – Schopen (1829–1855) vol. 2, 258.21–259.13. Athanasios decided to resign in 1309, after a few of his enemies stole his footstool and painted underneath the icon of Christ with the patriarch dragging the emperor Andronikos II who was wearing reins like a horse. According to Theoktistos' testimony on the same event, the culprit, named Iakovos, had put under the footstool of the patriarch an icon of the Virgin with Christ and the figures of the two emperors, so that Athanasios would step on the icons. The patriarch was slandered for being impious to the emperor or to Christ himself and resigned, although the guilty persons were arrested and pun-

In an excursus inserted in his *vita* we read of another accusation against Athanasios for the harassment and sexual abuse of a widow called Taranina; this woman was punished, since she was possessed by demon and passed away, while her sons also suffered and “were wandering for nothing in the streets” until the author’s time.³⁸ Another slander against Athanasios as well as the resulting punishment of the slanderers is found in Pachymeres’ narration. After an Armenian was baptised by the patriarch, he was despised by his compatriots and especially his sister. On one occasion of railing against this Armenian, a man was talking irreverently both against the Orthodox faith and the patriarch himself. But shortly thereafter, when he was walking nearby in the street he fell and broke his leg very badly.³⁹ In fact implications or clear references to slanderers are common in the literature relevant to Athanasios⁴⁰ and in contemporary sources on the period in general.⁴¹ Therefore, it is odd, that the historian Pachymeres makes no mention of this heresy accusation against Athanasios, unless this clash had taken place after Pachymeres’ historical narration had come to an end, that is, after 1307. Hence, it is more reasonable to reject the interval between Athanasios’ two patriarchates (1293–1303) as the period for the composition of the two works, and to move its composition to a date after 1309.

In several passages of the defense letter to the emperor Athanasios refers to the Arsenites. Already in the title the word ‘schismatics’, as those who launched the heresy charge, alludes to the Arsenites.⁴² In a first passage in the text Athanasios probably alludes to a previous

ished. See Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1905) 37.15–29; cf. Talbot (1975) 286.30–288.39; Tsames (1980) 498.1457–80.

³⁸ From codex Chalcensis gr. 64, ff. 70v–73. See Afentoulidou-Leitgeb (2008) 68–70.

³⁹ See Failler (1999) vol. 4, 569.7–34.

⁴⁰ Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1905) 28.5–12: 30.7–8: 39.19–41.2; Talbot (1975) 284.33–35: 288.53–54: 296.12–15: 298.56–63: 300.75–76: 302.117–120; Tsames (1980) 489.1193–204; Fusco (1997) 19.1–11.

⁴¹ Bekker – Schopen (1829–1855) vol. 1, 7.5–14: οἱ δὲ πρόθυμοι πρὸς τὸ λοιδορεῖν πάντα τινὰ ἀπαντῶσι καὶ γλῶτταν ἐκόντες ἀσκοῦσι πονηρὰν καὶ ἀταμίευτον καὶ ὑβρίζουσιν· καὶ ταῦτα μηδεμιᾶς πολλάκις προκειμένης προφάσεως, ἢ προβαλλομένη τι τῶν δικαίων ἴσως ὑπέκκαυμα ἔσται πρὸς τοιαύτας ἀναφλέγον ὁρμάς. καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον ἐθαύμασα, τοὺς ὅποσοι ψευδεῖς κατὰ βασιλέων ὁμοῦ καὶ πατριαρχῶν βλασφημίας συρράπτειν καὶ ἀναισχύντως προφέρειν τολμῶσι· καὶ πάντων ἐθαύμασα μάλιστα, τοὺς ὅσοι γραφῇ παρατίθεσθαι τὰς οὕτω ψευδεῖς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι.

⁴² See n. 14.

agreement and an official pardon that was given to the Arsenites by the official church.⁴³ In a second passage Athanasios might also refer to his own attempts (while still a patriarch) to compromise with the Arsenites and reconcile them with the patriarchate. However, in this document the Arsenites ask Athanasios in return to communicate with them and accept their error.⁴⁴ We can also deduce from this comment that his accusers at the moment are in power, as they ask him to compromise. This leads us to a further inference for dating this work: It must have been composed after Andronikos' official compromise with the Arsenites and the ceremony which had taken place in Hagia Sophia in 1310 under patriarch Niphon.⁴⁵ Athanasios would certainly have been one of those dissenting from that decision, a further result of which would be the conflict with the Arsenites, as revealed in this work. In a third passage we can identify Arsenites namely as *zelotai* (ζηλωταί),⁴⁶ the schismatics who accuse Athanasios of heresy, and against whom he argues in the rest of the document. Thus, for all the above reasons the most likely date for the composition of the testament and the letter to the emperor would be after 1310 and before the date of Athanasios' death, that is, approximately before the year 1313.⁴⁷

To conclude: Athanasios' original testament was composed at a date between 1310 and 1313 as a monastic admonition addressed to his disciples. At that time he had retired from his second patriarchate at the complex of monasteries he had founded at Xerolophos. A phrase from this testament, as we know both from Akindynos and Theoktistos, as well as from his defense letter to the Emperor Andronikos II, was used by his opponents, probably the Arsenites, to formulate an accusation

⁴³ Alexandrinus gr. 288 (911), f. 230: ...ἀλλὰ ἀγαπητικῇ ἐλπίδι καὶ ἀγαθῇ, ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία πεποίηκε πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐπιστροφῆς ἀπονεύμαι καὶ μετανοίας καιρόν.

⁴⁴ Alexandrinus gr. 288 (911), f. 230v–231:...ὁ τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν, εἰ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἀναγκαζόμενοι παρ' ἡμῶν ἐξ ἀγάπης πρὸς τὴν ὀρθοδοξίαν δραμεῖν καὶ τῶν δαιμονιωδῶν ἀποστῆναι καὶ ἀλλοκότων ἀποπλανήσεων ἀντιστρόφως ἡμῶς ἐκβιάζονται νῦν εἰς τὸ δοῦλοπρεπῶς ὑποκύψαι τῇ πλάνῃ αὐτῶν καὶ συγκοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς,...

⁴⁵ Boojamra (1982) 147–48; Gounarides (1999) 183–85; Kontogiannopoulou (1998) 225–29.

⁴⁶ Alexandrinus gr. 288 (911), f. 231v:...τῇ δι' ὀνόματος εὐπρεπεῖα κλειζομένους, εἰς μάτην ζηλωταὶ ἀκούειν οἱ φυλασσόμενοι... This was the name used by Arsenites themselves. Cf. to the name *xylotai* (ξύλωταί) which he ironically uses in the major part of his writings; Boojamra (1982) 142.

⁴⁷ For a terminus ante quem for Athanasios' death before the year 1323 see Talbot (1975) xxvi, n. 83; Talbot (1983) 13–14, and before the year 1313 see Mitsiou (2008) 92–96.

against Athanasios. The text of the testament, as edited in this article from codex Vaticanus gr. 2219,⁴⁸ does not contain the contentious phrases for which the former patriarch was accused, but accords well with the content of this debated work, as we know it from the other sources we have analyzed.

⁴⁸ For this codex I will use the *siglum* V in the current edition.

TEXT

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φοιτητάς

- Τῷ παμβασιλεῖ καὶ δεσπότη Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν ὀρθοδόξως πᾶς
 βαπτισθεὶς τὴν *τεθλιμμένην* βαδίζειν ὁδὸν καὶ στενὴν ἐπηγγείλατο,
 τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ Δεσπότης θεσπίζοντος πολλαχῶς, τὸν μὴ βαδίζοντα τὴν
 5 στενὴν ὁδὸν σωτηρίας εἶναι ἀλλότριον, ὡς προστάσσει τὰ ἱερὰ λόγια,
 τί *τεθλιμμένη*, φησί, καὶ στενὴ ἡ ὁδὸς ἢ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ζωὴν
 καὶ ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ εὐρίσκοντες αὐτήν, *πλατεῖα* δὲ καὶ εὐρύχωρος
 ἢ ἀπάγουσα εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν, καὶ πολλοὶ εἰσὶν οἱ εἰσερχόμενοι
 δι' αὐτῆς, ὃ καὶ οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ πολλακίς ἐκέλευσεν,¹ ὡς ἔχει καὶ
 10 τὸ μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ μακάριοι οἱ
 κλαίοντες καὶ οὐαὶ οἱ γελῶντες καὶ οὐαὶ οἱ ἐμπεπλησμένοι.

- Διατοῦτο, φίλτατα τέκνα, παρακαλῶ ὑμῶν ἕνα ἕκαστον, οὓς ἐν
 Χριστῷ διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγέννησα, μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὥς τινες τῶν
 διεφθαρμένα φρονούντων, Θεὸν ὁμολογοῦντες εἰδέναι λόγῳ ψιλῷ,
 15 τοῖς ἔργοις ἀρνούμεθα, τοῦ Δεσπότης κὰν τούτῳ ἡμᾶς ἀσφαλισμένου,
 οὐ πᾶς ὁ λέγων μοι Κύριε Κύριε εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν
 τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὁ πιστεύων ἀνάστασιν, κρίσιν καὶ ἀνταπόδοσιν·
 περὶ ὧν καὶ Παῦλος ὁ μέγας περιπατεῖν πολλοὺς ἔλεγεν οὐ καλῶς,
 νῦν δὲ καὶ κλαίω, φησὶν, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ Δεσπότης σταυροῦ.
 20 Τίνες δ' οὗτοι; Ὡν Θεὸς ἡ κοιλία καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῶν
 καὶ χήρα ἢ σπαταλῶσα, καὶ ζῶσα τέθνηκε καὶ ὃς οὐ λαμβάνει τὸν
 σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ ὀπίσω μου, ἡ θεία φάσκει φωνή, οὐκ
 ἔστι μου ἄξιος καὶ ὅστις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω
 ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖτω μοι· ὧν
 25 τινων ἀγίων φωνῶν ὁ μὴ αἰετὴ τὴν δύναμιν ψηλαφῶν, ἀλογώτατος—πῶς
 γὰρ καὶ γνωρίσει εἰ τὴν στενὴν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν πλατεῖαν ἠπάτηται
 τρέχων;

3–9 Mt. 7.13–14 10–11 Mt. 5.3–6; Lc. 6.20–25 12–13 I. Cor. 4.15 14–15 Tit.
 1.16 16–17 Mt. 7.21 17 I. c. Greg. Naz. Or. 40 in sanct. bapt. 306.38 (Mores-
 chini) 18–20 Phil. 3.18–19 21 I. Tim. 5.6 21–23 Mt. 10.38 23–24 Mt. 16.24;
 Mc. 8.34; Lc. 9.23 26–27 Mt. 7.13–14

1 Τοῦ...φοιτητάς V^F 6 τι] τί V 13 ἡμεῖς] ὑμεῖς V

¹ Τῷ παμβασιλεῖ...ἐκέλευσεν: The insertion of the fundamental scriptural quotation in the first paragraph of the text is accompanied by a structure emphasizing the ubiquitous reference to the Lord: Τῷ παμβασιλεῖ καὶ δεσπότη Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ (2), τοῦ Δεσπότης (3), and the implied subject ὁ Δεσπότης for φησί (5) and ἐκέλευσεν (8). It is also worth noting the usage of *τι* as a conjunction introducing a causal sentence.

TRANSLATION

<Testament> of the same author to his own disciples (1)

Everyone baptised in an Orthodox manner in the name of our King of all and Lord God Christ has promised to travel *the strait and narrow road*, since the Lord many times also decrees this, that the one who does not walk *the narrow road* is alien to salvation, as the Holy Scripture enjoins; for, He says, *the road that leads to life is strait and narrow and those who find it are few, while the one which leads to perdition is broad and spacious and those who enter through it are many*; He did not order this once but many times, as the meaning of the <following> passages also shows: *blessed <are> the poor and blessed are the hungry and blessed are those who cry and alas to those who laugh and alas to those who are full*. (2–11)

For this reason, my most beloved children, I entreat separately each one of you, whom *I gave birth to* in the name of Christ *through the Gospel*, that *we do not deny with our deeds, while we confess that we know God* in mere words, as do some people who judge in a corrupted way; since the Lord has secured us also in this: *not everyone who says, Lord, Lord, will enter the kingdom of heaven*, but the one who believes in *resurrection, judgement and retribution*; about which also the great Paul said that *many men walk around not in righteousness, but now I also tell you weeping*, he says, *that they are the enemies of the Cross of our Lord*. But who are they? Those *whose belly is their God and whose Glory exists in their shame and the widow who lives in pleasure has already died, even if she is still alive, and the one who does not hold his own cross and follow after Me*, as the divine voice says, *is not worthy of Me and the one who wants to come after Me, let him deny himself and carry his own cross and follow Me*. Anyone who does not always grope after the power of these divine voices is totally irrational – for how will he realize whether he runs in *the narrow* but he is not deceived while running in *the wide road*? (12–27)

- Διατοῦτο παρακαλῶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ φιλτάτους παῖδας, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐνδύμασι καὶ τῇ τροφῇ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀνακρίνωμεν
 98 30 ἑαυτοὺς, ψηλαφῶντες ἢ εἴ ἐσμεν τῆς στενῆς καὶ εἰ τὴν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ
 βαπτίσματι γεγонуῖαν ἡμῖν ὑπόσχεσιν τηρήκαμεν ἢ πεπατήκαμεν,
 καὶ μᾶλλον τὰ τῆς δευτέρας ὁμολογίας τῆς πρὸς Θεὸν ἐν ᾗ οὐδεμία
 τις ἀπολογία ἐστὶν ὡς νηπιάζοντας μὴ τὰ συντεταγμένα συνιεῖν,ⁱⁱ
 καὶ νομίζομεν πρὸς φρενοβλαβῶν τινῶν ἐξαπατάμενοι,ⁱⁱⁱ ὡς τὰ τῆς
 35 πλατείας μᾶλλον μακαριστεὰ καὶ οὐ τῆς στενῆς. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἴσμεν οὐδὲ
 ἠκούσαμεν ἀπαρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἰδεῖν τινα Θεοῦ πρόσωπον τῶν
 τὴν εὐρύχωρον βαδισάντων εἰς τέλος.^{iv}
 Ὅς γὰρ ἂν ἐπαισχυνθῇ με καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους, φησὶν ἡ
 αὐτοαλήθεια, ἐν τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ τῇ μοιχαλίδι καὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ,
 40 τοῦτον ἐπαισχυνθήσεται καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ
 δόξῃ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων. Ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν με, φησὶν,
 τὰς ἐντολάς μου τηρήσει. Τίς δὲ ὁ ἀγαπῶν με; Ὁ ἔχων τὰς ἐντολάς
 μου καὶ τηρῶν αὐτάς. Εὐλαβηθῶμεν οἱ δυστυχεῖς τοῦ Δεσπότητος
 παρακαλοῦντος ἡμᾶς καὶ φρίκης εἰσηγουμένου μεστά· ψηλαφῶμεν ἅτι
 45 ἐν αἰσθήσει τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἁγίους, δεῦτε πρὸς με πάντες
 οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐὰν
 μή τις ἀποτάσσεται πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῷ, οὐ δύναται μου

30 Mt. 7.14 34–37 Mt. 7.13–14 36 Gen. 33.10 38–41 Mc. 8.38; Lc. 9.26 41–42 Jo. 14.15; cf. Jo. 15.10 42–43 Jo. 14.21 45–46 Mt. 11.28 46–48 Lc. 14.33; cf. Lc. 14.26–27

ⁱⁱ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς...συνιεῖν: Athanasios asks for a first self-examination on the part of his disciples in order to check if they are on the narrow path or the wide road of the Gospel. They should consider their way of life, their clothing, food and deeds. A further self-examination would be to see if every Christian had kept the baptismal promises. In addition, monks would have to examine themselves and prove faithfulness to their monastic oaths. In the case of their baptism they could claim as extenuation, their infancy! However, no defense would exist for perjury after their second baptism, the tonsure.

ⁱⁱⁱ The 'frantic men' behind this phrase are deviants from monastic ideals rather than the equally deceitful Arsenites.

^{iv} Οὐδὲ γὰρ...εἰς τέλος: We can interpret this temporal reference, as 'beginning' from the creation of the world (ἀπαρχῆς) up to 'nowadays' (μέχρι τοῦ νῦν), the time in which Athanasios lives. Certainly a concept of history according to its reception in Byzantine chronography is possible. However, the opposition of εἰς τέλος 'up to the end' is more difficult to understand. Eschatology should not be involved in this phrase, but rather it stands as a proposed limit for resistance and patience on which all people have to base their Christian faith, according to the Gospel. Cf. Mt. 10.22: 24.13; Mc. 13.3.

For this reason I entreat my beloved children in the name of Christ, let us examine ourselves even in our garments and food and words, groping <to understand> whether we are the ones of *the narrow road* and whether we have kept or violated the promise which we made at our holy baptism, and even more everything related to our second profession to God during which there is not even a single excuse that perhaps we did not understand the commandments, as when we were infants, and we think being deceived by a few deranged men that the words about the *wide road* are more blessed and not the ones about *the narrow road*. For we do not know and have not heard from the beginning up to the present that anyone from those who walked the *spacious road* up to the end *saw the face of God*. (28–37)

Whosoever may be ashamed of Me and of My words, the Truth Himself says, *during this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man will also be ashamed of him, when He will return in His glory together with the holy angels*. For *the one who loves Me*, He says, *will keep My commandments*. But who is *the one who loves Me*? *He is the one who receives My commandments and keeps them*. Let us the unfortunate pay reverence to the Lord who is beseeching and instructing us with words full of fear; let us always consciously grope <to understand> His holy words, <when He instructs us>, *come to Me all that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest and if someone does not forsake all that he hath, he cannot be My disciple and why do you call Me, Lord, Lord, and do not do the things which I say; and many*

εἶναι μαθητῆς καὶ τί με λέγετε κύριε κύριε καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω
 ὑμῖν καὶ πολλοὶ ἐροῦσί μοι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, κύριε κύριε οὐ τῷ
 50 σῷ ὀνόματι προεφητεύσαμεν (οἱ καὶ ἀκούσονται τὸ οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς
 πόθεν ἐστέ) καὶ ἐὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ὑμῶν πλέον τῶν
 γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃ<τε> εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν
 τῶν οὐρανῶν.

Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἡξιώνται δωρεᾶς θεϊκῆς τῶν τῆς εὐρυχώρου
 55 ποτὲ ἀλλ' οἱ τῆς τεθλιμμένης ἐργάται. Τὰ γὰρ χαρίσματα τοῦ ἁγίου
 Πνεύματος, οὐχὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τῶν περιελθόντων ἐν
 μηλωταῖς, ἐν αἰγείοις δέρμασι, θλιβομένων τε καὶ κακουχομένων,
 ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄξιος ὁ κόσμος, καὶ πλανωμένων ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ
 ὄρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὁπαῖς τῆς γῆς. Ὡν γὰρ ἀπήλυσαν
 60 χαρισμάτων, τῇ ἐλπίδι καὶ πίστει μέχρις αἵματος ἐγκαρτερήσαντες ἐν
 98v τῇ τεθλιμμένῃ, τῷ ἡ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν καὶ μιμῆσασθαι, καὶ ἐκείνοις
 κατ' ἴχνος ἀκολουθησάτω μέχρι τέλους καὶ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ φωτισθῆναι,
 πρὸς ἀνδρίαν σωτηριώδη καὶ θεάρεστον μίμησιν, ἀριδύως τὰ ἱερὰ
 διδάσκουσι λόγια. Ταῦτά δ' εἰσι πίστις, ἀγάπη, ἐλπίς, ταπείνωσις,
 65 ὑπακοή, ὑποταγή, νηστεία, ἀκτημοσύνη, ἐγκράτεια, προσευχή,
 ἐξαγόρευσις, ὑπομονή, ταπεινοφροσύνη, καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἀπαριθμούμενος
 ἕκαστον, λόγον μακρὸν ἀποτείνω, τὸ εὐδόκιμον ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς θεαρέστοις
 καὶ δεδοξασμένον καὶ πρόθυμον. Ἐν οἷς προκόψαντες μὴ χοιρωδῶς
 ἐσθίειν τὸ καθημέραν,^v ἀλλ' ἅπαξ κλινούσης ἡμέρας σιτεῖσθαι καὶ
 70 μὴ εἰς κόρον ἡμῖν ἐκδεδώκασι. Καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγώνων καὶ πόνων ἐξ ὧν
 οἱ τῆς τεθλιμμένης ὤκειώνται Θεῷ, μνημονεύειν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας
 ὑμᾶς ἀξίῳ καὶ πρὸς μίμησιν διανυκτερεύειν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
 καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων ἡξιώνται.

48–49 Lc. 6.46 49–50 Mt. 7.22 50–51 Lc. 13.25–27; cf. Mt. 7.23 51–53
 Mt. 5.20 54–55 cf. Mt. 7.13–14 56–59 Hebr. 11.37–38 60 Hebr. 12.4 61 Mt. 7.14
 71 Mt. 7.14

62 κατίχνος V 63 ἀνδρίαν sic V

^v It is worth underlining the adverb χοιρωδῶς (not attested in any dictionary) by which Athanasios admonishes monks not to eat like pigs but to restrict themselves to one meal per day during evening time. In several other works of Athanasios we find the order for one meal per each of the five weekdays. Cf. Laurent (1971) 444–46, N. 1651; V f. 96: ἅπαξ ἐσθίειν τοῖς μονάζουσιν παραδεδώκασιν, ἐπαινούμενον ὄντως καὶ θεάρεστον... ἅπαξ τῇ πενθήμερῳ μονοσιτεῖσθαι διαταττόμεθα... καὶ τὸ περιττεῦον ἐκ τῆς μονοφαγίας τοῖς φθειρομένοις ἐκ τοῦ λιμοῦ ἀδελφοῖς; Laurent (1971) 552–53, N. 1776: 224v καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἅπαξ σιτεῖσθω ὡς δοκεῖ τοῖς πατράσι Σαββάτου χωρὶς καὶ Κυριακῆς, Τετράδα, Παρασκευὴν καὶ Δευτέραν ἐκτὸς ἀσθενείας μεγάλης ὑδροποτεῖν καὶ ξηροφαγεῖν; Thomas – Constantinides Hero (2000) vol. 4, 1501.

men will say to Me in that day, Lord, Lord, have not we prophesized in Your name (and they will hear this, I know you not where you are) and if your justice does not abound more than that of the Scribes and the Pharisees, you will not enter in the kingdom of heaven. (38–53)

For nobody from those of *the wide road* has ever enjoyed in this life a divine gift but <only> the workers of *the strait road*. For the gifts of the Holy Spirit are not for all men but *for those who go around in sheepskins, in goatskins, who are oppressed and maltreated, of whom the world is not worthy, and they wander in deserts and mountains and caves and the holes in the earth*. For the Holy Scripture teaches clearly which gifts they enjoyed by remaining firm under hope and faith in *the narrow road to the point of shedding their blood*, for whoever wishes to learn and imitate and follow their tracks up to the end and be illuminated by God toward a salvific manliness and imitation pleasing to God. These <gifts> are faith, love, hope, abasement, obedience, submission, fasting, poverty, temperance, prayer, confession, patience, humility, and in order not to make long speeches by enumerating each of them, these are honour and glory and willingness in all acts pleasing to God. After they have advanced in these, they have delivered to us not to eat like pigs everyday, but to have one meal per day during evening time and not to satiety. And I ask you to remember day and night the struggles and pains by which those of *the strait path* have become familiar to God, and stay vigilant during the night in order to imitate the way of life by which they have been deemed worthy both of salvation and praise. (54–73)

75 Ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ ἐβδόμου αἰῶνος πεπλανημένους
 ῥακενδύτας πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὁρώντων ἀπάτην ἀγωνιζομένους,^{vi} οὐχ ἵνα
 δουλεύσωσι τῷ Δεσπότη ὡς ἡ θεία προστάσσει φωνή, εἴ τις θέλει
 ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθεῖτω μοι, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐν ὑποκρίσει τοῦ σχήματος
 80 τινὰς ἀπατήσωσιν, ἀνθρώπινον ἔπαινον πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ
 θηρᾶσαι καὶ δόξαν ματαίαν, ταῖς οἰκείαις ψυχαῖς, τῇ ἀποκάρσει
 μόνῃ τῶν τριχῶν, καὶ τῇ ἀμείψει τοῦ σχήματος. Τὸ γὰρ ἀράτω τὸν
 σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἡ θεία φωνή (ὧ τι πεπόνθαμεν, ὅσοι ἐπάρατοι
 κατ' ἐμὲ δοῦλοι τῆς εὐρυχώρου), οὐκ ἐν τῷ κεῖραι μόνον τὴν τρίχα
 καὶ ἀμείψαι τὴν κλῆσιν καὶ ἀναρτῆσαι τὸν ζωηφόρον σταυρὸν ἐν
 85 τῷ στήθει διὰ μόνον, ὡς ἔφην, ἀνθρώπινον ἔπαινον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τὴν
 νέκρωσιν τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἔκοντι ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέρειν, ὡς
 ὁ μέγας ἐθάρρησεν ἐν Χριστῷ καυχῆσασθαι Παῦλος, ἐμοὶ κόσμος
 ἐσταύρωται καὶ γὰρ τῷ κόσμῳ, φησί.

90 Ταῦτα ὑμῖν τοῖς φιλτάτοις οὗς διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐγέννησα ὡς
 τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀρχόμενος ἔφην λόγου, καὶ ζῶν συμβουλεύω καὶ
 99 ἀπερχόμενος ὡς γνησίοις υἱοῖς πεποιθῶς ἢ τῷ δεσπότη Χριστῷ εἰς
 διαθήκην ὑμῖν διατίθημι: τὰ τῆς τεθλιμμένης ὁδοῦ καὶ στενῆς καὶ
 λέγειν καὶ πράττειν μέχρις αἵματος ἀγωνίζεσθε, ὡς τοῖς ἁγίοις
 πατράσιν ἡμῶν ἐτηρήθη, μὴ λοιδοροῦντες τινά, μὴ καταλαλοῦντες,
 95 μὴ μισοῦντες, μὴ φθονοῦντες (εἰ μὴ που ὁ λόγος αὐτοῖς περὶ πίστεως)
 καὶ ζῆν ἁγιοπρεπῶς σπουδάζοντες, μόνον ἑαυτοῖς καταμεμφόμενοι ὡς
 ὀκνηροῖς καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς.

Εἰ δέ τινες τάχα καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν τῶν λαχόντων ἀροτριᾶν καὶ τᾶλλα
 τὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν ἐργάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ψῦχος ἢ καὶ τοὺς πόνους,

76–78, 81–82 Mt. 16.24; Mc. 8.34; Lc. 9.23 79 Mt. 7.13 79, 85 cf. Rom. 2.29
 86 II. Cor. 4.10 87–88 Gal. 6.14 89 I. Cor. 4.15 92 Mt. 7.14 93 Hebr. 12.4

94 ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν V

^{vi} κατὰ τοὺς ἐβδόμου... ἀγωνιζομένους: As Laurent noted, this phrase about wandering wearers of rags of the seventh century could be a reference to the forty-second canon of the Council in Trullo; Laurent (1971) 516–517, N. 1736 and Rhalles – Potles (1852–59), v. 2, 406–08. This council had taken place in the sixth century under the reign of Justinian II. In his extended accusation to the same sect of monks the patriarch doubts their monastic state; although “they have tonsured their hair, have changed their name and have hung the life-giving Cross upon their chest”, external features do not guarantee their vocation.

On the contrary do not <behave> in the way of the wearers of rags of the seventh century who were lead astray, struggling to deceive those who were beholding them, not in order to serve the Lord, as the divine voice enjoins, *if someone wants to come after Me, let him deny himself and carry his own cross and follow Me*, but in order to deceive others under the pretension of their habit, to pursue with all their might *human praise* and vain glory unto the perdition of their souls only by the tonsure of hair and the change of habit. For the <order>, *let him carry his own cross*, as the divine voice says (O what has happened to us, who like me are the accursed slaves of *the broad road!*), does not only depend on the tonsure of hair and the change of name and the hanging of the life giving Cross upon the chest only for, as I said, *human praise*, but on the willing *transfer of the condition of death of the Lord Jesus into our body*, as the great Paul had the good courage *to speak loudly in the name of Christ, the world has been crucified unto me and I have been crucified unto the world*, he says. (74–88)

I leave these to you, to my beloved whom *I gave birth to* in the name of Christ *through the Gospel*, as I said to you when starting my document, and I advise you both being alive and after I depart, as my genuine sons, having my trust in the Lord Christ, I devise these to you as a testament: struggle both to act and to speak in accordance with the example of *the strait and narrow road until you shed your own blood*, as our Holy Fathers have preserved, without slandering anybody, reproaching, hating, or begrudging (unless in some way the reason involves faith), and by paying serious attention to live as befits saints, finding fault only with ourselves for being sluggish and sinners. (89–97)

Nonetheless, if perhaps some of you who happen to plough and work the other tasks of farming ask for a small relief from cold weather and toils, but they do not see clearly the glory that awaits them in the

- 100 ἄλλὰ μὴ τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοὺς ἀναμένουσιν δι' ἐγκράτειαν
ἀφορῶντες, παραμυθίαν μικρὰν ἀπαιτοῦσιν, ἐν μὲν τῷ τοῦ σπόρου
καιρῷ ἀρκέσει περὶ τὴν ἕκτην ὥραν αὐτοῖς, μέρος ἄρτου εἰς πόσιν
ὔδατος, ὅσον ὁ θεοφόρος ἐχρᾶτο ἡνίκα εὐπαθεῖν τῇ σαρκὶ ἐνεδίδου ὁ
ἐπίγειος ἄγγελος, ἕως αὐτοῖς ὁ συνήθης τῆς τροφῆς καταλάβῃ καιρός·
105 ἐν δὲ τῷ θέρει διὰ τὸν καύσωνα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας πολὺ, τὸ διπλοῦν,
ἵνα φυλάξαντες καὶ τὴν στενὴν, πολλὴν ἐκ τοῦ κόπου τρυγήσωσι
τὴν ὠφέλειαν, ἄλλὰ μὴ προφάσει ματαίᾳ τὴν σωτηριώδη ἀκρίβειαν
καταπάτημα θέμενοι, διὰ ῥαθυμίαν εἰς τὴν πλατεῖαν ἐκκυλισθῶσιν,
ὥς εὐλόγου δῆθεν δραζάμενοι ἀφορμῆς.
110 Διὰ γὰρ κακοπαθείας μικρᾶς, μεγάλης καὶ ἀνεκδιηγῆτου χαρᾶς, οἱ
τῆς τεθλιμμένης ὁδοῦ καὶ οἱ τοῦ δεσπότου Χριστοῦ, ὡς τὰ λόγια,
σὺν τοῖς παθήμασι μέχρι τέλους καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τὴν σάρκα
σταυρώσαντες καταξιοθήσονται, ἧς καὶ ἡμεῖς καταξιοθείμεν,
δωρεᾶ τῆς ὁμοουσίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ παντοδυνάμου ἁγίας Τριάδος,
115 ἀμήν.

world to come in return for their continence, on the one hand during the sowing period there will suffice for them at the sixth hour a portion of bread with a drink of water, as much as the *theophoros* [Elijah] would consume, when the earthly angel was allowing him to sustain his flesh, until the usual time of their meal comes; on the other hand during the harvest period because of the summer heat and the length of each day <there will suffice for them> a double portion, in order to harvest much benefit from the toil, having also observed *the narrow road* without plunging headlong into *the broad* one because of their indolence, after trampling upon salvific scrupulousness, using it as a vain excuse, as if they have grasped it as a suitable opportunity. (98–109)

For because of brief suffering, those of *the narrow road* and *those of the Lord Christ*, as the Scripture says, *having crucified flesh together with their passions and desires* until the end will be deemed worthy of a great and indescribable joy, which we may also be deemed worthy of by the gift of the consubstantial and life-giving and almighty Holy Trinity, amen. (110–115).

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- Afentoulidou-Leitgeb, E. 2008. *Die Hymnen des Theoktistos Studites auf Athanasios I. von Konstantinopel, Einleitung, Edition, Kommentar*. Wiener Byzantinistische Studien 27. Vienna.
- Bekker, I., L. Schopen et al., eds. 1829–55. *Nichephori Gregorae, Romaike Historia*. Vols. 1–3. CSHB 19. Bonn.
- Cañellas, J., ed. 1995. *Gregorii Acindyni Refutationes duae operis Gregorii Palamae cui titulus dialogus inter Orthodoxum et Barlaamitam*. Corpus christianorum. Series Graeca 31. Turnhout.
- Failler, A. ed./trans. 1999. *Georges Pachymérès, Relations historiques*. Vols. 3–4. CFHB 24. 3–4. Paris.
- Fusco, R. 1997. “L’ encomio di Teoctisto Studita per Atanasio I di Costantinopoli (BHG 194a–b).” *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 34: 83–153.
- Miller, T. and J. Thomas. 1996. “The monastic rule of Patriarch Athanasios I.” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 62: 357–65.
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A. 1905. “Житія двухъ вселенскихъ патріарховъ 14 в., свв. Аѳанасія I и Исидора I”, in *Записки Историко-филологического Факультета Императорскаго С.-Петербургскаго Университета* 76: 1–51.
- Patedakis, E. 2004. *Athanasios I patriarch of Constantinople (1289–1293, 1303–1309): A critical edition with introduction and commentary of selected unpublished works*. Doctoral Dissertation. Oxford.
- Rhalls, G. and M. Potles. 1852–59/1966. *Σύνταγμα τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*. Vols. 1–6. Repr. Athens.
- Talbot, A.-M. 1975. *The correspondence of Athanasius I, patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the emperor Andronicus II, members of the imperial family, and officials*. CFHB 7. Washington, DC.
- . 1983. *Faith healing in late Byzantium: The posthumous miracles of the patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople by Theoktistos the Stoudite*. Brookline, MA.
- Tsames, D. 1980. *Ἰωσήφ Καλοθέτου Συγγράμματα*. Thessalonica.

Secondary Literature

- Bees, N. 1915. *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐλληνικῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ μονῆς τοῦ Μεγάλου Σπηλαίου*. Vol. 1. Athens.
- Booiamra, J. 1982. *Church reform in the late Byzantine empire: A study for the patriarchate of Athanasios of Constantinople*. *Analecta Vlatadon* 35. Thessalonica.
- Cañellas, N. 1994. “Un fait inconnu de la vie du patriarche Athanase I de Constantinople.” In *Philohistôr: Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii*. Eds. A. Schoors and P. Van Deun, 443–49. Leuven.
- Gounarides, P. 1999. *Τὸ κίνημα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν (1261–1310): Ἰδεολογικές διαμάχες τὴν ἐποχὴ τῶν πρώτων Παλαιολόγων*. Athens.
- Kontogiannopoulou, A. 1998. “Το σχίσμα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν, 1265–1310.” *Βυζαντικά* 18: 177–235.
- Laurent, V. 1971. *Les Regestes des Actes du patriarchat de Constantinople. Les Regestes de 1208 a 1309*. Vol. 1, fasc. 4. Paris.
- Lilla, S. 1985. *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codices vaticani graeci: Codd. 2162–2254*. Vatican City.
- Mitsiou, E. 2008. “Das Doppelkloster des Patriarchen Athanasios I. in Konstantinopel: Historisch-prosopographische und wirtschaftliche Beobachtungen.” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 58: 87–106.

- Moschonas, T. 1965. *Πατριαρχεῖον Ἀλεξανδρείας. Κατάλογοι τῆς πατριαρχικῆς βιβλιοθήκης. Vol. 1, Χειρόγραφα*. Salt Lake City.
- Papadakis, A. 1997. *Crisis in Byzantium: The filioque controversy in the patriarchate of Gregory II of Cyprus (1283–1289)*. Crestwood, N. Y.
- Patedakis, M. 2007. “Οι διαθήκες των πατριαρχών της πρώιμης Παλαιολόγειας περιόδου (1255–1309).” *Θησαυρίσματα* 37: 65–86.
- Pérez-Martín, I. 1995. “El Vaticanus gr. 112 y la evolución de la grafía de Jorge Galesiotes.” *Scriptorium* 49: 42–59, pl. 1–4.
- . 1996. *El Patriarca Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240–1290) y la transmisión de los textos clásicos en Bizancio*. Madrid.
- Rigo, A., ed. 1993. *L’ Amore della Quiete (ho tes hesychias eros): L’ esicasmo bizantino tra xiii e il xv secolo*. Magnano.
- Rigo, A., ed./trans. and A. Vego, trans. 2007. *Silencio y quietad. Místicos bizantinos entre lossiglos xiii y xv*. El Arbol del Paraiso 53. Madrid.
- Thomas, J. and A. Constantinides-Hero. 2000. *Byzantine monastic foundation documents, A complete translation of the surviving founders’ typika and testaments*. Vols. 1–4. Washington, DC.

INDEX

- ‘Abd al-Malik 332
 Abbasid 327
 Abgar 399–400
 Abraham, Jacobite bishop 42
 Acheiropoietos 130–131, 401–402
 Acre 255
 Adam 5–8, 160, 162, 144
 Adamantios 178
 Adriatic 48
 Aedicule xiv, 240–243, 252, 261–262
 Agathe, martyr 39, 61 n. 35
 Agathon, patriarch (Alexandria) 387
 Alexander of Pydna 396, 407
 Alexandrinus gr. 288 (911) 441
 Alexios I Komnenos, emperor 87–89, 220, 383, 402
 Alexios III Angelos, emperor 227–228
 Amaury I 242
 Ambrose, St. of Milan 295
 Amida 41–42, 43 n. 45, 44
 Ammonios 411, 413
 Amorium 306
 Ampullae 241, 255
 Ananias 399–400
 Anargyroi, church of 283 n. 52
 Anastasia, church 33
 Anastasios I, emperor 222
 Anastasis 134 n. 33, 160–162, 231, 240–244, 248, 250, 252
 Anastasis Rotunda (Jerusalem) 240, 242–243, 248
 Anastasius of Sinai 147, 323, 325–326, 329, 330, 333–335
 Anatolius, abbot 423
 Ancient of Days 15
 Andronikos I Komnenos, emperor 385
 Andronikos II, emperor 230, 378, 439, 441, 448 n. 37, 450
 Andronikos III Palaiologos, emperor 378
 angel(s) 6, 158–159, 160 n. 16, 161, 163–166, 168, 224, 243, 250, 320 n. 11, 334, 455, 461
 Aniconic 254–255, 332
 Anna Komnena 70, 72, 99–117
 Anne, St. 206–209, 211
 Annunciation Icon (Sinai) 163, 170
Anonymous Chronicle of 813 332
 Anonymous Tarragonensis 189
Anthologia palatina 22 n. 12, 295 n. 12, 297
 Anthony Rawh, neo-martyr 331–332
 Anthusa, St. of Mantinea 46
 Antioch 281–282, 297, 304, 333 n. 46, 397 n. 19, 402, 405
 Aphrodisias 62 n. 37, 177 n. 17, 303
 Apollo 194
 apotropaia 133
 apotropaic 218, 228, 429
 Apulia 347–348
 Arabs 145, 325–326, 328–329, 398
 Auraka 273–274, 276, 278–279
 Arculf 327, 329
 Arethas 22, 100 n. 3, 403
 Argyrokastro, metropolis 37
 Aristotle 62 n. 37, 67, 70, 117 n. 63
 Ark of the Covenant 195
 Armenia 63 n. 43, 144, 267, 279, 281, 284, 333, 449
 Arsenios, monk 62, 352
 Arsenite schism 72
 Arsenites 442, 449–450, 454 n. iii
 Artemios, martyr 31–51
 Artoklines 94
 Asia Minor 60 n. 32, 140, 267, 273, 302, 325
 Asinou 278 n. 32, 279
 Aspasia 54–55, 71, 114
 Athanasios, St. of Athos 396–397, 406–407, 439–451, 453, 454 n. iii, 456 n. v
 Athos 36, 177 n. 18, 209, 249 n. 44, 274, 278, 281, 363, 407
 Augustine 406, 305, 431–432
 Auxentios 272, 273, 275 n. 20
 Baldwin I, Latin emperor (Constantinople) 241–242
 Baldwin III, king of Jerusalem 241–242
 Bar Hebraeus 332
Baroccianus 131 101, 109 n. 32
 Bartholomew, St. of Simeri 363
 Basil I, emperor 61 n. 35, 74, 146, 148 n. 37, 341
 Basil II, emperor 61 n. 35, 88 n. 13, 158, 228, 274, 407, 412, 430 n. 34

- Basil of Caesarea 300, 304
 Basil the *parakoimomenos* 91
Basilics 196
 Bebaia Elpis, monastery 119
 Beirut icon 405
 Belisarios 42
 Benaki Museum in Athens 126, 133
 n. 26, 134, 173, 177 n. 17
 beneficial tale 421, 423–435
 Benevento 49
 Benzo, bishop of Alba 397 n. 19
 Bertha von Sulzbach (= Eirene,
 empress) 57
 Bethlehem 211, 295
 Blachernae, council of (1285) 187, 443
 Blachernai 187–191, 193–202, 400
 Blemmyes 411, 413, 417
 Bobbio 240, 249, 255, 296
 Bogomils 116
 Bohemia 50
 Bollandists 291–292, 296
 Bologna 57 n. 21
Book of Ceremonies 207
 Book of the Eparch 388
 Brescia 37
 bride of Christ 4, 6
 Bryene 23–25, 39
 Bulgars 421–422, 424, 427
 Butrint 349

 Caesarion 22
 Calabria 353
 Caliph al-Hakim 242
 Campania 49, 50
 Canaanite 13
 Canli Kilise (Cappadocia) 252
 Capua 49
 Catherine of Alexandria, martyr 39
 Celsus, martyr 296
 Chalcedonians 323, 330, 332–334
 Chalke Gate 139, 143, 148
 Charlemagne 428
 Cherubim 11, 144
 Chios 160, 248
 Christ Antiphonetes, church of
 (Kallogrea) 210
 Choniates, Niketas 378, 380, 386
 Chora, church 384
 Choricus 209–211
 Chosroes, king 42
 Christ Philanthropenos, monastery 388
 Christine de Pisan 53 n. 1, 57
 Christological disputes 254
 Christopher of Mitylene 268 n. 6
 Christopher, St. 256
 Christophoros, St. of Collesano 356
Chronicle of 811 423, 428, 430
Chronographia (Michael Psellos) 194
 Chrysoloras, Manuel 55
 Ciborium 242, 247, 351
 City Prefect of Constantinople 298
 Civil judge 199
 Cloisonné 156–164
 Competent court 197
 Competent judge (= great judge) 198
Conditio ex lege 200
 Constantina 60 n. 30, 66–67
 Constantine I, emperor 219, 227
 Constantine IX Monomachos,
 emperor 94, 242 n. 14
 Constantine V, emperor 139, 141–142,
 148–149, 426
 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus,
 emperor 61 n. 35, 86, 91, 274, 395,
 402–405, 426 n. 20
 Constantine, bishop of Nakoleia 140,
 149, 151
 Constantinople 23, 31, 33–36, 38,
 40–42, 44–48, 50–51, 72 n. 84, 78,
 100, 111, 113 n. 49, 114, 125 n. 2,
 139–140, 144–148, 155, 157–158,
 162–163, 173 n. 3, 176, 189, 191, 193,
 196, 205, 210–211, 218, 220, 233,
 242, 254–256, 274 n. 17, 278–279,
 297–298, 313, 315, 319, 326, 330, 333
 n. 42, 335, 339–341, 343, 347, 351,
 360–361, 363, 398, 400, 403–406, 421,
 429, 430, 433, 439
 Corfou 349–350
 Corinth 133 n. 26, 255
 Corippus 425
 Cortona 397
 Council in Trullo 205–207, 458 n. vi
 Council of Nicaea (787) 139, 140, 142,
 155, 196, 334
 Crete 177 n. 18, 177 n. 19, 327, 395,
 398, 401
 Croesus (king of Lydia) 194
 Cross-nimbus 249
 Crusader(s) 165–167, 179, 179 n. 29,
 240, 241–242, 244–245, 250, 254–255
Cursus publicus (= imperial post) 305
 Cyprian, St. of Calamizzi 76 n. 109
 Cyprus 166, 210, 278 n. 32, 279, 324,
 401, 403, 443
 Cyrus, bishop of Cotyaeum 298

- Damascius 26–27
 Daniel of Taormina 350
 Daniel the Stylite 297
 Daniel, Russian abbot 251
 Danielis 74
 Daphni 161, 207, 209
 Dara 41–42, 44
 David 6, 10, 27, 46, 147, 162, 211–212,
 241–242, 244, 281 n. 44, 417
 Deesis 269–270, 283
 Dekapolites 331
 Delphic Oracle 194
 Demetrios, St. 78, 239, 247–248, 256,
 351, 384
 Diatessarion 8 n. 10
 Digenes Akrites 95
 Diocletian 22–24, 267, 324, 327, 339,
 414, 419
 Dionysiou, monastery 37
 Dioscorides 61
 Diospolis (Lydda) 324
diptycha 386
 Dome of the Rock 241
 Dormition 161, 354
 Dorostolon, battle of 92
 Dyrrachion 33

Ecloga 426
 epiphastic epigrams 129
 Edessa 330, 396, 399, 402
 Egeria 250
 Egypt 13, 100, 255, 282, 297 n. 17, 327,
 411, 417
 Eirene Doukaina 60 n. 30, 70, 110
 n. 37, 383, 388
 Eirene, empress (= Bertha von
 Sulzbach) 57
 Eirene, *sebastokratorissa* 57, 70
 Eirene-Eulogia Choumnaina 72 n. 83,
 72 n. 84, 77
 Elias Spelaiotes, St. 341 n. 8
 Elias, St. the Younger 349–352, 367
 Elijah, prophet 156, 461
 Elizabeth 5, 10, 13, 85, 407 n. 63, 415
 n. 21
 Elmalikilise 280 n. 39
 encaustic 143
Encolpion 133–134, 247, 249, 262
 Enoch 208–209
 Ephod 195
 Ephrem 3 n. 1, 8 n. 10, 9, 10 n. 18
 Epiphanius, deacon 334
 Epiphanius, St. in Salamina 335
 Epiphanius of Salamis 301
 Epirus 301, 349
 Escorial 36
 Eucharist 20, 254, 319, 330–334, 425
 Eudocia Paleologina 70
 Eudocia, empress 58, 64, 76
 Eufrasios, church 387
 Eugenia of Alexandria, martyr 45
 Eugenios, St. of Trebizond 267, 273
 Eupraxia of Constantinople, martyr 45
 Eusebios of Sebasteia 276
 Eusebius of Caesarea 294
 Eustathios of Thessaloniki 56, 115
 n. 58, 115 n. 59
 Eustratios, St., of Sebasteia 267–284
 Euthymios of Mt. Athos 36
 Euthymios Protasecretis 54
 Eutychios, patriarch 340
 Evagrius Scholasticus 313
 Eve 6, 8, 12–13, 90 n. 21, 91, 95,
 160–162, 205, 209, 244
 Evergetis, monastery 381

 Falier, Ordellafo, Doge 161
 Febronia, St. 19–29, 31–52
 Fever 105, 269–270, 272
 Florence 37, 101 n. 7
 follies 221
 Footprints of Christ 250
 Forty Martyrs, church 267, 279 n. 37
 Foulcher I, patriarch (Jerusalem) 244

 Gabras 279
 Gabriel 5, 163, 191, 205
 Galerius 376
 Genesios, Joseph 73 n. 91, 87
 Geometres, John 177 n. 18, 268 n. 6
 George Synkellos 86
 George the Black 326
 George Tornikes 114
 Georgia 279, 281, 284
 Germanos I, patriarch 139, 148
 Gervasius, martyr 295–296
 Ghewond 144
 Glass-worker 314
 Gold 54 n. 3, 108, 132–134, 134 n. 33,
 147, 155, 156 n. 5, 157, 159–160,
 165–167, 173–174, 176, 207, 217,
 219–222, 224, 226–227, 230, 269 n. 8,
 270–272, 276, 280–281, 396, 402
 Golden Gate 340–343, 397, 404
 Golden Horn 20, 403
 Golgotha 252

- Graffiti 56 n. 16, 59 n. 27, 296, 387
 Great Apodeipnon 275
 great judge (= Competent judge)
 197–198
 Great Lavra, monastery 209
 Greek cross 253
 Gregory Akindynos 77, 442, 445–446
 Gregory Dserents 35
 Gregory II of Cyprus, patriarch
 (Constantinople) 443
 Gregory of Nazianzus 113 n. 49, 114
 n. 50, 117, 279
 Gregory of Tours 313–314, 318, 320
 n. 10
 Gregory, St. of Cassano 361
 Guermund, patriarch (Jerusalem)
 (= Warmund) 243

 Hagar 3
 Hagarene 327, 335, 398
 Hagia Sophia, church of
 (Constantinople) 149, 161, 317, 319,
 377, 396, 450
 Haluk Perk collection 239, 248–249,
 253–256
 Harran 38
 Hadrian I, pope 274
 Helen Lekapene, wife of Constantine
 VII 91, 95
 Helena Kantakouzene 55, 71
 Hephasteion 387
 Heraclius, emperor 42, 45–47,
 145–146, 228, 305, 330, 402–403
 Herakleion 177 n. 19
 Hermitage Museum 134
 Hermolaos 180
 Hero 77 n. 114, 77 n. 115, 78 n. 116,
 112 n. 47, 274 n. 18, 381 n. 44, 413
 n. 14
 Herodotus 294
 Hesychasm 72
 Hierapolis 249, 299, 334, 397, 399,
 401–402, 404
 Hildegard of Bingen 109
 Hipparchia of Maroneia 68
 Hippodrome 148, 304, 395, 433
 Hippolytus, anti-pope and martyr 431
 Histamenon 223–224
Hnana (paste of earth, oil, water) 253
 Hodegetria 125–127, 131, 134, 166
 Holy Apostles, church of
 (Constantinople) 210, 211
 Holy Blood 397, 400–402, 405 n. 53

 Holy Sepulcher 239–241, 243–245,
 248–253, 255
 Holy Tile 395, 397–402, 404
 Hosannas 11, 14
 Hosios David, church of
 (Thessalonike) 211–212
 Hosios Lukas 161
 Hrotsvitha 109
 Hungary 50, 222
 Hypatia 19–23, 25–29, 46, 55 n. 9,
 65–66, 68 n. 63, 70, 73, 115
 Hyperechios 58, 65 n. 51
 Hyperpyra 222, 224, 226
Hypomnema (summary of a legal
 decision) 187, 191, 202

 Iamblichos 67–69
 Iconoclasm 19, 28, 45, 75, 139,
 141–142, 149–151, 155–156, 207, 223,
 329, 401
 Iconophile 28–29, 73–75, 139,
 141–142, 150, 159, 332
 Iconostasis 282
 Ignatios 430
 Ikat 282
Imago (wax funerary mask) 292
 imperial post (= *cursus publicus*) 305
 Incubation 31, 277, 335
 Ioannikios, St. 429 n. 34, 430 n. 34,
 432 n. 42
 Irene, empress 149, 430
 Isaac II Angelos, emperor 224, 229, 402
 Isaakios Komnenos, Sebastokrator 112
 n. 49, 381, 383, 385
 Isidore, St. 32, 248
 isosyllabic couplets 5
 Istanbul Archaeological Museum
 173–174, 434 n. 47
 Italy 23 n. 16, 240, 255, 296

 Jacobites 330
 Jerome, St. 245
 Jerusalem 21, 36–37, 46, 100, 145–146,
 210, 239–245, 247–248, 250–251,
 254–255, 340–342, 378, 399, 412
 Jerusalem, patriarchate 37
 Jews 140, 144–148, 150–151, 293, 300,
 328, 333, 444
 John Chrysostom 304, 433
 John Diakrinomenos 334
 John II Komnenos, emperor 112, 378
 John III Doukas Vatatzes, emperor
 (Nicaea) 70

- John III of Sedre, patriarch
 (Antioch) 42
 John Kantakouzenos, emperor 72 n. 84,
 76
 John Klimakos 280
 John Kourkouas 395
 John Kyparissiotis 77
 John Malalas 340–341
 John metropolitan of Synada 140
 John Moschus 315, 412
 John of Bassingstoke 66, 67 n. 57
 John of Damascus 149, 159, 323 n. 1
 John Rufus 332
 John the Baptist 254, 270, 283 n. 51,
 395, 397, 403, 405
 John the Baptist in Oxeia, church
 31, 39, 45
 John the Evangelist, St., church of
 (Diippeion) 129, 131, 274 n. 17, 430
 n. 34
 John the Merciful, patriarch
 (Alexandria) 356
 John the Monk (of Amalfi) 315–316,
 319 n. 9
 John Theristes, St. 367
 John Troglyta 425
 John Tzetzes 55, 413 n. 14
 John Tzimiskes 92, 395, 397, 405
 John XI Bekkos, patriarch
 (Constantinople) 443
 John, monk 210, 315–316, 319 n. 9
 Joseph Kalotheos 446
 Jovian 41
 Julia Domna 68
 Julian, emperor 299
 Juliana Anicia 61, 377
 Justinian I, emperor 221, 313–314,
 320, 377, 425

 Kaftan 271–272, 277, 279, 281
Kantharos 253–254
 Kassia 60 n. 30, 60 n. 32, 64, 69, 73, 75
 Kecharitomene (convent) 110 n. 37,
 111–113
 Kekaumenos 88 n. 14, 98, 218
keramion 395, 397, 399 n. 26, 401, 404,
 405
 Khلودov psalter 254
 King's Church (Studenica) 208
 Knights Hospitalers of Jerusalem 245
kollyba 385
Konstantinata 227
 Kosmosoteira, monastery 381, 383

 Koutloumousiou, monastery 37, 281
Koutrouvia 247
 Kublai (Great Khan of the Mongol
 Empire) 255
 Kyriakos, monk 351

 Lagbe hoard 222
 Lambecius 397, 405 n. 53
Laodikeia Kekaumene 303
 Latin 41, 48, 60 n. 32, 63, 66, 67 n. 57,
 156, 174 n. 6, 179, 189–190, 219–220,
 231–232, 240–243, 248, 273 n. 14, 276
 n. 27, 281, 292, 295, 301, 313–315,
 327, 343, 347, 355, 361, 424 n. 11, 431
 Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 240–243
Laudatio funebris 292
 Lavra 36–37, 209, 274, 396, 406–407
 Lazarus 43
 Leo the Deacon 87, 395 n. 1, 396–397,
 399 n. 26, 401 n. 32, 402–403,
 405–406
 Leo VI, emperor 220, 403, 426
 Leo/Luke, St. of Corleone 356
 Leontion 68
 Leontios of Athens 65
 Leontios of Neapolis 147
Life of Proclus (Marinus) 294
Life of St. Symeon of the Olives 73
Life of Theoktiste 412
 Lincoln College *Typikon* 384
 Lombards 51, 358
 Loros 219–220, 233
 Lukasmadonna 135
 Luke, St. of Demenna 356, 366
 Lydda 324, 329, 336

 Maccabean martyrs 293
 Magi 207–209
 Mandalos, Leo (general) 191
mandylion 395–396, 399 n. 26, 401,
 403–405
 Maniakes, George 361
 Manuel I Komnenos, emperor 386,
 402
 Manuel II, emperor 55, 71
 Manuel Philes 128 n. 14, 130
 Map 241, 34 n. 5
 Maphorion 163, 166, 271, 277, 342
 Mardarios, St. 275
 Marga, region 38, 40, 44
 Maria of Albania 60 n. 30, 70
 Martin of Tours 301
 Martina, niece of Herakleios 46

- Martyrdom of Pionius* 297
Martyrium 247–249
Martyrologion 276
 Mary, St. the Egyptian 50, 100
 Matrona of Thessalonike, martyr 45
 Matthew Kantakouzenos 70
 Matthew Paris 66, 67 n. 57
 Maurice, emperor 402
 Maxentius 294
 Mega Spelaion (monastery) 441
 Meles, Stephanos 382
 Melisende's psalter 244
 Melkites 43, 281, 323
 Mellon Madonna 166
 Menas, patriarch 317, 320
 Menas, St. 248
 Menil Collection 125
 Menologion 158, 160, 274–275, 412–415, 430 n. 34
 Menologion of Basil II 158, 430 n. 34
 Merkourios, St. 383
 Mesarites, Nikolaos 210
 Mese 31, 386
 Mesonyktikon 275
 Mesopotamia 243 n. 18, 396
 Metaphrastian Menologion 275
 Metritis (uterine infection) 270, 273
 Michael Italikos 101, 109, 117, n. 64, 218–219, 234, 374 n. 6
 Michael Synkellos 21, 378
 Michael the Paphlagonian, emperor 415
 Michael the Syrian 145, 149, 332
 Michael VII Doukas, emperor 193, 224
 Michael, St. the Archangel 158–161
 Milan 37, 49, 295–296
 Mili, monastery 382
 miliaresia 222, 226
 milion 143
Miracles of St. Artemios 32–51, 54 n. 45
Miracles of St. George 327, 330–331, 336
 Money-changer 269 n. 10
 Montanists 145
 Monte Cassino 49
 Monza 49, 209, 240, 249, 255
 Moscow 134 n. 33, 173–176, 398, 401, 405 n. 53
 Mount of Olives 250, 255
 Musée du Louvre 173–174
 Muslims 140, 144, 148, 151, 326–329, 331, 334–335, 426–427
 Myrelaion 379
 Myron 239, 247, 256
 Naples 48–49, 273 n. 14
Narratio de imagine Edessena 399 n. 26, 404
 Nasar, Basil 350
 Nazarius, martyr 296
 Nea Moni, church of 160–163
 Neilos (? of Ankyra) 412
 Neilos of Rossano 352, 358, 366
 Nero, emperor 296
 Nestorianism 37
 Neutron Activation Analysis 175
Ni Uallacháin 313 n. 1
 Nicholas Malaxos 274 n. 17
 Nicholas of Stoudios 421–423
 Nicholas, St. 166, 283 n. 51
 Nicholas, St. the Pilgrim 347
 Nicomedeia 174–176, 178–180, 339
 Nicosia 167
 Nikephoros (I, patriarch and historian) 428, 430, 432
 Nikephoros I, emperor 421
 Nikephoros II Phokas, emperor 92, 395–407, 423
 Nikephoros, imperial praepositus 74
 Niketas of Medikion 28
 Nikodemos, St. of Kellarana 349 n. 8
 Nikolaos Mystikos, patriarch (Constantinople) 379
 Nikolaos, St. of Sion 362
 Nikopolis 267, 273, 274 n. 16
 Nisibis 23–24, 299
 Nomisma 147, 219–220, 352
 Norman(s) 281
 Novgorod 190 n. 12, 256
 Nun(s) 23, 27 n. 28, 29 n. 32, 54, 60 n. 33, 61 n. 34, 69 n. 70, 78, 111, 271–272, 280
 Ochrid 37
 Octateuch 208–209
 Olympiou monastery (Constantinople) 274 n. 17
Omophorion 402–403
 Orans 157, 161–162, 230, 256
 Orant 248
 Orestes (martyr) 272–273
 Orion 58, 65 n. 51
 Orosius 424
 Orphanotropheion 326
 Pacatus 324
 Pachymeres 441 n. 11, 443 n. 19, 449
 Pagan oracle 194
 Paganism 291, 301

- Pala d'Oro 161–164
 Palaeologan 101, 224, 226, 320 n. 11
 Palagonia 50
 Palaialogina, hymnographer 65, 76, 78
 Palaialogos, George 384
 Palermo 243 n. 16, 275
 Panagia Atheniotissa, church 387
 Panegyric 76, 187, 192, 202, 291, 303, 324, 425
 Pankratios, St. 350
 Pantokrator, monastery 161, 386
 Parallel Lives (Plutarch) 294
 Paralysis 272
Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai 434
 Paris 36–37, 57 n. 21, 66 n. 55, 67, 174–175, 190, 223–224, 226, 281, 316–319, 398, 401
 Paris Coislin 296 398
 Parthenon 387
 Paschasios, monastery 382
Passio of Ariadne 302
 Patras 351–352
Patria 33, 74
 Patti 50
 Paul of Emesa 305
 Paul, St. 416
 Paulinus of Perigueux 301, 302 n. 37
 Pavia 296
 Pege, church of (Constantinople) 256
 Peloponnese 74, 349
 Pericles 55, 193
 Persian(s) 62, 145–146, 330, 402–403
 Peter the Fuller 334
 Peter, St. 280 n. 38, 281 n. 44
 Peter, St. of Atroa 366
 Petronius 293
 Petschenegs 378
 Pharos chapel 404
 Philaretos, St. the Younger 60 n. 30
 Philip, St. 249
 Philostorgios 35
 Philotheou, monastery 37
 Philoxenos of Hierapolis 334
 Phocas Lectionary 209
 Phokas, John (Byzantine monk) 210–211
 Photeine, St. 277
 Photios 108, 114, 403, 432 n. 41
 Phrenitis (brain fever) 270
 Piacenza, pilgrim of 251–252
 Piermont Morgan Library, New York 36
 Pilgrim 127, 133, 190 n. 12, 211, 245, 248, 251–252, 274 n. 16, 296, 327, 329, 343
 Pilgrimage 127, 210, 239–240, 244, 253–256
 Plagal 75
 Plato (Greek philosopher) 67, 195
 Polo, Marco 255
 Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna 300
 Polyektos, patriarch (Constantinople) 92
 Pontius Pilate 293
 Portico of Domninos 31, 33
Praecepta militaria 406
Praefectus Praetorio per Orientem 298
 Princes Islands 37
 Proclus of Constantinople 205
 Prodromos, Theodoros 374 n. 6, 382
 Proklos (Neoplatonic philosopher) 195
 Protasius, martyr 295–296
protoproedros 200
 Psellos 55 n. 9, 61 n. 35, 69 n. 72, 77, 87, 93–94, 96, 117, 118 n. 67, 187–203, 219 n. 8
 Quedlinburg Itala 156
 Rabban bar 'Idta 38, 44
 Raithou 411, 413–414, 416–417
 Ravendel 167
 Ravenna, exarchate 47
 Raymond of Le Puy 245
 Reggio 350, 352–353, 363
 Relic(s) 25, 146, 150, 176, 179, 189, 218, 240, 247, 254, 267, 269–270, 274, 276–279, 283, 295–297, 330, 335–336, 343, 395–397, 399–405, 407
 Reliquary 101 n. 7, 133 n. 28, 270, 272, 274 n. 18, 276–278, 283, 397, 402
Repoussé 39, 233, 247
 Ricinarius 425
 Romanos I Lekapenos, emperor 91, 379–380, 403
 Romanos III Argyros, emperor 93–95
 Romanos the Melode 320 n. 11, 431 n. 38
 Rome 50–51, 72, 156, 177 n. 20, 220, 274, 278, 294–295, 299, 324, 351–352, 356, 360–361, 363, 428
 Rossano 351–352, 358–361, 366
 Rufinus of Aquileia 424
 Rus' 403
 Sabas, St. of Collesano 356
 Sacristy 319

- sagion 220
 Saladin, Sultan of Egypt 255
 Salomon/ Solomon 106, 162, 244, 432
 San Apollinare, church of 274
santalene 227–228
 Sapor, king 41
 Sappho 55 n. 9, 64, 115–116, 117 n. 63, 117 n. 65
 Saracen 323–327, 329–331, 335, 399, 411–412, 414, 426
 Sarah 3, 4 n. 3, 13
Satyricon (Petronius) 293
 schedographer 57–58, 77
 schedographies 56
 Scholae 143, 421
 Sebasteia 267, 273–274, 276, 278–279
 Sebasteia, bishop of 273
 Sebasteia, Five Martyrs of 267
 Sebasteia, Forty Martyrs of 267
 Sebeos 325
 Selenos 24
 Seljuk 273, 279
 Semandron 190
 Septimius Severus 41
 Seraphim 6, 11, 160 n. 16
 Serpent Column 433–434
 Severus 145–146, 302, 333 n. 46, 334
 Sheol 7
 Sicily 75, 325
 Sidonius Apollinaris 301, 302 n. 37
 Simandron 270–271
 Simon, St. of Calabria 348 n. 6
 Sinai 155, 163, 165, 267–284, 326, 411–419
 Sirmium 253
 Sirus, bishop of Pavia 296
 Skriniarios (official record-keeper) 273, 280 n. 39
 Socrates (Greek philosopher) 22, 27, 35, 71 n. 79, 195
Socrates Scholasticus 22, 26 n. 25, 27
 solidi 218 n. 4, 219 n. 8, 222–224, 228 n. 34
 Soloi 324
 Sophia, St., church of, see Haghia Sophia
 Sophronios, patriarch (Jerusalem) 100, 300, 334, 412
 Sosipatra, neoplatonist 66
 Special court 191, 197
 Special judge 191, 197–199
 Sphrantzes 76, 78
Spiritual Meadow 315
 St. Catherine, Monastery of (Mt. Sinai) 132 n. 21, 155, 163, 165, 177 n. 19
 St. George, church of (Kurbino) 246
 St. Marc, church (Jerusalem) 36
 St. Panteleimon, church of (Nerezi) 208
 St. Philip of Agira, monastery 356
 St. Sergius, church of (Gaza) 209–210
 St. Theodore, church 329
 Stephen, Count of Chartres 180
 Stephen, protomartyr 403
 Stirrup 271
 Stone cutter 306
 Stoudios Monastery 429, 430 n. 34, 432
Strategikon of Kekaumenos 88 n. 14, 95
Strategikon of Maurice 425–426
 Stypeiotes 396, 402, 405
 Stypiotes, Theodore 384
 Sulpicius Severus 302
 Susannah 13
 Symeon Eulabes 275 n. 21
 Symeon Metaphrastes 100, 178 n. 21, 274
 Symeon of Bulgaria 403
 Symeon Stylites, St. (the Younger) 253–254
 Symeon the New Theologian 275 n. 21
 Symeon the Stylite (Antioch) 297
 Symeon, St. of Lesbos 19, 73
 Synaxarion of Constantinople 176, 341, 421
 Synesios of Cyrene 22–23
 Syrian 10 n. 18, 22, 27 n. 28, 145, 149, 268 n. 6, 281, 318, 332, 399
 Syrianus (Neoplatonist) 294–295
ta Christodotès, quarter 33
Taktika of Leo VI 426
 Tamar 13
 Taormina 350, 351, 367
 Taranina 449
 Tarsos 339
 Ter Israëlis 35
 Tessarakontepchys 150
 Tetanus 272
 tetarteron 219 n. 9, 223
 Theano the Pythagorean 54, 70
 Thebes 388
 Thecla 29, 60 n. 32, 65, 75
 Theodora Doukaina 62
 Theodora Kantakouzene 70

- Theodora Raoulaina 62, 70, 72 n. 83, 76
 Theodora, empress 60 n. 32
 Theodora, St. (Thessalonike) 78, 247
 Theodore Balsamon 206
 Theodore Daphnopates 405
 Theodore Stoudites 28, 430, 432, 433
 Theodore Strategos, St. 383
 Theodore Stratelates, St. 383
 Theodore, martyr 45, 92
 Theodore, St. of Sykeon 362
 Theodoret of Cyrrhus 35, 43, 205, 301
 Theodosia, hymnographer 65
 Theodosian Harbour (Istanbul) 255
 Theodosios II, emperor 65
 Theodosius I, emperor 424
 Theodotus of Ancyra 297
 Theoktistos the Studite 440, 446
 Theon 22, 25, 65
 Theopaschites 334
 Theophanes (Confessor) 86, 340
 Theophanes Continuatus 86
 Theophano, empress 92
 Theophilos, emperor 61 n. 35, 73
 Thessalonike 115 n. 58, 115 n. 59, 237, 247–248, 256 n. 73
 Thomais 27 n. 28, 37, 39–40, 78 n. 117
 Thomas of Claudiopolis, Metropolitan 139–141, 150–151
 Thomas the Slav 19, 403
 Thucydides 55, 193 n. 17
 Tigris, river 34, 38
 Timothy Ailouros 333
 Timoxena 68
 Tou Kalliou, monastery (Constantinople) 191
 Tower of David 241–242
 Trani 48–49, 347
 Trebizond 267, 273, 279
 Tremisses 223, 224
 Trinity 254, 461
 triple-braided snake 433–435
 Trisagion 425
 Triumph of Orthodoxy (843) 155
Troparion 133 n. 26, 134, 400
 True Cross 145–146, 245 n. 25, 251–252, 254–255, 396–397, 402–403, 407
 Turban 269–272, 277, 280–281, 340, 416
 Twelve Feasts, icon of 278 n. 32, 281
Typikon of the Great Church 34
 typology 3–4, 14–15
 Tzetzes, John 55–58, 65, 77, 389, 413 n. 14
 Tzirithon, Gabriel (chief judge in Thrace) 191
 tzykanisterion 148
 ‘Umar II, Caliph 144–145, 148
 Üskübü (Konuralp) 174
 Vatican 35, 50, 156, 177 n. 19, 209
 Vatican Virgil 156
 Vaticanus gr. 2219 439–440, 451
 Vatopedi, monastery 37, 249 n. 44
 Venice 157, 161, 281 n. 42, 433 n. 43
 Vienna 61
 Vienna Hist. gr. 38 397
 Virgin Nikopoios 342
 Virgin Pege, monastery of 274
 Vision of Habakkuk 249 n. 44
 visual grammar 128
Vita of Aberkios 298–299
 Vitalios, St. of Castronuovo 356
 Walters Art Museum 133 n. 28, 173–176, 248
 Warmund, patriarch (Jerusalem) (= Guermond) 243
 Water mill 191
 William I, patriarch (Jerusalem) 243
 William III, patriarch (Jerusalem) 245
 Wipo of Burgundy 246
 Xanthopulus, Nicephorus Callistus 319 n. 9
 Xerolophos 448, 450
 Xeropotamou, monastery 37
 Xeros, John (*protoproedros*) 200–201
 Yahya of Antioch 402
 Yemen 282
 Yilanli kilise 279 n. 37
 Zayn al-‘Abidin, mosque 38
 Zeno, emperor 41
 Zoe, empress 92
 Zonaras 54, 73 n. 91, 207, 341 n. 8
 Zosimas, St. 100

PLATES



Manuscript Illumination: The archangel Michael, Menologion of Basil II (976–1025) = Vatican, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. graec. 1613. Dating around the year 1000. Source: photo by permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, with all rights reserved.



Mosaic in the Monastery of the Nea Moni, Chios, Anastasis, detail. Dating from the mid-11th century. Source: photo reproduced by permission of the Dumbarton Oaks Photograph Archive.



Cloisonné enamel from the Pala d'Oro, Venice, Church of San Marco, High Altar, Anastasis Image. Dating from the second half of the 12th century.
Source: photo courtesy of Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY.



Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, left half. Photography courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, by permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.



[PLATE 2. ŠEVČENKO]

Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, right half. Photography courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, by permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.



Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scenes 1–2. Photography courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, by permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.



Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scenes 3-4. Photography courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, by permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.



Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scene 5 and Deesis. Photography courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, by permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.



Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scenes 7–8. Photography courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, by permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.



Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scenes 9–11. Photography courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, by permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.



Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scenes 10–12. Photography courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, by permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.



Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, St. Eustratios templon beam, scene 4, detail. By permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.



Logos 29 of *The Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimakos. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, MS. gr. 418, fol. 279r. By permission of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.



Ikat. Yemen, 10th century. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (C 12994).
By permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.